

A supplement to the first and second books of the History of Cornwall / [by R. Polwhele] ; containing remarks on St. Michael's Mount, Penzance, the Land's End, and the Sylleh Isles. By the historian of Manchester [i.e. J. Whitaker].

Contributors

Polwhele, Richard, 1760-1838.
Whitaker, J.

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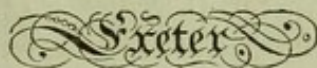


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A
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
FIRST and SECOND BOOKS
OF THE
HISTORY OF CORNWALL;
CONTAINING
REMARKS ON ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT,
PENZANCE,
THE LAND'S END,
AND THE
SYLLEH ISLES.

BY THE HISTORIAN OF MANCHESTER.

J. Whitaker



PRINTED BY TREWMAN AND SON, HIGH-STREET;
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1804.

SUPPLEMENT

PART THE SECOND BOOK

BY JOHN H. WELLS

REVISED BY J. H. WELLS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BY J. H. WELLS

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



PRINTED BY J. H. WELLS

1891

A SUPPLEMENT, &c.

ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT.

THIS Mount shooting up conically from a broad base to a narrow summit, and forming a Peak of Teneriff in miniature, will naturally seem to every eye that traces the resemblance, equally with that the production of a volcano. Standing too within the sea, when it certainly stood once upon the shore, and surveying from its eminence a large scene of desolation, wrought by the ocean around; it naturally combines this scene with that aspect in the mind of a reflecter, and suggests the desolation to have been the effect of the volcano. So reasoning, however, we should argue with much of probability, but little of truth. Nature has reared her conical hills, as she has sunk her rounding *craters*, without using the aid of a volcano. The castle-hill of Launceston, in our own county, and probably a thousand hills beside, in the other counties of the island, are existing proofs for the truth of the former assertion; as what is vulgarly called *the Devil's Punch-bowl*, on Hind-head, in Surry, is an equal proof for the justness of the latter.* We contract too rigidly the plastick powers of nature, in confining their operations to a single mode only. We shew a creeping poverty of thought unworthy of Providence, when we ought to expand our ideas, and let loose our imaginations, in an eagle's flight after God. We suffer philosophy to bind up our wings, and to chain down our feet, rather than take a free range with theology and judiciousness in the air, to catch the diversified appearances of the working Hand Divine. And, as the Mount has at no period exhibited any symptoms of a volcano in itself, so is its form seen in history, just what it appears at present, ages *before* the desolation.

I. Upon the crown of this original pyramid of nature, stands proudly eminent a Church, extending from east to west, and showing a tower in the middle. It was built by our Edward the Confessor, who added habitations adjoining for the clergy attendant upon it, and then endowed it with the whole Mount, &c. "I, Edward, by the grace of God, king of the English," he says in the very original still preserved, "willing to give the price for the redemption of my soul, and

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* This *crater* is little known to the reading public, but lies in the road from London to Portsmouth, near the 43d mile-stone.

"of the souls of my parents, with the consent and testimony of some good men," the subscribers to the charter, "have delivered to St. Michael the Archangel, *for the use of the brethren serving God in the same place*, St. Michael," or the Mount and Church.* He also gives them "all the land of *Vennefire*," a district in Cornwall probably, but certainly a large one, as containing one or more towns; it being granted, "with the towns, houses, fields, meadows, lands cultivated and uncultivated, and with their rents."† But he finally gives them "the port Ruminell," Romney in Kent, "with all things that appertain to it, that is, mills and fisheries," &c.‡ And the Church appears from *Domesday Book*, to have thus possessed two hides of land in Cornwall alone.¶ With these it must have also possessed what it still retains, those "royalties over the Mount's Bay, as far north as Long Bridge in the manour of Laneseley," which have given to the Bay the appellation of the Mount, "with wrecks, anchorage of ships, keyage or wharfage of goods," &c.§ At the conquest comes the falsely reputed founder of this, Robert, earl of Mortaign and Cornwall, not merely to enlarge its endowment a little, but to associate it as a monastick church with another of the same appellation in Normandy. In a new charter, equally with the former undated, he, as "bearing" himself "the standard of St. Michael in war," says: "I give and grant St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, to God and the monks serving the church of St. Michael *de periculo maris*, with half a hide of land."¶ But, "as of late I have very certainly found," he adds, "that *a son has been granted to me of my own wife*, by God, through the merits of the blessed Michael, and the prayers of the monks, I have increased the donation to this blessed prince of the celestial army; I have given, and do grant, in Amaneth, three acres of land, namely, Travelabeth, Lismanoch, Trequaners, Carmailoc," all evidently lands in Cornwall.*† This very earl, so devout to the archangel and so liberal to the church, before *Domesday book* was compiled, had taken away from the church no less than half its whole endowment, even one out of two hides.‡‡ So strangely compounded, and of elements so opposite, was the mind of this man! He had even done more than this, *after* the book was compiled: as here he transfers this church, "with" its endowment of only "half a hide of land," to that in Normandy. Yet he restored, probably, what he had taken away, in his additional donation of "three acres of land;" three Cornish acres, of sixty statute each, composing just one hide and a half.¶¶ The lands thus given

* *Monastricon* i. 551. "Ego Edwardus dei Gratia Anglorum rex, dare volens pretium redemptionis animæ meæ vel parentum meorum, sub consensu et testimonio bonorum virorum tradidi Sancto Michaeli Archangelo, in unum fratrum Deo fervientium in eodem loco, Sanctum Michaellem."

† *Ibid*, *ibid*. "Addidi etiam totam terram de Vennefire, cum oppidis, villis agris, pratis, terriscultis et incultis, et cum horum redditibus."

‡ *Ibid*, *ibid*. "Adjunxi quoque datis, portum addere qui vocatur Ruminella," see Somner's *Roman. Ports and Ports in Kent*, p. 47, 54, 55, "cum omnibus quæ ad eum pertinent, hoc est, molendinis et piscatoriis." &c.

¶ "Ecclesia S. Michaelis tenet Trival," the same region evidently with Vennefire. "Brismar tenebat T. R. E." before Edward alienated it to the church: "Ibi sunt II. hidæ, quæ nunquam geldaverunt." § Hals in MS.

*† *Monastricon* i. 551. "Ego Robertus—habens in bello Sancti Michaelis vexillum—do et concedo Montem Sancti Michaelis de Cornubiâ, Deo et monachis ecclesiæ Sanctæ (Sancti) Michaelis *de periculo maris* fervientibus, cum dimidiâ terræ hidâ."

*‡ *Ibid*, *ibid*. "Postea autem, ut certissimè comperi, Beati Michaelis meritis monachorumque suffragiis michi a Deo ex propriâ conjuge meâ filio concessio, auxi donum ipsi Beato militi celestis Principi; dedi et dono in Amaneth tres acras terræ, Travelaboth videlicet, Lismanock, Trequaners, Carmailoc."

‡‡ Fol. 120. "De his ii hidis Comes Moriton abstulit 1 hidam."

¶¶ Hals observes in p. 159 of his manuscript, that "every antient Cornish acre" is "sixty statute acres of land." In *Domesday book*, fol. 120, indeed, "1 acra terræ—est terra 1 caracatæ." So the register of bishop Lacy makes it "a hundred and twenty statute-acres." (*Borlase's Nat. Hist. of Cornwall*, 319). In this variation of measures, we may take any of them that suit our purposes.

given and re-given to the Mount, were the manor and parish of St. Hilary, formerly including those of Peran Uthnoe; the churches of both these parishes being appropriated to the church on the Mount, before the Valor was made in 1291, tradition averring the union of both formerly; the lands themselves being characterized as *Triwal* in Domesday book, and *Triwal* still existing as a considerable place within them; a charter of Richard, king of the Romans, to the Mount, also noticing its fair of *Marhafgon* (Marhaf-zon or Market-jew); the Mount still possessing the right of "keeping annual fairs on the sea-shore near it, Sept. 29," St. Michael's own day, with "Monday after Mid-lent Sunday;" and these being *the very fairs of Marazion* at present.* In the charter for these fairs, granted by the very Richard above, brother to the third Henry, the monks "for the future, and for ever, may hold" the fairs "upon their own ground at the market-place, close to their own grange;" that tithe-barn which is still standing in Market-jew, which seems to be a building of great antiquity, and on both sides of which the fairs are still held. But finally comes Leofric, the bishop of Exeter, in a charter dated expressly 1085, to do what appears to have been much desired, but ought never to have been granted, to free the church from all episcopal jurisdiction.†

Thus erected, thus endowed, and thus freed, the church remained to the days of William of Worcester; and he gives us the dimensions of it: "Memorandum; the length of the church of St. Michael's Mount contains 40 feet, and is 30 steps, the breadth contains about twelve steps."§ Carew also speaks of it as "a chapel for devotion, builded by Will. (Robert) earle of Morton," Carew so speaking with the multitude in giving the church to the earl, when he ought to have united with records in giving it to the confessor; and "greatly haunted, while folke endured" (endeared) their merits by farre travailing."|| Carew thus refers obscurely, perhaps unconsciously, to a particular privilege enjoyed by the church, which was given in one decree from Pope Gregory, and confirmed in another from Bishop Leofric. "Know all men," cries the pope, "that the most Holy Father Gregory, in the year from the incarnation of our Lord *one thousand and seventy*," the very year, therefore, in which the earl assigned this church to another in Normandy, "bearing an affection of extraordinary devoutness to the church of St. Michael's Mount, in the county of Cornwall, has piously granted to the said church," and "to all the faithful who shall seek or visit it with their oblations and alms, *a remission of a third part of their penances*"

* Tanner mentions, among the papers relative to the Mount, "*cartam Ricardi regis Romanorum de Feriis in Marhafgon*;" Hals in MS.; Great Map of Cornwall; and Pope Nicholas's Valor. *Vennefire* thus appears the secular name for the parish of St. Hilary, and its "towns" must have been one at the church, a second at Market-jew, with a third at the Mount. Yet *Vennefire* has been supposed by some, from a very partial preservation of the name, to have been *Trevenna*, a village contiguous to Marazion on the eastern side. But Domesday book, which calls it *Triwal*, a name and a place still remaining, refutes the supposition at once. "That Perran Uthno was formerly taken out of the parish of St. Hilary, as you suspect, there is a tradition preserved to this day. It is said, that the whole was the property of one gentleman, who gave his younger son such a part as he could walk round in a given time, and which now makes the parish of Perran Uthno. Running across a common in this parish is a trench about three feet deep, and at different distances in this trench are shallow pits, which were called the *Giant's Steps*. It is said that this trench led from Godolphin and Tregonning hills to St. Michael's Mount, and was the road the giants travelled. It was lately visible thro' much inclosed and cultivated land, but I believe 'tis now to be seen on Perran Downs." Rev. Malachy Hitchens.

† *Monasticon* i. 551.

§ *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcester, 1778, p. 103.* "Memorandum; longitudo ecclesie Montis Sancti Michaelis continet 40 pedes, et est 40 steppeys; latitudo continet circa 10 steppeys."

|| F. 154.

"*ances to them.*"* Thus "folke endeared their merits," not merely "by farre travailing," but by an exertion still more trying probably to themselves, and certainly more profitable to the clergy, a demand upon their purse. On the performance of such a visit, and the payment of such a tax, a third of all those acts was to be remitted to them, which the penitents had been enjoined to perform, in order to prove the sincerity of their penitence to God and to themselves. The church, which had enjoined those acts, had a right to commute them; and the current of penitential charity in particular, which had been previously left at large, perhaps, was only turned now into one prescribed channel. The same privilege is confirmed to the church by the Bishop of Exeter, the bishop repeating after the Pope in 1805, thus: "to all those, who shall seek and visit that church with oblations and alms, we remit a third part of their penances."† Yet, what is very surprizing, the privilege was so little used as to be wholly forgotten, became nearly as much unknown afterwards as it is at present, and was therefore announced formally to the public by the clergy of the church, at the beginning of the 15th century. "These words," observes the reciter of the privilege, "being found in some antient registers that have been discovered within this church of late," a little before the reciter's visit to the church about 1440, being then unknown to the very clergy themselves, and only discovered by the discovery of some registers equally unknown, "are exhibited to public view upon the folding-doors of the church, as they are here recited."‡ Yet even such a publication was thought too contracted for such a privilege. All the clergy of the kingdom were called upon to publish it in their respective churches. "*Because this privilege is still unknown to many,*" says the call, "therefore we, the servants of God, and the ministers of this church in Christ, do require and request all of you who possess the care of souls, for the sake of mutual accommodation, to publish these words in your respective churches; that your parishioners and subjects may be more carefully animated to a greater exhortation of devoutness, and may *more gloriously in pilgrimages frequent this place,* for the gracious attainment of the gifts and indulgencies aforesaid."§ From this publication of the privilege did undoubtedly commence that numerous resort of pilgrims to the church which Carew intimates; and of which Norden, who generally is the mere copier of Carew, yet is here the enlarger of him, says, "the Mount hath bene much resorted unto by pylgrims in devotion to St. Michael."|| Then too was framed assuredly that seat on the tower, which is so ridiculously described by Carew, as "a little *without* the castle,—a bad seat in a craggy place,—somewhat dangerous

* Worcester, 101. "Noverit universitas vestra, quod Sanctissimus Papa Gregorius, anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo septuagesimo, ad ecclesiam Montis Sancti Michaelis—in comitatu Cornubiæ gerens eximie devocionis affectum, pie concessit ecclesiæ predictæ—et omnibus fidelibus qui illam cum suis beneficiis et elemosinis expecierunt (expetierint) seu visitaverint, tertiam partem penitenciarum suarum eis condonari."

† Monasticon i. 551. "Omnibus illis, qui illam ecclesiam suis cum beneficiis et elemosinis expetierint et visitaverint, tertiam partem penitenciarum condonamus."

‡ Worcester, 101, 102. "Ista verba, in antiquis registris de novo in hac ecclesiâ repertis inventa, prout hic, in valvis ecclesiæ publicè ponuntur."

§ Worcester, 102. "Quia pluribus est incognitum, ideo nos, in Christo dei famuli et ministri hujus ecclesiæ, universitatem vestram qui regimen animarum possidetis, ob mutue vicissitudinis obtentum, requirimus et rogamus, quatenus ista publicetis in ecclesiis vestris; ut vestri subditi et subiecti ad majorem exortationem devocionis attentius animentur, et locum istum gloriosius perigrinando frequentent, ad dona et indulgencias predicta graciosè consequenda." Dr. Borlase, in Scilly Isles, p. 115, 116, produces a commission from a Bishop of Exeter, as a proof "in what a stately style the bishops of those days penned their commissions;" when the only note of stateliness is the use of *subditi* for the persons of his diocese. But we here see it used with even *subiecti* added to it, for the mere parishioners of a private clergyman. And both the words are completely innocent in themselves, meaning merely those *under* a priest, or those *under* a bishop; if protestantism was not at times a very sensitive plant, and contracted before the very vapour of an approaching finger. || Norden, 39.

"daungerous for acceſſe;"* when it is a chair compoſed of ſtones projecting from the two ſides of the tower battlements, and uniting into a kind of baſon for a ſeat juſt at the ſouth-ſiſtern angle, but elevated above the battlements on each ſide, having its back juſt within, and hanging high over the rocky precipice below. It thus appears "ſomewhat daungerous" indeed, but not merely "for acceſſe," though the climber to it muſt actually turn his whole body at that altitude to take his ſeat in it, but from the altitude itſelf, and from its projection over the precipice. It alſo appears an evident addition to the building. And it was aſſuredly made at this period, not for the ridiculous purpoſe to which alone it profeſſedly miniſters at preſent, that of enabling women who fit in it to govern their huſbands afterward;† but for ſuch of the pilgrims as had ſtronger heads and bolder ſpirits, to complete their devotions at the Mount, by fitting in this *St. Michael's Chair* as denominated, and there *ſhowing themſelves as pilgrims to the country round*. Hence in an author, who lends us information without knowing it, as he alludes to cuſtoms without feeling the force of them, we read this tranſient information:

Who knowes not Mighel's Mount and *Chaire*,
The pilgrim's holy vaunt?

Norden alſo re-echoes Carew, in ſaying "*St. Michael's Chaire* is fabled to be in the Mount."‡ We thus find a reaſon for the conſtruction of the chair, that comports with all the uſes of the church on which it is conſtructed, and that miniſtered equally with this to the purpoſes of religion then predominant; a religion, dealing more in exteriorſ than our own, operating more than our own, through the body, upon the ſoul; and ſo leaving, perhaps, a more ſenſible impreſſion upon the ſpirits. To fit in the chair then, was not merely as Carew repreſents the act, "ſomewhat daungerous" in the attempt, "and therefore holy in the adventure;"§ but alſo holy in itſelf as on the church tower; more holy in its purpoſes, as the ſeat of the pilgrims; and moſt holy, as the ſeat of a few, in accompliſhment of all their vows; as the chair of a few, in invitation of all the country.

The whole church remains at this day, beaten by the winds or buffeted by the rains, a venerable monument of Saxon architecture, yet unadmired equally by the gaze of the vulgar, and the inſpection of the curious. In Hals's days, however, that Sir John St. Aubyn, "who for melancholy retirement dwelleth here;" who, in a principle probably of religious ſequeſtration from the world, which is ſo proper in itſelf to be occaſionally reduced into practice, but which is always reckoned "melancholy" by thoſe who want it moſt, the irreligious fools of the world, had retired to this Mount as an aſylum from the world and its follies; repaired the church much, and fitted it up once more for divine ſervice. But the church is now waiting for a ſecond reſtoration by the preſent Sir John. Sir John is at once an antiquary and a man of taſte, I underſtand. He therefore intends to exerciſe this taſte, and to gratify his antiquarianiſm, by renewing the church in a high ſtyle of elegance. He has erected a magnificent organ already. He has alſo procured, at a great expence, a quantity of painted glaſs ſufficient for all the windows. I ſaw one great caſe of the glaſs there, ready for the windows. And, in levelling a very high platform for the altar, under the eaſtern window, a low Gothic door was diſcovered to have been cloſed up with ſtone

* Carew, 154.

† Yet this is the only uſe aſſigned for it, by Mr. Gough, i. 13.

§ Carew, *ibid.*

‡ Carew, 155, Norden, 39.

stone in the southern wall, and then concealed with the raised platform. The closure was now broken through, when ten steps appeared descending into a vault of stone under the church, about nine feet long, six or seven broad, and nearly as many high. In this room was found *the skeleton of a very large man*, without any remains of a coffin. The discovery gave rise to various conjectures. But the thinking minds generally rested at that natural centre of all thinking on such a point, the supposition of the man's having been condemned to die by hunger in the dungeon for some crime. The crime, indeed, must have been enormous, to provoke such a punishment as *immuring*. The bones of the wretched sinner, so buried alive, and so concealed since, were brought up from the dark room, which must originally have served as the repository of the sacramental plate, and interred in the body of the church.

II. But with the monastery was a NUNNERY upon the summit of the Mount. This is unconsciously noted by Hals: "One Henry de la Pomeray," he tells us, "Lord of Beri-Pomeroye, in Deavon, and Tregny Pomeray in this county," caballing with John, Earl of Moretaign and Cornwall, to make the latter king during the absence of Richard in Palestine, or in Austria, first murdered a man sent by the regent to seize him, and was then "prompted, from the sin of murder, to that of rebellion, resolving to reduce this Mount of St. Michael for Earle John's dominion, and to place himselfe therein for better safety. In order to which he found out this expedient, to goe with his guard of armed men that dayley attended him, in disguise, to that place, under pretence of visitinge a sister that he had amongst THE RELIGIOUS PEOPLE there; who, upon discovering who he was, and the occasion of his cominge, had the gates opened, where he entered accordingly with his followers; who soon after discovered under their clothes their weapons of war, and declared their designs." The nunnery thus appears to have been discovered by Hals, without being seen by him. But it was equally discovered, yet was equally unseen, by Carew. "Until Richard the first's reigne," Carew cries, "the Mount seemeth to have served only for religion, and (during his imprisonment) to have bene first fortified by Henry de la Pomeray, who surprized it;" for, having stabbed to the heart the king's messenger sent to arrest him, "he abandones his home, *gets to a sister of his abiding in this Mount*," &c.* The nunnery thus appears again in the same story, but plain from the pen of Hals, and obscure from the pen of Carew; the former infinitely surpassing the latter, in all this portion of the topography. Yet it appears rather more plain, from the contrast between this surprize of the Mount by Pomeroy, and another afterwards by the Earl of Oxford. After the battle of Barnet, in 1741, "John, Earle of Oxford," says Carew, "arrived heare by shipping, *disguised himself with some of his followers in pilgrims habits*, there through got entrance, mustred the garrison, and seized the place;"† or, as Hals more fully informs us, "they disguised themselves in *pilgrims* (apparel,) and" what they could not have worn "*friars* apparel, under which all had lodged a small sword and a dagger; they went on shore, pretending that they were," not friars, but "*pilgrims*, that had come a long pilgrimage from the remotest part of this kingdom, to perform the penance imposed upon them by their father-confessors, and to perform their vows, make offerings, and (make) oblations to the altar of St. Michael, who presided there; upon which pious
"pretext

* F. 155.

† Ant. 396.

"pretext the monks and *inhabitants* opened their gates, and let them into the *castle*." This fact shews us the frequency of pilgrimages to the Mount, immediately after the publication of the privilege; but shews us not any appearance of a nunnery, the nuns being undoubtedly turned out by Pomeroy to provide apartments for his soldiery, and for the same reason kept out as long as a "garrison" continued here, "*inhabitants*" of "the castle."

The nunnery had been erected probably just a little before Pomeroy's surprize of the Mount, then ended with it, and so exists only in that single memorial of history. There is one circumstance in the institution of the nunnery, which proves it could not have been erected before the reign immediately preceding, and was actually erected then. The monks of the Mount were Benedictines recently reformed into Cistercians, and more recently improved into Gilbertines; but so improved by Gilbert, of Sampringham, in Lincolnshire, only in the year 1148. It was this improvement, which affected to shew the superiority of the spirit to the flesh, and the triumph of the mind over the senses, by placing a nunnery contiguous to a monastery. That superiority was tried, and that triumph was exhibited, in every monastery of the order.* The nunnery, therefore, could not have been erected before 1148, yet must have been erected soon afterwards, and ended in less than fifty years; Richard reigning only nine. "The nunnery," however, as Dr. Borlase informs us, "was lately standing on the eastern end of this monastery, detached a little "from the cells of the monks; and a great deal of carved work both in stone and timber (to be "seen a few years since) shewed, that it was the most elegantly finished of any part of this house."† But the memory of the chapel survived to the days of Worcestre, he speaking of it as rebuilt in his time, by calling it "the *chapel* newly built," and in giving us the dimensions of it.‡ The memory of it even survived to the present age, Dr. Borlase noting it to have been "lately standing" with the nunnery, and "a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as in all Cistercian monasteries these chapels were."§ The chapel is thus shown by the Doctor to have been destroyed, when Sir John St. Aubyn religiously retired to this place, and built himself two elegant apartments in it. These are called the new buildings, one opening into the other; but were originally, not the chapel merely of the nunnery, but the very nunnery itself. These about fifty years ago were become very ruinous, and even the roofs had fallen in. But Sir John rebuilt them, and in the Gothic style, to make them correspond as nearly as possible in their aspect with the other buildings. The eastern end has a Gothic window below, and a circular one above; just as the church has, to which it stands in a parallel direction. And, in erecting these rooms, cart loads of human bones were dug up and interred elsewhere, the remains of burials from the nuns first, and from the garrison afterwards, in the chapel.

III. "The way to the churche," adds Leland concerning both these buildings, "ascendeth by "steps and grece westward, and then returneth eastward to the utter," or outer, "ward of the "chyrch. *Withyn* the said ward is a cowrt stonly (strongly) walled, wheryn on the fowth-side "is the *chapel* of *St. Michael*," for the monks, "and yn the east-syde a *chapel* of *our lady*," for the nuns, "and the prestes lodgings," those the *capytaine* of the garrison lately continued here, and

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those

* Ant. 386.

† Ibid. *ibid.*

‡ Worcestre, 103. "Longitudo capellæ novæ edificatæ continet 40 pedes, et est 20 steppys; latitudo continet circa 10 steppys."

§ Ant. 386.

those of the clergy lately attached to the church, "be yn the fowth-tyde and the west of St. Michael's chapel."* But as Hals remarks, who is here worthy to join with Leland himself, because here he equally sees with his own eyes, and equally hears with his own ears, at "the top of the Mount,—towards the north-west, is a kind of level plain, about 4 or 5 land-yards; which gives a full prospect of the Mount's Bay, the British ocean, Pensance town, Newlyn, Mouse-hole, Gulvall, Maddern, Paul, and other parishes, over a downright precipice of rocks towards the sea, at least twenty fathoms high. From this little square or plain, there is an artificial kind of ascent also, going towards the east; which offers you a full sight of the outer walls of the castle, and brings you to Porth Hourn, i.e. the Iron Gate, *part of which is yet to be seen.* This little fortress comprehendeth (comprehended) sufficient rooms and lodgings for the captain or governour and his soldiers to reside in. To which adjoining are several other houses or cells, heretofore pertaining to the monks that dwelt here; all admirable for their strength, building, or contrivance." One of these was the old hall of the monastery, discovered accidentally by Hals, in his description of a ball of fire, that in July, 1676, "struck against the south moorstone wall of this Mount's church," thence, "by a rebound, struck the strong oak durns of the dwelling-house entry, and broke the same in two or three pieces; and so flew into the HALL, where it fell to the ground, and then brake asunder, by the side of Mrs. Catherine Seynt Aubyn." This hall of the monks remains without the name in a long handsome room, that, from the representations in stucco round the cornice, of men hunting stags, even shooting hares, appears to have been fitted up since the reformation as a dining-room for a hunting party, and is popularly denominated Chevy Chase.

Together with the nunnery and the monastery, was a castle on the summit of the Mount, and a town at the base of it. We have accordingly seen in our enquiries concerning the nunnery, strong traces of the castle; as we have beheld the Earl of Oxford mustering "the garrison," and seizing "the castle." We have also seen Carew declaring the Mount "to have been first fortified by Henry de la Pomeray, who surprized it." And, as Dr. Borlase subjoins, "Pomeroy took refuge here, having a sister in this nunnery," and being (as Leland says, *Itin.* vol. VI. p. 54) "at that tyme lorde of the castelle of the Mount of St. Michael;" where, finding "the hill on which the monastery stands, steep and rocky, he fortified it."† This account is evidently a mass of contradictions; Pomeroy being stated to have been the lord of the castle at the time, yet to have taken refuge in it, as having a sister in a nunnery within it; to have been lord of the castle before, yet to have now "found" its hill "steep and rocky;" to have "fortified" the hill, when it is expressly owned to have been fortified with a "castle" before. But the real fact, as cleared of all contradictions, is this. The whole tenour of the story proves of itself, that Pomeroy *at the time* was lord of *no* castle on the Mount, that there was *no* castle really existing on the Mount *at the time*, and that he only surprized it by pretending a visit to his sister the nun, because the hill was a fortress in itself. Yet how shall we encounter the positive authority of Leland, for the existence of a castle here? "One of the Pomereis of Devonshir," he tells us in a style of observable uncertainty, "*long syns* lost the most part of his inheritance, by killing a messenger

* It was once shewed me for what I enquired after, the nun's chapel, when *this* has been some time destroyed, and that has no window on the east, no niche for a statue there, &c.

† *Ant.* 386.

"senger or herald sent from the King of England, onto hym; *at that tyme* Pomeroy was lord of Tremington, alias Tremerton Castelle, in Cornewale, and of *the Castelle of the Monte of S. Michael yn Cornewale*, and of the lordship of Tamarton."* *At the time* of the murder, Pomeroy was *not* lord of the castle, but *was immediately afterwards*; and this slight interval of time has Leland overlooked. Just before Richard's return from captivity, we find from Hoveden, the only *historian* who mentions the fact, all the other accounts being merely traditional; "was surrendered to the king's arms the Castle of Marlborough, the Castle of Lancaster, and *Saint Michael's Mount* in Cornwall; which last Henry de la Pomerai, after he had expelled the monks," by whom are meant the nuns, "*had fortified against the king*; and the same Henry, hearing of the king's arrival, died overwhelmed with fear: but these three *castles*, Marlborough, and Lancaster, and *Saint Michael's Mount*, were surrendered before the king's arrival."† The hill was now first fortified, by having the site of the monastery and nunnery now first formed into a castle. Carew accordingly informs us, that "the Mount seemeth to have bene first fortified by Henry de la Pomeray, who surprized it; *from which time forward*, this place *continued* rather a schoole of Mars, then the temple of peace."‡ Even Dr. Borlase subjoins, though with another contradiction to what he had alledged before; that "*from this time* it was looked upon as a place fit for defence, and made use of as such upon several occasions, and the commander of the garrison had a lodging in the monastery."§ There was confessedly, therefore, *no* "garrison," *no* "commander," and *no* "place" used "for defence," *before*.

Nor must we be drawn from our certain conviction of this, by any expressions in the Confessor's charter to "the priory of St. Michael in Cornwall," as giving "to St. Michael the Archangel, for the use of the brethren serving God in the same place, Saint Michael with all its appendages, namely," among other things, "*the castles*."|| These are only those three natural wards of this natural castle, which compose the whole of it. "From the foot of Mount St. Michael," Hals tells us very truly, "you ascend the hill or rock through a narrow, crooked, craggy path, to the *outer* portal or gate; a considerable height on the one side, by the way, in the rock, is a small spring of water, that falls into pits (a pit) made in the stones (stone or rock) to lodge the same, for the lower or bottom inhabitants use; which water never intermits its current." This is what is now named the Giant's Wall, what Leland denominates "a fair spring in the Mount," but Carew more properly calls it "a lye pit, not so much satisfying use as relieving necessitie."¶ And as all the ascent up to the outer gate forms only the open base of the hill, so the space between the outer and second gates composes the first ward. "Above the second gate," adds Hals, "there is another spring of water issuing out of the rocks; that makes a pretty confluence for six or seven winter months, and then intermits; (the high position of)

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" which

* Itin. VI. 58, 59.

† Hoveden, f. 418, Savile. "Merleberge redditum est, similiter redditum est, castellum de Lancaster, et Mons Sancti Michaelis in Cornubiâ redditus est ei, quem Henricus de la Pomerai, expulsi inde monachis, contra Regem munierat; idemverò Henricus, audito adventu regis, obiit timore perterritus. Hæc autem tria castella, videlicet Merleberge, et Lancaster, et Mons Sancti Michaelis, reddita fuerunt ante adventum Regis." Carew proceeds on this authority, but vitiates it by carelessness; fixing the death *before* the surrender, 154, 155.

‡ F. 154, 155.

§ Ant. 386.

|| Monasticon, i. 551. "Pro prioratu Sancti Michaelis de Cornubiâ. Tradidi Sancto Michaeli Archangelo, in usum Fratrum Deo fervientium in eodem loco, Sanctum Michaellem—cum omnibus appendiciis,—scilicet—castellis."

¶ Leland Itin. III. 17, and Carew, 154.

“ which renders the portage of it upwards, much the easier for the inhabitants use in that season. “ After you pass through this second gate, betwixt,” he means *you take*, “ a winding and crooked path artificially cut in the rocks on the north-side thereof, and follow the same; (thus) you arrive at the top of the Mount.” All this composes the second ward. On the top “ towards the north-west,” as Hals proceeds, “ is a kind of level plain;—from this little squarer plain, there is an artificial kind of ascent also, going towards the east, which offers you a full sight of the outer walls of the castle, and brings you to Porth Hourn, i. e. the Iron Gate” of entrance into it, the only artificial gate as into the only artificial part of the fortress, and remembered still by a very old man to have been existing in part during his boyhood. The gates in the first and second wards are both as natural as the fortress itself, being merely narrow passes in the ascent, and with the artificial dividing the whole Mount into three parts, three castles, or three wards. Two of these existed from the first formation of the hill, the other from the first construction of the monastery, while all induced Pomeroy to convert the hill into a fortress; have since induced our government to keep a garrison upon it to the reformation, and have so fixed upon the priory the name of castle to the present moment. In the 5th of Henry the Fourth, “ the priory” is said expressly by one of our records, “ to be in time of war a fortalice to all the country around.”* And cannon are even now placed upon the Mount, some lighter pieces above, some heavier below.

But prior to all the artificial constructions upon the Mount, was the town *at* and *upon* the base of it. There is *upon* the base of it a town, which consists at present of three or four streets, rising in parallel or direct lines up the hill from the landing-place at the pier; and composed of dwelling-houses, rooms for storing fish, stables, a *chaise-house* for the proprietor, with a cemetery for the inhabitants. Nor is this only a modern erection; tho’ out of the seventy-four houses now existing, there were only two about 65 years ago, and about 75 years ago only one, as tradition says. There was plainly a town on the ground before. This appears as early as the monastery; the Confessor, in his charter to the latter, giving to the former the Mount, “ with all its appendages, namely, THE HOUSES” in the town, “ the fields” or pasturable grounds on the south or south-east, that now breed rabbits, “ and the other appurtenants.”† Thus also, in the second charter concerning “ the priory of Cornwall,” Earl Mortaign says thus: “ I constitute that these very monks, by the concession of my Lord the King, may *there* have a MARKET on the fifth day of the week.”‡ This is the very market still kept upon the opposite shore, being kept still upon the *fifth* day of the week, and having therefore lent the appellation of the day to the town; *Markiu*, *Marcaiew*, *Marghas-jewe*, or *Marhas-gou*, the recorded appellations of the town, all signifying the *Thursday’s Market*; while from the other, the more recent appellation of the town, *Markafion*, that is, *Marghas* or *Marhas-fion*, now *Marazion*, or *Sion Market*, and from the tradition still prevailing of a *Jewish Market* held formerly *without* the town, on the *strand*, on the *western strand* too, *Marghas Jew* has been vitiated by *English* pronunciation into *Market-Jew*, as the

* Tanner, from Rymer’s *Fœdera*, viii. 102, 340, 341. “ *Esse tempore guerræ Fortalitium toti terræ circumjacenti.*”

† *Monasticon* i. 55. “ *Cum omnibus appendiciis, villis scilicet,—agris et ceteris attinentibus.*” Leland, in *Itin.* viii. 118. “ The south south-west part of the Mont is pasturable, and breedeth conyes. The residue hy and rokky.”

‡ *Monasticon* i. 551.

the Jew's Market.* The name of Market-jew, then, is the original and proper designation of that town, which had a market conceded to it on a concession of one to the Mount; while the name of Mara-zion is the designation only of a new, a Jewish, and a western part. "In *Marhas-deythyon*," says Leland, meaning not "to spell it," as Mr. Gough says he meant, "Markad-deyth yon," but actually meaning as he writes, *Marhas Deyth Yon*, the Jew's Day Market, "ys but a poore chapel in the middes of the poore town, and a little chapel yn the sand, nere by the towne, toward the Mount." Accordingly on the south-side of Marazion, between this town and the Mount, is what is denominated the Chapel Rock; on which tradition also reports a chapel to have once stood, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, though no vestige of it has been discernible within the memory of man. This chapel is confessed by tradition to have been erected for the inhabitants of Marazion; the rock being then contiguous to the main land, when it is about a hundred yards distant from it at present. The rock is about 150 yards in circumference; but the level part of it, on which the chapel must have stood, is about 45 feet in length, and 18 or 20 in breadth. The real Marazion, then, is the new part, formed originally by the Jews, and more westerly in its position. Leland speaks of Marazion and Market-jew as if they were two towns still distinct; noticing *Marhasdeythyon* as above, and mentioning "*Markefn* a great long town, burnid a Gallis." "And whereas our borough of Marghas-iewe," says the charter 13 June, 27 Eliz. 1. "is an ancient borough, and was once a trading town, and of great note, until a detestable rebellion having risen in those parts against the illustrious Prince, and our dear brother Edward the Sixth, the said town was taken and destroyed by the traitors and enemies of the said King; ever since whose time the said borough hath fallen to decay, the public buildings and dwelling-houses being at this day in ruins and desolation, as we are informed by divers of our trusty subjects," &c. Even a pier was erected near the town, but on the sheltered or northern side of the Mount, for the commercial uses of the inhabitants. "In the north north-east," as Leland tells us for his time, "is a garden, with certen howses with shoppes for *fischer-men*."† And near to this town stood, within memory, a building, that belonged to the priory, was forty-five feet in length, and was denominated the Banquetting-house. But there is, as Leland remarks in another place, "a *piere* by the Mount."‡ This was almost entirely rebuilt about 70 years ago, by Sir John St. Aubyn, but is remembered to have had its mouth to the west, as the new pier has it to the north. It lies at the Mount's end of that ridge of gravel, which, in Leland's time, was "the way to the church," which "entereth at the north syd, fro half heb to half fludde,"§ and now entereth on the same side for only a few hours of ebb. This ridge, which

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* "*Marca-iewe*—signifying in Englishe Market on the Thursday," (Norden 39). "*Marceiew*, of *Marhas Diew*, in Englishe, the Thursdaies Market; for then it useth this traffike," (Carew 156). "*Markiu*, 1. Forum Jovis, quod ibi Mercatus die Jovis habeatur," (Camden 136). *Marghas-jewe*, in charter the 37th of Elizabeth; *Markefn*, *Markafion*, in the endowment of the vicarage A.D. 1261, and in the Bishop's confirmation of it A.D. 1313; with the tradition concerning the Jewish Market (Origin of Arianism, 331, 334). But the oldest record, which mentions the town, is one of Richard, King of the Romans, referred to before, and speaking of it as "*Marhafgon*," by a mis-reading for "*Marhaf-gou*." The name of Market-jew, then, is the original and proper designation of that town, which had a market conceded to it in a concession to the Mount; while the name of Mara-zion is the designation only of a new, a Jewish, and a western part. Leland, in Itin. vii. 117.

† From the Rev. Mr. Hitchens.

‡ Itin. iii. 17.

§ From Mr. Hitchens.

at the highest spring tides has about thirteen feet of water upon it, but about seven at the top of the neap tides, and seven or eight feet more at the fides, which is accidentally formed by the two currents of the tide, sweeping round the Mount, meeting in opposite directions beyond it, and then depositing at the place of conflict the pebbles, gravel, or sand brought along with them; had a cross upon it, which about 75 or 80 years ago was broken down by the violence of a storm, notwithstanding the protection which the Mount gave it. It being fixed at the lowest part of the ridge, the *closing* and *unclosing* (as the first covering and last uncovering of the ridge by the tide are denominated) always happened at this point; but have now changed to a point about 70 or 80 yards nearer Marazion, now made the lowest on the ridge, by carrying off stone for the erection of some new houses there. The whole ridge is about forty yards wide, not tending directly to the mouth of the pier, but reaching the Mount about eight yards east of it; composed of pebbles, gravel, or sand, in each of which the predominant quantity is governed by the roughness or stillness of the tides. At neap tides, and in very bad weather, the ridge scarcely *uncloses* at all, and for only two or three hours in mild weather; but in mild weather, and at spring tides, upwards of five hours. Formerly, yet within memory, the ridge was passable *half an hour* longer than it is at present; and is now passable only for about two thirds of the time, or *four* hours in the day. So seemingly, so apparently, is the sea encroaching here, within these later ages.*

IV. The sea has been sensibly encroaching upon the land here, for ages. We see its ravages apparent in the period past, and we feel its violence at present. "The continual advances which the sea makes upon the land at present," Dr. Borlase observes concerning the Sylley Isles, "are plain to all people of observation; and within the last thirty years," before this un-dated letter was published, in 1756, "have been very considerable."† Indeed, "the sea is perpetually preying upon" all "these little islands, and leaves nothing where it can reach but the skeleton, the bared rock."‡ Yet let us step back into former times, and there examine whether the sea was so troublesome a neighbour then. "In the bay betwyxt the Mont and Pensants," as Leland tells us, "be fownd neere the lowe water marke rootes of trees yn dyvers places, as a token of the grownde waisted."§ "There hath bene," as he adds in another place, "much land devoured of the sea betwixt Pensandes and Mousehole."¶ In 1414, Bishop Stafford of Exeter thus exhorts all the persons of his diocese, to contribute towards the reparation of damages made by the sea at the latter: "as the chapel of *Mosfal*, formerly built in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and situated near a port or creek of the sea, is now by the force of the sea entirely thrown down and demolished; which, while it stood, was a mark to seamen, and which, if it was rebuilt, might still be the means of the preservation of many sailing into this port or creek of the sea, which is very narrow, and too dangerous to give assistance, especially in the time of tempests or hurricanes; and as the revenues of the said chapel are by no means sufficient to repair, or more

"truly

* Mr. Gough, 13, repeats the mistake of Pomeroy's "driving out the monks," speaks of "a capacious pier at the foot of the rock for the fishermen, whose tents cover its fides;" and adds, "the Mount is joined to the main land by a large beach, over which the tide flows."

† Scilly Isles, 86.

§ Ibid. 89.

¶ Itin. vii. 118.

¶ Ibid. iii. 18.

"truly to rebuild the same;" &c.* so in 1435, we have an indulgence of forty days, a remission of penances (I believe) for this number of days, "to all those who shall charitably contribute, or lend a helping hand, towards maintaining and repairing the *Quay of Mousehole*;"† and another to all, "who shall—contribute towards repairing and maintaining a certain *Key or Jutty* at *Newlyn*, in the parish of Paul," betwixt Mousehole and Penzance.§ So usefully did the church dispense her spiritual benefits, for the support of secular objects! So much was the sea at that period bearing with violence upon the land, undermining its quays, and demolishing its chapels. We have also seen the sea before, encroaching so much upon the land on the south-east of Marazion, as to insulate the very rock on which the original chapel of the town was built; even to insulate it by a straight about a hundred yards in breadth, since the very days of Leland. On the east of Marazion, many yards in the breadth of the cliff have been washed away within twenty-four years past, about half a mile in length; the soil of the cliff being of a very soft quality, and the spring-tides pushing up with considerable force against it. About 70 or 80 years ago, a spring-tide was driven by a dreadful hurricane with such a violence upon the town itself, as to beat down a whole row of houses within it, and to carry them, with their very foundations, into the sea. And, in the confirmation of the endowment to the vicar of St. Hilary, A. D. 1313, the dead of Marazion are for the first time allowed, from the danger of passing with them to the Mount, to be buried at St. Hilary; "because of the danger of the flux of the sea near St. Michael's Mount and Markazion," the confirmation saying, "and for other causes, the bodies of the deceased at Markazion may for the future be consigned to sepulture, in the cemetery of the church of St. Hilary."|| But a shaft was lately sunk in the beach between Newlyn and Penzance, when whole trees were found at a good depth under the ground. About half-way between Chyendower and Marazion, in the road from Penzance to the east, about three hundred yards below high-water mark, and near to the line of low water, were seen a few years ago by Mr. Giddy, an eminent surgeon of Penzance, and since seen by one of his sons, upon an extraordinary recession of the tide, several stumps of trees in their native soil, with the roots shooting out from them, and with the stems apparently cut off. These trees had been felled, in apprehension of the coming encroachments; while the whole trees had been either surprized or neglected. On the western side of Penzance, and in a line with the brook parting Gulval from Ludgvan parish, a range of rocks projects about half a mile beyond the beach; to the east of which have stumps of trees been seen
by

* Register, vol. iii. fol. 203. "Mousehole," says Camden, in Mr. Gough's English, p. 3, "called in the British language Port Inis, or the Port of the Island;" but a note from Mr. Gough adds thus, "from an island lying before it G. (Gibson) but quere where." An astonishing quere, from one who appears to have travelled into the region! Even still more astonishing, perhaps, from one who republishes these words of Leland; "wythyn a crow shot of the sayd key or peere lyeth directly a lytle low island with a chapel yn yt, and thys lytle islet bereth greffe." These words, indeed, are referred by Leland to Newlyn, not Mousehole. But he certainly meant them for Mousehole, however they have been mis-placed to Newlyn. These words in Itin. vii. 17, all omitted by Mr. Gough, prove the point: "a litle beyond *Mousehole* an islet, and a chapel of St. Clementes in it." And the very map of the county, in the very Britannia of Mr. Gough, shews us "St. Clement's Isle" expressly, much to the south of Newlyn, and opposite to the ground of the unspecified Mousehole.

† Lacy's Register, fol. 206. The village, thus called *Mosal* and *Mousehole*, has taken its ridiculous name, in English, from an act still more ridiculous in the inhabitants, they shewing a large opening in the side of a hill as an actual mouse-hole. The satirical English caught at the circumstance, held it up in derision of the people, and so denominated the village from the folly.

§ Ibid. 254.

|| "Propter periculum fluxus maris juxta Montem Sancti Michaelis et Markazion, corpora decedentium apud Markazion in cæmeterio ecclesiæ Sancti Hillari tradantur de cætero sepulturæ." From Mr. Hitchins, with the facts immediately preceding.

by the late Dr. Borlase, as I shall soon show, and to the west by my very obliging, very useful informant, Mr. Giddy. Nor have these ravages of the ocean ceased at present. Betwixt Newlyn and Penzance, on the Penzance side of the brook parting Maddern from Paul parish, were some fields within memory that are now covered with the sea. There were also at Penzance five or six houses upon the beach west of the pier, which within memory have been undermined and demolished by the sea. Gulval too has a manour within it, called Lanseley, half of which is now buried in the ocean. But I crown all these remarks, with this striking notice from Leland: "there is an old legend of St. Michael," the old lesson that used to be read in the church here on St. Michael's day, "(that speaketh of) a *Townlet in this part now defaced and lying under the water.*"* We thus return to the Mount again. "The Cornishmen," says Carew, our oldest reporter of the Cornish appellation for it, call it "*Cara Cows in Clowze*," that is, the "Hoare Rock in the Wood."† Carew knew the Cornish language too imperfectly, to repeat even the Cornish appellation accurately. The name meant by Carew is "*Cara Clowze in Cows*," as the real name is "*Carreg Lûg en Kûg*, a hoary rock in a wood."‡ But Worcestre is the oldest writer, who gives us the English signification of it; he informing us, that the Mount was "formerly denominated Le Hore-rok in the Wodd."§ All serves to shew us, that this *Dinsol*, as it is equally denominated by the Register of Landaff;|| this *Hill of Prossheft*, as it was termed, because of the wonderful loftiness of it, and the extensive view from it, once presented its rocky sides to the eye, all covered with trees, and once reared its grey head in the air, all naked above them. "There be found," notes Leland, in a passage of which I supply the defects by words between parentheses, "from the inward," or northern "part of the (Mount) yvers (dyvers) re (quarre) stones;"¶ and, as the quarry is still pursued for the excellence of the stone in building, the labourers have recently found roots of trees in the clefts of the rocks. It even appears decisively from the charter of the Confessor, to have been in his time *not* surrounded by the sea during all the flood-tide, and not accessible by land only during some hours of the ebb. *Then* it was *not* surrounded at all. It was only *NIGH* the sea, *then*; the charter describing it expressly, as "St. Michael

* Itin. iii. 18. "Tho' it is uncertain when this awful event happened in Mount's Bay," says a respectable correspondent, "yet I think it plainly demonstrable that it was upwards of 1400 years ago: for in the summer of 1793 some labourers, employed in digging trenches about 100 yards from the sea, discovered an urn full of Roman coins, erectly buried two or three feet under the surface. The coins were of the same kind as those found near Godolphin, in April 1779, and at Morva in June 1789; viz. some of Gallienus, Tetricus, &c. All the urns were earthen, buried nearly at the same depth, and the coins in general were in good preservation." These discoveries prove the Romans to have inhabited the most westerly parts of Cornwall, equally with the most easterly of Britain. But surely they prove nothing concerning the lateness or earliness of the convulsion which drowned the land about Mount's Bay. I shall instantly attempt to point out the period. In the mean time I notice this *demonstration*, in order to set it aside; as I must equally set aside my correspondent's appeal to facts, that are the result either of local accidents or of the general deluge. Such is his mention of "subterranean trees, found half a mile beyond the present reach of the sea," one of them "hard and sound enough for any use." Such are also the trees "at a very considerable depth, discovered a few years since by persons searching for stream tin on the margin of Hayle river;" some of which were hazels, that had "many nuts on them, in a state of maturity," as have been equally discovered at Bath and many other places, (Stukeley's Itin. cur. i. 147). And such finally are the "many human bones, some skulls, and one skeleton almost entire," found equally by the stream-workers on Hayle river; but "buried too deep to be the bodies of shipwrecked mariners interred there, or of persons drowned by accident in the river." They were the remains of persons killed in battle, or murdered by thieves, about a century ago. Thus the first and the last cases are the result of local accidents, and the intermediate case is the consequence of the general deluge.

† F. 154.

‡ Borlase's Scilly Isles, 94. Carew, in writing what his informant meant for the two first words, "*Cara Clowze*," wrote them merely from the pronunciation, without considering the division; the two words intended being *Carac Louze*. So *Caracloyse* in St. Merin, the grey rock.

§ F. 102. "Antea vocata Le Hore-rok in the Wodd."

|| Camden, 136.

¶ Itin. vii. 119.

"Michael NEAR TO the sea."* This evidence is sufficient of itself, to mark in strong colours the encroachments of the sea here; when what is at high water half a mile within the domain of the sea at present,† was at some distance from the sea then. What this distance was, the charter does not tell us; but two testimonies, hitherto unnoticed and unknown, do. There is a marginal annotation in Leland, which he derived assuredly from his "old legend of St. Michael," which has been lost to the public, however, from the breaches in it, but which I presume to recover by mending the breaches, because it then lends us important information. I repeat it as it stands in print, and place to it my own reading, being all applied to the Mount: "..... (it) was and (standing) ons (ons) V. miles (fro) the sea."‡ My reading speaks for itself, I think, and rescues from the shades of night a circumstance uncommonly striking in the history of the Mount, that it was formerly no less than FIVE MILES from the sea. But we can happily confirm the circumstance, by an evidence which has not an atom of conjecture in its composition, is all clear and certain, yet carries the distance to a still greater length. "The space of ground upon "St. Michael's Mount," we are informed by Worcestre himself, and from the same legend assuredly, "is two hundred cubits, surrounded on all sides by the ocean," at flood-tide; "the place "aforesaid WAS ORIGINALLY INCLOSED WITH A VERY THICK WOOD, distant from the ocean "SIX miles, AFFORDING THE FINEST SHELTER FOR WILD BEASTS."§ The fact, however astonishing, is placed beyond all reach of doubt by the concurrent evidences of the name, the charter, and two authors; each varying sufficiently from each, to shew it is not one evidence multiplied into many by a mere echo; yet all combining into one general testimony, about the distance of the Mount from the sea originally. And a tradition comes in as an intermediate link in this strong chain of evidence, to mark the progress of the sea's subsequent encroachments about their halfway point; an opinion still prevailing very lively among the inhabitants of Penzance, that "persons could once walk directly from the Mount to Newlyn," so crossing the body of the Bay on foot in a line obliquely, from north-east to south-west.

This grand encroachment of the water upon the land, results plainly from a preponderance of the Atlantick upon the shores of Britain; occasioned, perhaps, by a proportional recession from the shores of America. It is this preponderance which has thrown such a volume of waters upon the Sylley Isles, as leaves only their mountains to appear for them, so has broken the ten isles of Strabo into a hundred and forty islets.|| It is this preponderance too, which has swept away "the Island Silura" of Solinus, beginning then, as appears at once from the very name still through so many ages attached to the barren rock of *Sylley*, in a promontory now the most north-westerly of all the islets, stretching thence in a long range through Brehar, Trescaw, and Samson; St. Helen's, Theon, St. Martin's, and St. Mary's; Annet, St. Agnes, Guew, and the eastern islands, towards the shore of Britain; even "separated by a *strait*" only, a sea narrow in itself, and "a turbulent" one, because of its narrowness, "from the shore of the Dumnonii," or the coast

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* Monasticon i. 551. "Sanctum Michaellem qui est juxta mare."

† Borlase's Scilley Isles, 94.

‡ Itin. vii. 118.

§ P. 102. "Spacium loci Montis Sancti Michaelis est ducentorum cubitorum, undique oceano cinctum: predictus locus "crassissima primò claudabatur sylva, ab oceano miliaribus distans sex, aptissimam prebens latebram ferarum."

|| Strabo iii. 265. Amstel. Αἱ δὲ κασσίεριδες δεκά πέν εἰσι, καί τιναι δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων.

coast of Cornwall, a "strait" now expanded into a sea of twenty-seven miles in width.* And it is this preponderance, finally, which has "plunged in the sea the" many "parish-churches," that Worcestre avers to have previously "flood betwixt the Mount and Syllly."† Yet the general fact is one of those events in the annals of Cornwall, which seem too miraculous for the sober faith of historians, and are therefore thrown aside by the sceptical inquirer, as the fiction of fabulous, or the foolery of dubious history. But the evidence here adduced from Worcestre, Solinus, and Strabo, proves it to be historically true; and tradition comes in with a powerful voice, lisping perhaps a little at times, yet still powerful in general, to corroborate the verdict of history. "The encroaching sea," cries Carew, "hath ravined from Cornwall THE WHOLE COUNTRIE OF LIONNESSE;—and that such a *Lionnesse* there was, these proofes are yet remaining. The space between the Land's End and the Isles of Scilly, being about thirtie miles, to this day retaineth that name" of *Lionnesse*, "in Cornish" very differently, "*Lethowfow*; and carrieth continually an equall depth of fortie or sixtie fathom, (a thing not usual in the sea's proper dominion); save that about the midway there lieth a rocke, which at low water discovereth his head. They terme it the Gulfe," a rock actually lying to the south-south-west of the Land's End, distant eight miles and a half.—"FisHERMEN also, casting their hookes *therabouts*, have drawn up pieces of doores and windowes."‡ The memory of this extraordinary sort of fishery, still remains impressed upon the minds of the Cornish near it; the inhabitants of the Land's End repeating the story to me, there. Nor can we, whatever weight we may assign to Carew's circumstances and reasons, for a moment doubt the existence of the tradition itself. "That this promontory," notes Camden, for his time concerning the Land's End, but inaccurately speaks of continuance, when he means a re-commencement, "thrust itself out farther to the west, is believed by the inhabitants," as it is equally believed by them now, "and from remains drawn up," meaning the pieces of windows and doors above, "is affirmed by the sailors; and that the land there covered with the overflowing sea was from I know not what fable denominated *Lionnesse*, is asserted by the natives."§ The existence of the tradition is thus demonstrated again. "To which opinion of the promontory's reaching further," adds Gibson from the private information of Dr. Musgrave of Devonshire, but with Camden's inaccuracy of language unconsciously repeated, "these hints may, perhaps, contribute something of probability: that about the middle way between Land's End and Scilly

¶ Cap. xxii. "Siluram—insulam ab ora, quam gens Britanna Dumnonii tenent, turbidum fretum distinguit." For the breadth of the channel now, see Borlase's Scilly Isles, p. 126, and for the number of the islets, p. 88. Dr. Borlase, who, from an astonishing contractedness of reading, knew nothing of this very remarkable passage in Solinus, observes, in order to account for the name, "that the promontory—now called Scilly Island, lying the westmost of all the high lands," when the argument requires it should lie the most south-westerly, and the fact is, that it really lies the most north-westerly, "was the first of all these islands discerned by traders from the Mediterranean and Spanish coasts;" when such traders never see the rock of Scilly at all; when the light-house is on St. Agnes, at a distance from and almost directly to the south of Scilly; when Sir Cloudfley Shovel, particularly, coming from those very "Spanish coasts" as from that very "Mediterranean," ran upon the rocks to the south-west of St. Agnes, "and as soon as discovered was said to be Scilly," when confessedly it could have been so called only as part of an island so called before, when St. Agnes or St. Mary's must have been so called if this reasoning was true, and when the reasoning is all as false as the geography, the rock not receiving its name from the accidental traders of the Spanish or any other coasts, but from the island of which it was once the terminating prominence to the north-west. And from this island it is, that all the isles are called "Insulæ de Sully," or "Insulæ Sullie," or "Insulæ Sullie," in records (p. 60, 107, 115, 116); the greater island denominating all the lesser, and the lesser being considered as satellites to the greater.

† P. 102. "Ecclesiæ parochiales inter istum Montem et Syllly submersæ."

‡ F. 3.

§ Camden 136. "Hoc promontorium se in oceanum immisisse, tradunt incolæ, et ex rudetibus extractis affirmant nautæ; terramque ibi, insulo mari ado pertam Lionnesse (ex nescio quâ fabulâ) dictam fuisse, accolæ asseverant."

"Scilly, there are rocks called in Cornish *Lethas*," the *Lethersow* of Carew, "by the English *Seven Stones*; and the Cornish call that place within the stones, *Treg-va*, i. e. a dwelling; where," Dr. Musgrave thus fixing the precise spot, "it has been reported, that windows and other stuff," as pieces of doors, "have been taken up with hooks (for that is the best place for fishing): that from the Land's End to Scilly is an equal depth of water," as Carew also observes there is an equal depth of forty or sixty fathoms, a strange sort of equality! when the argument, if true, would prove nothing, and when in truth the water is about eleven fathoms at the Land's End, eight at the Longships, twenty along the north-side of them, and thirty on the north or south sides, with twenty-five, twenty-one, fifteen in the middle, all the way (I believe) up to St. Martin's head directly west.* The reality of the tradition, however, is thus demonstrated again. To these testimonies, therefore, I shall only add one more, Dr. Borlase's. "That there existed formerly," cries the Doctor, "such a country as the Lionesse, stretching from the Land's End to Scilly Isles; "is much talked of in our parts.—Mr. Carew argues from the plain and level surface of the bottom "of the channel, that it must at one time have been a plain extended above the sea;" when Carew only talks of an equality of ground "not usual in the sea's proper dominion," and when this equality professedly leaps from forty to sixty fathoms.† "In the family of Trevilian, now resident in Somerset, but originally Cornish, they have a story that one of their ancestors saved himself by the help of his horse, at the time when this Lionesse was destroyed; and the arms of the family were taken, as 'tis said, from this fortunate escape.‡ Some fishermen also have insisted, that in the channel betwixt the Land's End and Scilly, many fathoms under water, there "are the tops of houses and other remains of habitations."§ Where in the channel these tops of houses, and these other remains of habitations, are affirmed by the fishermen to be, Dr. Borlase has not told us. But they are fixed by them undoubtedly, where Carew says the fishermen of his time drew up pieces of doors and windows; where Musgrave equally reports the fishermen of his time, to say windows and other stuff have been taken up; and where, he adds, is the best place for fishing, though the Cornish call it *Treg-va*, or a Dwelling. The fish now form their beds in the houses certainly, in a town probably, of the old inhabitants; that is said by the Cornish to be at the Land's End; that is equally said by an eminent antiquary of Cornwall to have been deno-

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minated

* Gibson II. and the charts.

† Yet Mr. Gough, in his usual servility to Dr. Borlase, paging humbly at his heels, and "worshipping the very shadow of his shoe-tye," says with him; that "from the Land's End to Scilly, is an equal depth of water, and the bottom of the sea a plain level surface." (1, 11, 12.)

‡ Pryce under *Vulgy* the sea remarks thus: "Mr. Gwavas doth from hence (and I think not improperly) derive the name of Trevilian, the dwelling of the seamen; according to the old tradition and arms of the family of Sir John Trevilian." But under *Chuyryan* he thus transfers the event to a very different family: "from hence the family *Pyryan* is supposed to take its name," as he interprets *Chuyryan* to escape, to flee, "for fleeing on a white horse from Lioness, when it was overflown, that person being at that time governor thereof; in memory whereof this family gives a lion for its arms, and a white horse ready caparisoned for the crest." This is a tale derived from the arms, while the very arms themselves pretend to be derived from the tale. It is a mis-application made by antiquaries and etymologists, of that original story concerning Trevilian; which is "a tradition, that at the time of the inundation Trevilyan swam from thence, and in memory thereof bears gules an horse argent issuing out of the sea proper." (Gibson II.) All the while Trevilian must have been a personal name antecedent to the event, and signifies merely the Mill-house as a local name.

§ Scilly Isles, 92, 93. As Mr. Carew has confounded the *Seven Stones* with the Gulf-rock, so has Dr. Borlase done in one place; placing, p. 90, "the Gulph-rock midway betwixt Penzance and Scilly," but, p. 93, fixing "the Wolf ledge of rocks" as "midway between both," between "the shores in Scilly and the neighbouring shores in Cornwall."

minated the *City of Lyons*.* Thus do remains, tradition, and positive history, all combine their powers together, irresistibly to prove an extraordinary pressure of the Atlantick, upon the Isles of Sylley and the continent of Cornwall.†

But *when* did this commence? Dr. Borlase engages in the enquiry; yet begins it without hope, and ends it without satisfaction. "When this inundation happened," he confesses, "we may be willing to know, but must be without hopes of knowing with any certainty." He therefore, after some hesitation between the time of Plutarch, when he finds the isles round Britain, not *overflowed* (as his reasoning requires they should have been), but *un-peopled*, (a circumstance totally impertinent here); a great inundation of the sea in Britain itself, under the year 1014; and another in Suffex, under the reign of Edward the First; he pitches upon one in "the Irish annals," under 830, "which might probably have" both "affected the south of Ireland, and at the same time reached Scilly and the coast of Cornwall."‡ He thus beats about for the chronology of an event, when the chronology is plain from evidences at his foot. The ravages made by the sea are not, as they are naturally imagined at first, and as I once supposed them to have been,§ merely the silent encroachments and the slow depredations of the water upon the land; but, as tradition unites with history to show, a sudden impression given to the whole weight of the Atlantick, in sending it with a hasty violence upon our south-western coasts at one particular period, and in keeping it to bear with a regular violence upon them ever since. Thus all the low lands of Sylley were overwhelmed, by a burst of the sea at once; and the hills have been gradually corroded by the sea ever since.|| "Hence as the (southern) shore" of Cornwall "wheels round to the north," cries Camden, advancing eastward from the coast of Burian parish, "a lunar haven is formed that is denominated Mount's Bay; in which, says a prevailing tradition, the ocean breaking in with a violent course, drowned the land."¶ Yet St. Michael's Mount appears from the charter of the Confessor, to have been only "near" the sea then. The inundation might then have taken place, and the sea have begun the ravages that it has ever since been making. A portion of the original distance between the ocean and the Mount, might then have been overflowed; and the Mount brought so "near to" the sea, as to have no longer six or five, or perhaps four miles interposing between them. But the sea has ever since been working so powerfully

* Mr. Gwavas, in a letter from Penzance, 12th April, 1735, to Mr. Tonkin, now in my possession, writes thus: "Trevilian, the sea-towne, contracted into Trevilian; this, I think, agrees best with the historical part, relating to the family, that at an inundation, when Scilly was cut off," thrown off farther, "from the Land's End, he did swim on his horse in the sea, from the city of Lyons, then in being, and landed within Mount's Bay."

† The name of *Lethas*, or *Lethowsow*, naturally attracts the attention of an antiquary here. Yet it has never been attempted to be explained. Nor is an explanation easy. But I will venture upon one, to complete the evidence concerning the country of *Lioneffe*. *Lh'd-ymil* (Welsh) is the *coast* or *border* of a country (*Lhuyd* under *Ora*), *Leithe-meal* (Irish) is the same, *Llydaw* (Welsh and Cornish) of or belonging to a *shore*, *Llydaw* (Welsh) *Bretagne* in France, and *Armuir-lathana* in the middle ages (*Usher* 429), *Letewicion* (*Nunnius* xxiii), *Lidwiccium* (*Sax. Chron.* p. 88, 115), *Leteoc*, *Lati*, *Letavienfes* (*Usher* *ibid.*) the inhabitants of *Bretagne*. The island *Silura*, therefore, was called by the Cornish of the Land's End, just as *Bretagne* was called by all the Cornish and the Welsh, *Lhydaw*, *Lethas*, or *Lethowsow*, the *shore*. Looking upon it as immediately opposed to their eye, they denominated it the *shore* in general. Their ancestors had even carried this familiar use of the word so far, as to call the only coast of France to which they at first trafficked, that of *Bretagne*, by the same name of *Llydaw*, or the *shore*. So we have *Lethegas* at present, the name of some rocks immediately south of St. Agnes' Isle.

‡ Scilly Isles, 95, 99.

§ Hist. of Manchester, ii. 177, octavo.

|| Borlase's Scilly Isles, 88.

¶ Camden, 136. "Hinc sensim in Austrum circumactis littore," where *Austrum* is plainly a mis-print for *Boream*, though both Gibbon and Gough take the text as it stands, and so make Camden contradict the very geography of the coast, "sinus lunatus admittitur, Mount's Bay vocant; in quo oceanum, avido meatu irrudentem, terras demersisse fama obtinet."

erfully upon the land, as to have annihilated the whole of the distance at present, and to have drawn a good way within it's empire, what was previously five or six miles from it. We have even a hint of that irruption in a charter of Henry the First. The hint, indeed, is only incidental and slight. But we must not expect more upon such a subject. And, amidst the darkness in which we are involved, a single ray of light may serve to show us our path. Henry gives to the abbey of Tavistock "all the churches of Sullye, with their appertinances, and the land as ever the monks or the hermits IN A BETTER STATE held it, during the time of Edward the King, and of Burgald, the Bishop of Cornwall."* A reference is thus made to the *better state* of the isles, in the reign of the Confessor; and an intimation is thereby given of some incident, that had lately lowered the condition of the isles so much, as to leave a strong impression of its ravages upon the minds of the king's law-officers, and thence to force itself in one retrospective word into the king's charter. What deluge then is recorded upon the pages of our history, that will come near enough to the reign, and yet be important enough to produce † the effect? Two occur, and either of them is competent. One is marked by its ravages in Normandy, and the other by its destructiveness in Britain. Robert, Earl of Mortaign, as I have already shewn, under the year 1070, gave our St. Michael in Cornwall, as a cell to another in Normandy; and denominated the latter in this very significant manner, "the monks serving the holy church of St. Michael OF THE DANGER OF THE SEA."‡ This very extraordinary note of discrimination, which has (I believe) adhered to the monastery ever since, here appears so early as to form a second line of chronology; to unite with the notices concerning the isles or the bay before, in pointing out the existence of some grand inundation; and in showing this to have happened under the reign of the Confessor, to have particularly injured the Norman monastery, to have occasioned probably the adjunction of the Cornish to it, to have certainly attached that descriptive appellation to it, "St. Michael's of the danger of the sea." But we can illustrate this appellation, by a reference to a record still earlier; in the famous tapestry of Baieux, and during the reign of the Confessor, our Harold being represented as marching with the Norman William to MOUNT SAINT MICHAEL, there crossing the tide-river, and having many of the men in danger from the quicksands now there. "Hic Willelmus Dux," says the inscription, "et exercitus ejus, venerunt ad Montem Michaelis, et hic transierunt flumen Cosnonis, hic Haroldus Dux trahebat eos de arenâ." In the tapestry "Mount St. Michael," notes Mr. Lethieullier, "is represented by a castle upon a small hillock," rather by a lofty hill, like our own, crowned on the top, with a church within, a kind of castle wall around it; "the duke and his army appear on horseback;—being arrived at St. Michael, they were obliged to pass the river Cosnon, which by the frequent and violent "tides is filled with sand, from which it is difficult to get free." Two gentlemen of France, lately attempting to cross these sands, and having the usual guide to conduct them, the latter went just a little a head of them, exploring the sands with a pole, and trying whether they were quick or not. In this

* Monasticon i. 1002. "Omnes ecclesias de Sullye cum pertinentiis suis, et terram utcumque Monachi aut Hæremite melius eam tenuerunt tempore Regis Edwardi et Burgaldi, Episcopi Cornwalliæ."

† To my amazement, Dr. Borlase in his Scilly Isles, 101, recites the very charter of Henry, but leaves out the word "melius;" translating the clause thus, "the land as the monks or hermits held it in the time of Edward." To so little purpose are records consulted, when words can be omitted. That singularity of the term, which forms the very usefulness of it, was puzzling to the reader, and so was silently dropt by the writer.

‡ Monasticon i. 551. "Monachis ecclesiæ Sanctæ (Sancti) Michaelis de periculo maris."

this operation he fell into a quicksand before he was aware, and was instantly swallowed up before their eyes. "Passengers frequently perish there," also, adds Mr. Lethieullier, "when the tide returns, before they are able to extricate themselves. The horsemen are there represented" in the tapestry, "passing the river, and holding up their legs and their armour above the water," one on horseback drawing up his legs, two on foot holding up their shields, and a third having his shield on the margin as lost in the water; while "others are sinking in the sand," the horse of one falling headlong, and casting off his rider into the water, a second man struggling to rise from his fall upon his back; and "Harold, who was very tall and strong, is very busy in dragging them out," with his arms round the neck of a third man drawing him out of the sands, while this third man is holding the second by the wrist, and enabling him to rise. And that violence of the tides, which made this pass over the river at the foot of the Mount so dangerous with its quicksands, was productive assuredly of that danger to the Mount and its monastery, by corroding and undermining the yielding sides of the former, which gave the latter so early the appellation of "St. Michael's of the danger of the sea."* This carries us up to that inundation, which wears such a formidable appearance, even under the very general descriptions of our nearest historians.† "This year, on *St. Michael's mass-eve*," says the Saxon Chronicle, in 1014, "came that mickle sea flood widely through this land; and it ran up so far, as never at no time before; and it drowned MANY TOWNS, and MANKIND TOO INNUMERABLE TO BE COMPUTED." "The sea," remarks Marianus in Florence under 1014, "on the 3d of the Calends of October," or Michaelmas-day, when the Saxon Chronicle fixes it on the eve before, it beginning on the eve, and proceeding on the feast, "*swells beyond its shores, and in England*," a specification that intimates the deluge to have been equally on the coast of France, "buried in the waves VERY MANY TOWNS, and AN INNUMERABLE MULTITUDE OF PEOPLE."‡ This account is still stronger than the preceding. But I shall subjoin a third, still stronger than either. "The same year," we hear from Malmesbury, "that sea flood which the Greeks call Euripus, and we Ledo, SWELLED OUT IN SO WONDERFUL A MANNER, that NO MEMORY OF MAN CAN EQUAL IT; COVERING TOWNS AT THE DISTANCE OF MANY MILES, and DROWNING THE INTERCEPTED INHABITANTS OF THEM."§ We thus account for the damage done to Normandy. Let us, therefore, now turn to Britain.¶ "In the twelfth year of the reign of Rufus, notes Malmesbury concerning another flood, but notes the violence of it in a partial manner only, "A SEA-FLOOD CAME up the river Thames, and BURIED MANY TOWNS with THE MEN OF THEM."|| This is sufficiently descriptive of the general violence, but confines it seemingly to the

* Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, Appendix 10, 11, and plate.

† Florence, 382. "Mare litus egreditur tertio Cal. Octobris, et in Angliâ villas quam plurimas, innumerabilemque populi multitudinem, submersit." Hoveden, f. 248. Savile uses exactly the same words. So does Simeon Dunelmensis 17. Twifden. Huntingdon 207. Savile. "Addidit autem Dominus malis solitis malum insolitum; mare namque, ascendens felito superius, villas cum populo submersit innumero." Brompton 892. Twifden repeats the very words.

‡ Malmesbury, 39. "Eodem anno, fluctus marinus quem Græce Euripum, nos Ledonem vocamus, mirum in modum exerevit, quantum nulla hominum memoria potest attingere; ita ut villas ultra multa millia submergeret, et habitatores interceptos necaret."

§ Spelman shews from Bede, that the spring-tide was called *Malina* in the middle ages, and the neap-tide *Ledo*. He derives the latter from the Saxon *leid*, now *lithe*, gentle; as June and July were called *lida* by the Saxons, according to Bede, because they were months of gentleness. And he therefore wonders at Malmesbury using the term here, for it's opposite the spring-tide. But all the language of Malmesbury here is culpable. He uses the neap for a spring-tide, he puts an arm of the sea for a sea-ride, and he talks of a neap when he is describing a spring of singular violence.

|| Malmesbury, 70. "Duodecimo anno fluctus marinus per Tamesim fluvium ascendit, et villas multas cum hominibus submersit."

the south-eastern points of the island. Let us see, therefore, how another historian describes it, who equally with the former lived at the time, and speaks of it in terms as general as we may be sure its violence was. "On the third of the Nones of November," cries Florence of Worcester concerning the 11th of that month, in 1099, THE SEA COMES OUT UPON THE SHORE, and buried TOWNS AND MEN VERY MANY, OXEN AND SHEEP INNUMERABLE.* This account is much more circumstantial than the other, and is very comprehensive in itself. Yet let us see a third, that is still more circumstantial and comprehensive. "This year eke," we hear the Saxon Chronicle relating, under 1099, "on St. Martin's mass day," the 11th of November, "SPRANG UP SO MUCH THE SEA-FLOOD, and so MYCKLE HARM DID, AS NO MAN MINDED THAT IT EVER AFORE DID; and there was this ylk day A NEW MOON."† This then is such an inundation, as answers all our expectations; as is competent to overwhelm all the low grounds of Scilly, to burst in at the mouth of the Mount's Bay, and to cover the lands on every side of it for miles. It bore in a violent course up the British Channel, beat back in a violent manner the flood from the German ocean, and compelled it to push in a violent tide up the Thames particularly. But one intimation in the Saxon Chronicle carries us still further, in saying the "sea-flood—so myckle harm did, as no man minded that it ever afore did;" the flood of 1099 being thus exalted in magnificence of mischief, over that of 1014. At the distance only of 85 years, some probably remained to see the latter inundation, who had beheld the former; and the Chronicle, which speaks of both so distinctly, speaks plainly of the latter as the more formidable of the two. It even assigns a physical reason for the superiority of terribleness in this to that, the sea-floods coming on the very day of a new moon. The express reference also in a charter of the first Henry, to the "better state" of the Scilly Isles during the reign of the Confessor; compels us to take this flood in preference to that, as not only more formidable, but as *since* the reign of the Confessor, and *just before* the reign of Henry. We have thus found at last a cause adequate to the effect, an historical cause adequate to the visible effect, an historical account of what our ancestors suffered severely at the moment, to what even a charter just afterwards transiently refers, and what even *we* feel sensibly at present. The charter is dated in 1114, only *fifteen* years after the dreadful calamity.‡

Yet *how*, *how* was this astonishing phenomenon produced? Was it by a subsidence of the land, or by an elevation of the water? Dr. Borlase refers it to the former. Noting some ruins and stone hedges

* Vigornienfis, 469. "Tertio non. Novembris mare littus egreditur, et villas et homines quam plures, boves et oves innumeras, demersit."

† Sax. Chron. p. 207.

‡ Monasticon i. 1002. "Apud Bornam in transitu." This appears from Saxon Chronicle, p. 218, to have been in September 1114, as on the 17th of the calends of October. September the 15th, the King was at Bourne, intending to embark for France, but was detained there by bad weather. Dr. Borlase, in his Scilly Isles, 97, "thinks the catastrophe of these islands cannot be placed, even so late as this," or even so late as 1014; "for the monks being placed here, either by Athelstan in the year 938, or soon after," a point of history never attempted to be proved by the Doctor! "nothing of this kind could have happened, but it would have appeared somewhere or other in the papers of Tavistock Abbey," an abbey instantly confessed to have not been founded in the days of Athelstan! "at least, if the monks of Scilly were united to that abbey at its first foundation in the year 961," twenty years after the death of Athelstan, and (as the monastery appears from its own annals to have been actually founded in 981, Tanner), forty years after that death. But Dr. Borlase not only does not prove what he takes for his main ground-work, the settlement of Tavistock monks in Scilly by Athelstan, or soon after him. He doubts the truth of it above. He doubts it again in 100, 101, thus: "whether Scilly was included in the foundation of the Abbey of Tavistock in the year 961, is (I think) uncertain." But, as his judgment strengthens and his courage warms, he disproves his own assertion, and tears up his own ground-work. "Henry the First," he then cries, p. 101, "grants, does not confirm (which was the usual," and indeed necessary "expression, when houses or revenues had before been granted) to Oibert, abbot of Tavistock, all the churches of Scilly, with," &c.

hedges that have been seen in the Sylley Isles on the shifting of the sands, and that "have now ten feet water above the foundations of their hedges, although at a reasonable medium we cannot suppose these foundations formerly to have been less than six feet above high-water level, when the lands were dry, arable or pasture grounds;" he concludes thus: "we must therefore either allow that these lands, since they were cultivated and built upon, *have sunk so much lower than they were before*; or else we must allow, that since these lands were fenced and cultivated, and the houses and other works now under water (constructed upon them), *the whole ocean has been raised, as to its surface, sixteen feet and more perpendicular*; which latter will appear to the learned, without doubt, much the *harder of the two*."* But this conclusion appears loaded with difficulties astonishingly great, and at the same time proves incompetent to the work of solution. That the whole mass of the Sylley Isles, of the shores of Cornwall, and (as we must add) of the opposite shores of Normandy, should all be depressed by any one shock of an earthquake below the level of the sea adjoining, even sixteen or more feet perpendicular below this level; is a supposition so ponderous, massy, and gigantick, as to stagger the stoutest faith. The earthquake, that could produce such a mighty convulsion, must have shaken all Britain to its centre, and been recorded indelibly in the published terrors of the whole nation. Nor is the cause, however portentous and incredible in itself, at all adequate to the effect produced. This effect is not merely a sudden inundation made some centuries ago, but the gradual encroachments of the sea in consequence of that. For these we must account, as well as for that. A subsidence, therefore, that is competent to the generation of both, must be actually at work in the present moments, actually depressing the ground at this very moment, actually sinking it under our very feet now. This argument reduces the supposition to the last extreme of absurdity; and compels us to seek out another cause, even the natural, the obvious, and indeed the only remaining cause, in the violent bearing at one time, and in the silent pressing ever since, of the ocean upon our shores. Occasioned, perhaps, by some slight inclination of the globe, that threw its aqueous parts in a sudden projection to the east, and that keeps them tending to the east still; the Atlantic has been for ages withdrawing from the shore of America, I believe, and for ages encroaching certainly upon the shores of Europe. We know when it began, from its ravages then made upon the coast of Cornwall particularly; and we feel it operating in its corrosiveness upon the coast of Cornwall, to the present period. This hypothesis satisfactorily accounts both for the present and for the past, for the facts that occur in history, and for the appearances that salute our eyes. We now read too with fuller conviction, what we have heard just before; that "about halfway between Chyendower and Marazion, in the road from Penzance to the east, about three hundred yards below high-water mark, and near to the line of low-water, were seen a few years ago by Mr. Giddy, an eminent surgeon of Penzance, and since seen by one of his sons, upon an extraordinary recession of the tide, several stumps of trees in *their native soil*;" a soil consequently no more depressed under the water by an earthquake, than the general beach of the sea is at every tide of ebb; "with the roots shooting out from them, and the stems apparently cut off." Even Dr. Borlase himself shall help us, as I have previously promised he should, to a similar discovery; he informing us in the very work which advances this extravagant hypothesis, "that on the

* Scilly Isles, 89, 91.

"the beach betwixt the Mount and the town and Penzance, when the sands have been dispersed and drawn out into the sea, *I have seen the trunks,*" he means the *stumps*, "of several large trees in their natural position;" a position not sunk into a cavity towards the land, as it must have been, if torn from it by violence and depressed under water by an earthquake, but even when cleared of its incumbent sands, and reduced to its original inclination, lying in a slope from the land to the water; "as well as I can recollect, *worn smooth,*" but more probably, like those above upon the same beach, *cut off*, "above their roots; upon which, at full tide, there must be twelve feet of water," and on the land-side of which ought consequently to be an elevation of twelve feet of soil, with as many more as the soil originally rose above high-water mark.*—But I push not the doctor's hypothesis any farther: I have already shewn it to be assailable on every side. The earth, a heavy inert mass of matter, has plainly been passive in the convulsion; while the flexible fluid, equally vigorous and insinuating, has been let loose upon the earth, to break through the opposed barriers of nature at first in one sudden storm of violence, and to carry on its encroachments in a silent kind of sap afterwards. Accordingly, in the historical account of that storm, we have no earthquake mentioned, no subsidence of the ground noticed, nothing noticed or mentioned but the sea's ascent over all its antient limits, the sea's irruption of many miles into the land, the sea's absorption of men and towns in its waters.†

V. I now come to St. Michael's Mount.—Why this archangel, the certain leader of the good angels against Lucifer and the bad, the probable successor to Lucifer's pre-eminence of place on the expulsion of the latter from heaven, should have been supposed in the various parts of Christendom, to have shown himself repeatedly to human eyes *on the summits of hills*; I can attribute only to his known elevation of rank, and to a supposed correspondency of a hill as his station with it,——

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* Scilly Isles, 94.

† Dr. Borlase, in 93, urges, as one argument for the encroachments of the sea here, that "the principal anchoring-place is called a *Lake*," Gwavas Lake, "but is now an open harbour." The argument is nothing in itself. *Lake*, in its native import, signifies only water. We have the *Shire-lake* at Oxford, for a current dividing Oxfordshire from Berkshire, (Wood's Hist. of Oxford City, by Sir John Peshall, 258, &c.) We have the *Pool*, for a part of the Thames at London, *Pool* the harbour in Dorsetshire, Helen's *Pool* for a harbour in the doctor's own Scilly Isles, p. 50, and those arms of the sea the *Loughs*, *Locks*, or *Lakes* of Ireland, or the highlands. The doctor also argues in 90, to prove a subsidence of the ground here, that "on the isle of Annet, there are large stones now covered by every full-tide, which have *rock-basins* cut in their surface, and which, therefore, must have been placed in a much higher situation, when those basins, in other places generally so high, and probably of superstitious use for receiving the waters of heaven, were worked into them." I believe the basins to have been wrought merely by the rains, and the "superstitious use" of them to have been merely made by antiquarianism. But, even if the basins were wrought for superstition originally, even if placed in positions "generally so high," yet the elevation of the sea will just as well account for the water's covering them at present, as the subsidence of the shore. In this view, Mahomet's approach to the mountain is just as effectual as the mountain's approach to Mahomet. But the Doctor adds from Heath, that "a person, taking a survey of the *Channel* in the year 1742, took one of his stations at low water upon this" the Gulph "rock; where he observed a cavity like a brewer's copper, with rubbish at the bottom, without being able to assign a cause for its coming there." A cause may easily be assigned. The rock before the inundation was inhabited, and the cavity was the cellar of a house, since worked round "like a brewer's copper" in the bottom, by the settlement of "rubbish" in it, and by the sea's agitation of the rubbish around it; just as pebbles on the beach are all rounded by the sea, and by each other. But mine is too easy a solution for Dr. Borlase. "This could be no other than a rock-basin," he cries; "and consequently this rock is greatly *sunk*, by being now entirely covered with the sea, at least nine hours in twelve." The antiquary thus joins with the play-wright, in striving to *elevate and to surprize*, to elevate by extravagance of fancy, and to surprize by extremes of folly. In a *cavern* within St. Mary's, the principal of the Sylley Isles, which is called Piper's Hole, "a little distance from the entrance *within*, appear some *rock-basins*, continually running over with fresh water, descending as it distils from the sides of the rocky passage," consequently distilling from the earth above. (Survey of the Scilly Islands, un-dated, but published about 1795, by Mr. Troutback, chaplain of the isles.)

A station, like the herald Mercury's,
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill.

Yet so the fact is. "The first appearance of St. Michael," as Worcestre informs us, from that best of authorities assuredly, the old legend, "was on Mount Garganus, in the kingdom of Apulia, "within the year of Christ 391."* But "the second appearance," he adds, "was about the "year of our Lord 710, on the TOMB in Cornwall NEAR TO THE SEA."† Yet where in Cornwall was this tomb? It is the present Mount of St. Michael there; we having already seen this described in a charter of the Confessor, as "near to the sea;" and Worcestre in another place speaking expressly of "the appearance of St. Michael on the MOUNTAIN TOMB, that was before "called Le Hore-rok in the Wodd."‡ And the French aver a third to have been made, on their St. Michael's Mount in Normandy.§

To that in Cornwall, not as known from any sources of information visited by Worcestre, but merely as notified by Camden from the intelligence of the monks here;|| are these lines of Lycidas pointed by Milton:

Sleep'ft by the fable of Belerus old,
Where THE GREAT VISION OF THE GUARDED MOUNT
Looks tow'rd Numancos and Bayona's hold.

As "the great vision" alludes to this very vision of St. Michael, so is "the guarded mount" an apposite designation of a mount, so castellated and so garrisoned, as Camden shews this to have been.¶ But then Milton, in a poetical inattention to historical proprieties, has confounded the latter times with the former, and carried up the military use of the Mount into the days of the archangel's appearance. What is still more, though equally un-observed by the criticks upon this poem, Milton has again confounded St. Michael's Mount with the Land's End; in his hint concerning "the fable of Belerus old," glancing at the *Belerium* or Land's End, yet fixing this "where the great vision of the guarded mount" is, and then giving St. Michael's Mount the very position of the Land's End. "The inhabitants" here, as Camden informed Milton, "report a "watch-tower to have been formerly built" upon the extremest rocks, "and to have pointed out "the course to navigators by lighted fires."*† This, as Camden equally informed Milton, "was "undoubtedly a watch-tower *over-against Spain*, since Orosius has told us "of a very lofty Pharos "erected at Brigantia in Gallicia—as a watch-tower against Britain."†§ But Milton takes the notices and confounds them. He transfers the Mount to the Land's End, and makes *it* the "watch-tower over-against Spain." The watch-tower, we see, *is* said to look towards *Spain*; but the Mount actually looks toward *France*, its deep bay opening *directly* to the *south*. Yet

D 2

Milton

* P. 102. "Prima apparicio Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano, in regno Apuliæ, fuit anno Christi 391."

† Ibid. ibid. "Secunda apparicio fuit circa annum Domini 710 in Tumbâ, in Cornubiâ, juxta mare."

‡ Ibid. ibid. "Apparicio Sancti Michaelis in Monte Tumbâ, antea vocatâ Le Hore-rok in the Wodd."

§ Camden 137. "Quod ad suum Garganum Itali, et ad suum Michaelis montem in Normanniâ Galli, cartatim rapiunt."

|| Ibid. ibid. "Monacho uni et alteri construxit [ecclesiam Edwardus, not (as Camden says) *Gulielmus*] for Robert Cornwalliæ et Moritonii Comes,"] qui Michaellem eo monte apparuisse prodiderunt."

¶ Ibid. ibid.

*† Ibid. 136.

†§ Ibid. ibid. "Ad speculam proculdubio Hispaniæ, ut Orosius 'Brigantiæ Galliciæ altissimam Pharum—ad speculam "Britanniæ erectam" fuisse prodidit."

Milton has made a still greater mistake here. The light-house at the Land's End was opposed to one at "Brigantia in Galicia," to the light-house still remaining at Corunna, in Spain, to the only point of Spain that can be said to oppose the Land's End of Britain, being the *north-western* extremity of the whole region; yet Milton, with the rash hand of ignorance, has transferred it to a point at the *north-eastern* extremity, to a point not possible to be described as opposite to any part of Britain, to a point buried in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, to a point *not in Spain*, but in France. So little of an antiquary, so little even of a geographer, was Milton at the writing of this poem, and in the twenty-ninth year of his age! So very inaccurate could he even then be, in his learned references, though so fond of them through life, and though betraying his fondness for them so early here! *

In this account of "the great vision," our Mount appears to have been popularly denominated the Tomb, or the MOUNTAIN TOMB, by the Cornish. The appearance attracted the name; the mount rising up like a vast barrow, *Twmphath* (Welsh) signifying a hillock, a knap, a *tump*, *Tuma* (Irish) meaning a sepulchre or tomb, and a round mount or barrow near Bala, in Merionethshire, being called *Tommen y Bala*, or the Barrow of Bala, at this day. †

In consequence of this vision upon our Barrow Mount, a cell or cells of monks are sure to have been established immediately on the ground. "We" accordingly "find" by the light lent us from the torch of Worcestre, "Monks ANTIENTLY serving the Lord in this place."‡ But, as Worcestre adds, "a religious Monk of the place, whose name was Aubert, and whose rank was afterwards that of an abbot in France, induced the Confessor to build a church here in honour of St. Michael."§ And from this notice we learn to read in a fuller sense of the words, than we could give to them before; that the Confessor "delivered to St. Michael the Archangel, for the use of the brethren" or friars "serving God in the same place, St. Michael" the mount and the church "which is near to the sea."||

I

* The light-house of Corunna is plainly the Pharos of Brigantia, so strikingly distinguished by Orosius as over against the light-house of Britain. It is called the Iron Tower at Corunna, 192 feet high, and supposed to be Pompey's or Hercules's Tower. The reader will easily determine between the two claimants. From a drawing now before me, and given me by my very worthy friend the Rev. Mr. Lyne, of Lefkard, the tower appears to be square in the Roman part of it, 120 feet high, with a double buttress at each angle, and a kind of *bandeau* for the stair-case, crossing each face five times, at regular distances. There are two doors at the bottom, over either of which is a modern inscription, one in Latin, the other in Spanish, to witness the design of the building at first, and its reparation in 1790. The former thus states it to have been, what I have stated it in my text above; "collegium mercator. *Gallaecia*. Navigantium incolumitati reparationem vetustissimæ ad Brigantiam Phari," or (as the Spanish calls it) "*antiquo faro de la Corunna*." On a rock below is this original inscription, barely legible: "Martii 9 Aug. Sacr. C. Sevias Lupus Architectus A. T. inienfis," Nardiniem, in Ptolemy II. 6. p. 44, Nardinium, "Lusitanus, ex voto." The door with the Latin inscription opens to the stair-case, that with the Spanish to a guard-room. An oval wall runs round the whole, and incloses a small house built over a piece of rock, upon one side of which is the original inscription. The communication of the emperor's name to Mars, is not very rare in inscriptions. One occurs in Switzerland. (Course of Hannibal over the Alps ascertained i. 147). But how loosely must have sat upon the minds of the heathens, all reverence for their gods, when they could thus place their gods in the same parity of reverence only with their emperors! And the mention of Augustus shews, that Pompey was no more the builder of the tower than Hercules, it being built in the reign of one of the emperors, and of the first of them, probably, that was called Augustus. As to *Namancos*, all the commentators shewed their ignorance in their silence. I am content to own mine. But I suppose it to be some town that Milton, in his great learning, found near Bayonne, unless, in his great learning, he meant *Betancos* as the modern name for Brigantia, thus pointed at all the northern coast of Spain, and only missed the right name by his printer's mistake.

† Gibson's Camden, 793.

‡ Worcestre, 102. "In quo loco olim comperimus monachos Domino servientes."

§ Ibid. ibid.

|| Monasticon i. 551. "Tradidi Sancto Michaeli Archangelo, in usum Fratrum Deo servientium in eodem loco, Sanctum Michaellem qui est juxta mare."

I have thus shown a Mount, which was covered with a thick wood from its base to its summit, which yet showed its gray head above the tops of the trees, which thus spired up like a conical but giantick barrow, and was used for a Hill of Prospect towards the sea, or towards the land; to have been at the distance of five or six miles from the sea, but to have harboured wild beasts in its shades. In this state it was, when St. Michael the Archangel was believed to have made his appearance upon the summit of it. Then the wild beasts began to be dislodged, as monks came to people its desert. These were at last united into a college, and furnished with a church at the top. But the wild beasts had been extirpated before, as a town had arisen upon the base of the Mount. And to all the evils of society, which were now introduced into this solitude, the animosity of man to man, turning the Mount into a castle, and generating battles upon its sides; was added the dreadful calamity, of the sea bursting in upon the land, swallowing up in time all the space of ground up to the very foot of the Mount, and now dashing its wild waves in storms against the very rocks of it.*

* "Long before this," says Dr. Borlase concerning the erection of a collegiate church upon the top of the Mount, "this place seems renowned for its sanctity, and therefore *must* (according to the custom of the first ages of christianity) have been dedicated to religion." Dr. Borlase did not know, *why* and *when* this Mount became "renowned for its sanctity." He knew not of the reported appearance of St. Michael upon it, though Camden knew. He therefore wanders away in the wildness of fabulous history, into a strangely remote period of the past. "For St. Kayne or Kayna, a holy virgin of the blood royal, daughter of Braganus, Prince of Brecknockshire, is said to have gone a pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. Now this saint lived in the fifth century, and, it is not at all improbable, that she should come this pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount; a fact, farther confirmed by the legend of St. Cadoc, (though disfigured by fable), who, according to Capgrave, (fol. 418) made a pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount, there saw and conversed with St. Kayne; from which it appears, that this place was dedicated to religion, at least as anciently as the latter end of the fifth century." p. 385, 386, Antiquities. The erroneousness of all this is apparent already, though Mr. Gough, p. 13, with a "popish implicitness of faith," adopts the errors of his saint for gospel truths. St. Michael's Mount became renowned for "its sanctity," only from the believed appearance of St. Michael upon the summit of it, in or about the year 710. And any idea of "pilgrimages" to it, must not only be posterior to this period of its sanctity, but even posterior to the privilege conceded to "pilgrimages" by Pope Gregory in 1070, even posterior to the publication of the privilege in all the churches of the kingdom about the year 1400; when the publication gave birth to "pilgrimages," and when these grew so popular all over the kingdom, as to make writers ignorant of their late rise refer them back to distant ages.

P E N Z A N C E.

THIS town originally rose from a few fishermen settling near the present pier, and building themselves a chapel dedicated to St. Anthony, that universal patron of fishermen. The chapel continued within these three years, when it was rebuilt into a fish cellar. It was only small, however, but had the statue of its saint in a niche. Tradition preserved the name of the saint, and antiquarianism has saved the statue of him. It is merely a bust, and of alabaster.

So begun, the town by degrees extended up the hill, from the site of the pier, to the ground of the church, at present. Yet when did it thus begin? For ascertaining this, we want dates. But let us apply what we have, and then observe the result.

When the town had extended up the side of the hill, a fort was built by one of the Tieis, whom tradition recognizes as lords of the town, one of whom, Henry, a baron, is known to have been lord of Alwerton, now Alverton, in the manour of which the town now stands, and to have obtained the right of a market for Mousehole from *the First Edward*.^{*} The same baron probably constructed this fort. Yet the very existence of the fort is attested only, by the name attached to the site, and by the aspect of the site itself. In Henry's Valor the present chapel is thus described, "BURRITON alias Penzance, chapel to Madern." This name tells to every antiquarian ear, the existence of a castle here; *Bury* or *Burg*, *Bury-ton* or *Burg-ton*, in every part of the kingdom, attesting their own rise as towns from castles as their parents. And the quality of the ground coincides closely, with the import of the name; the site of the chapel being a small round eminence, rising several feet in height towards the pier, standing at the head of the street, and commanding it, with the pier, or St. Anthony's chapel, effectually. It has even communicated its own name to the town, and thus shows itself to have been prior to the town in general; the town being now denominated in its formal title, "the burgh of the town or vill of BURRYTON, alias "Pensance."[†] Nor was it in existence as a chapel to the town, when the Valor of 1291 was composed; "the church of St. Madern" being noticed as "cvi. S. viii. D." and no chapel noticed, as in Henry's Valor, belonging to it.[‡] There was then, probably, no fort constructed here by Henry, baron de Tieis, and consequently no chapel within it for the garrison; though Edward the First had now reigned nineteen of his thirty-four years. But a chapel and a fort were erected assuredly, in the remaining fifteen; took the *English* appellation of Burryton, from the English baron who erected them; and with a market, now assuredly obtained equally as for Mousehole, served

^{*} Camden 136. "Cui jus mercatus obtinuit ab Edwardo primo Henricus de Tieis, qui baronis dignitate floruit, Dominusque fuit de Alwerton et Tiwernel in hoc comitatu."

[†] "Communitatem Burgi oppidi five villæ de Burryton, alias Pensance," in a request to the bishop 1680, hereafter specified.

[‡] "Eccl. Sti. Maderni, cvi. S. viii. D."

served to enlarge the town by the security provided for the inhabitants, as well as by the provisions brought in to them.

Leland accordingly says thus: "Penfants, standing fast in the shore of Mont Bay, ys the westes " *market towne* of all Cornwayle, and no focur for botes or *shyphes* but a *forfed piere* or key. Ther " is but a *chapel* yn the sayd towne, as ys yn Newlyn. For theyr paroches chyrches be more " than a myle of."* The town had now a market and a pier. But the latter is expressly declared by Leland in another place, to be only " a little peere;"† yet was visited by ships as well as boats. And the chapel is described in a request, with the castle-ground about it, to the bishop for their consecration, dated 1680; as " all that parcel of land lying within the Burgh town or " vill aforesaid, *on which a certain chapel has been long since erected and consiructed*, but *never consecrated hitherto*."‡ It had never been consecrated as the chapel of the fort. But as the town enlarged, and the petty chapel of St. Anthony could no longer contain the inhabitants; some, I suppose, obtained seats in the chapel of the fort. As the town still continued to enlarge, and as the fort was deserted by the garrison, more obtained, till what belonged only to the garrison at first, became the exclusive possession of the inhabitants at last. In 1614 the town was incorporated; in 1680 " the mayor and commonalty"§ petition the bishop to consecrate the chapel, with a chapel-yard; and he accordingly consecrated the former as what it was at the time of the second Valor, as a chapel of ease to the vicarial church of Madern.

The town has thus risen, to be much more considerable than I had ever supposed it to be. It is much larger in itself, as having many more streets. It is much more populous of course, and much more engaged in business. It has ships of three or four hundred tons in burden, and sends some of them direct to Norway. It has a new pier, in a high broad mound of stone, running a good way out into the sea from east to west, and then ending in a slight curve to the north-east. Close to this, on the south, has been lately erected a little fort with guns, the *Burryton* of modern times. And as the whole town stands forth the fair rival of Truro for pre-eminence, in size, in shops, in neatness; so does its market much surpass that of Truro for plenty or for cheapness, the latter circumstance the perpetual concomitant of the former, and both operating so powerfully here, that the butchers kill twenty bullocks a week for this market, more than for the market of Redruth, even for the market of Truro itself.

Yet, not to lose ancient things in modern, let us enquire whence the popular name of the town is derived. Camden derives it at once thus: "Penfans,—that is, the head of the sands."|| But this intermixture of Cornish and English in the name of an old town of Cornwall, is too ridiculous for such a man as Camden to suggest. It is unworthy even of a school-boy. "Penfans," cries Mr. Gough, therefore, after Bishop Gibson, "means the head of the saint; the baptist's head " in a charger being *their arms*. *If this did not put it beyond dispute*, it might from its situation be " interpreted *Penfawas*, the head of the channel."¶ This interpretation favours a little of learning judiciously applied. But it favours only a little. The interpretation of *Penfans* by *Penfawas*, is so violent a distortion of the name, as to put all criticism upon the rack. Nor, even if not so violent,

* Itin. vii. 117.

† Itin. iii. 17.

‡ "Totam illam parcellam terræ intra Burgum, Oppidum, sive villam predictam jacentem, in quâ Capella quædam jam dudum erecta et constructa fuit, sed hucusque nunquam consecrata."

§ "Majorem et Communitatem."

|| P. 136. "Penfans,—idest, Caput Sabuli."

¶ Gough i. 12, from Gibson 13.

violent, would it comport with the truth. For of what channel is Penzance thus supposed to be the head? Of the British, as mention of "*the channel*" implies? How then is Penzance the head of this? Just as it is the *tail* of it, and no otherwise. The other derivation, indeed, has been universally adopted, ever since Bishop Gibson produced it; was declared by himself at the moment, and is re-declared by Mr. Gough now, to be "beyond dispute" the just one. Yet it is as false as the former, though not as ridiculous. The solitary village on the shore had a name, *long before* it was important enough to have any arms. It could not have had any, before it was incorporated in 1614. Nor would it then have had the head of the baptist in a charger, if it had not been a part of the parish of Maddern, and thus in its tithes appropriated to the priory of *St. John of Jerusalem*.^{*} Such is this indisputable etymon! But what then is the true etymon? It is this, I believe. The large compass of Mount's Bay has only two points particularly distinguished in it, one called *Gwavas Lake*, and ranging along the south-western side of the bay; but the other denominated PENZANCE, and comprehending all the northern. "Yn the bay," cries Leland, "be est the same towne" of Mousehole, "ys a good roode for shyppes, cawled *Guaves Lake*."† This is, he adds in another place, "a bay from Newlin to Mousehole, caullid "*Guaverflak*."‡ Here is still the greatest depth of water throughout the whole bay; and the gun-boat, that is now stationed to guard the bay, lies here; while the general depth from Penzance to the Mount, upon an ebb-tide, is only six fathoms at high water. But the fishery in this part of the sea was given to the church of the parish of Paul, a church here standing high upon the hill, and a parish extending along the sea from the north of Newlyn to the south of Mousehole; went at the appropriation of the rectory to the abbey of Hayles, in Gloucestershire; § and was very valuable to the proprietors, while the law of fish-tithe stood upon that original basis of common-sense, the payment of the tithe to the church in which the fishermen received divine offices, but has been frittered into atoms by a refinement lately introduced, of paying them to the minister of the parish in which the nets are laid up, the men still residing in Paul parish, but laying up their nets in Madern, even laying them up (I believe) on the bare strand there. Another part of Mount's Bay had the Cornish appellation of *Penzance*, not (as Pryce expounds the name ||) from being "the head of the bay," when Chendower (or the house in the water) is much more so; but, agreeably to the genius of the British language, and conformably to the mode of imposing appellations in Cornwall, from being "the bay of the head" or hill. Thus Penzance is the same in Cornish, as Mount's Bay is in English. Thus too the village of fishermen on the beach at Penzance, with their petty chapel of St. Anthony behind, naturally (like Falmouth) took the very title of the bay on which it stood; ages before it was important enough to be incorporated and have arms, even years, probably, before its parish-church was appropriated to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem.¶ And the proper Mount's Bay extends only over the northern part of the bay, even "as far north

" as

* "*Madron*, alias *St. Madern*, V. with the chapel of Penzance (*St. Mary*) and *Morva*.—*Pri Sti. Johannis Jerusalem Propr.*" (Henry's Valor).

† *Itin.* vii. 117. ‡ *Itin.* iii. 17.

§ Founded by Richard, King of the Romans, and Earl of Cornwall, in 1246. (*Monasticon* i. 928.) But the appropriation was later even than the Valor of 1291, Paul being then a rectory.

|| Under *Zans*.

¶ In the Valor of 1291, we see that it was then appropriated; "*Eccles. Sti Maderni, cvi. S. viii. D. Prior Hospital. Sti Johannis percipit in eadem iii. Marcas.*"

“as Long Bridge in the manour of Lanefeley;” * Camden averring, that “a haven pretty broad opens *a little above the Mount*, which is DENOMINATED MOUNT’S BAY from the Mount, *where* is a very safe station for ships when the south and south-east winds,” those tyrants of the bay in general, “blow with fury, a station six or seven fathoms deep in the middle of the ebb-tide;” † and Carew subjoining, that “*under the Mount extendeth a bay for lesser vessels to lie at, and betweene it and the westerne shoare is an indifferent good road for shipping, saving upon some winds, CALLED THE MOUNT’S BAY.*” ‡

* Hals.

† Camden 137. “*Pauloque supra Montem finus, satis latus patet, Mount’s Bay a Monte dictus, ubi tutissima navium statio est faviente Austro,*” &c. &c.

‡ F. 155, 156. In Penzance pier there are $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water at spring-tides, but only $9\frac{1}{2}$ at neap-tides. In the pier at the Mount there is one foot less. But about the middle of the bay’s mouth there are twenty fathoms at low water, fourteen higher up the bay, and fifteen or sixteen still nearer to the Mount. So much deeper, at present, is the water here, than it was in the days of Camden; or so inaccurate was Camden, in his information about it!

LAND'S END.

ON August the 1st, 1799, the first anniversary of that ever-memorable day, which ruined beyond recovery the un-principled invader of Egypt, I rode from Penzance to the Land's End, a distance of ten miles, reflecting on a leader very different in soul, heroical in mind, and humane in spirit, a CHRISTIAN. I thought of Athelstan's march to the *last* parish in Cornwall in the west, when he reached the oratory in which St. Burian was buried, and kneeled down at her shrine to pray for success in his intended expedition against the Sylley Isles. I found the road a causey rough and broken, the remains, probably, of the very road on which he marched with his army to St. Burian's. To St. Burian's he also came back, on his return from the conquest of the Isles. "King Ethelstane," cries Leland from the only document that we have of the fact, and a document sufficient in itself, the traditional and the written evidence of the clergy of the church, recorded assuredly in the memorials of the church, and recited from them to the people on every return of the church's feast, the praises of Athelstan mingling with the merits of Buriana; "*goyng hens, as it is said, on to Sylley, and returning, made ex voto a college wher the oratorie was.*"* Leland thus caught the voice of tradition more faithfully, than Camden caught it. Leland takes in the advance from St. Burian's to Sylley, as well as the return from Sylley to St. Burian's; while Camden relates only the return. "A little village is now on the ground," he tells us, "called Saint Burian's, formerly Eglis Burian's," in Cornish, "that is, the church of Saint Burien or Berian, as consecrated to a religious woman of Ireland: to this church, *as fame tells us*, King Athelstan gave the privilege of a sanctuary, *when he came hither a conquerour from the Sylley Isles*; it is certain, that he built a church here, and that here was a college of canons under William the Conquerour, and that the adjacent territory belonged to them."† Athelstan thus advanced with his army by St. Burian's towards the Land's End; to embark his soldiers, probably, at *Portdenack*, a cove immediately to the south of the Land's End, still showing its use as a port by its name of a Port among the Cornish; and at a much larger, but more exposed haven to the north, thence, perhaps, distinguished ever since by the English appellation of Whitsand Bay. He had only a narrow arm of the sea to cross; but then the very narrowness made it more turbulent. He crossed it safely, however, reduced the Isles, and returned victorious to St. Burian's.

But, before he set out on this maritime expedition, he seems to have fought a final battle against, and to have obtained a conclusive victory over, the Cornish of the continent at the Land's

E

End.

* Itin. iii. 18.

† P. 136. "Viculus nunc illi insidet, *Saint Burian's*, olim *Eglis Buriens*, 1. *Ecclesia Buriens vel Berianæ*, dictus, *Buriens* religiosæ mulieri, *Hibernicæ* sacer.—Huic, ut fama perhibet, concessit rex Athelstanus, cum e Syllinis Insulis hic victor appulisset. Certum, est illum ecclesiam hic construxisse, et sub Gulielmo Conquestore canonicorum hic fuisse collegium, et territorium adjacens ad eos spectasse."

End. That he so fought and so obtained, I infer from a collection of circumstances, single in themselves, but uniting into one mass of evidence. An accumulation of sands here composes a mountain.

The British name of the Land's End, as given us by the antients, *BOLERIUM* in Ptolemy, or *BELERIUM* in Diodorus Siculus, is very naturally derived by Camden, the most easy of all etymologists in general, from the British word *Pell*, interpreted by him the *remotest*, and considered as equivalent to the modern name.* This word actually signifies the *Farther*, and actually varies into *Bel*, as in Goon Bel the Farther Down of St. Agnes.† We may also, with almost as much probability, deduce the name from *Pele* a Spire, since “on a little island separated from the “Land's End, so as a boat with oars may pass between,” actually “stood *Caren an Pele*,” so called because “*Caren* signifies a rock, and *Pele* a spire.”‡ But we must go deeper still, for the root of the name. The whole of the hundred is denominated from the name of this promontory, at present; and the court-house of the hundred, therefore, was fixed upon some estate at it. It was so from the first, I believe, from the very early and quite primitive institution of hundreds among the Britons.§ The radical word, then, is *Bala*, a house or a town. This word, indeed, is very contrarily interpreted by Mr. Lhuyd. And shall we presume to oppose such a linguist in his own language? “The word *Bala*,” he tells us, “though now very seldom (if at all) used as “an appellative, denotes (as the author of the Latin-British Dictionary,” Thomas Williams, “informs us) the place where any river or brook issues out of a lake, as *Aber* signifies the fall of “one river into another, &c. and hence Dr. Davies supposes this town,” *Bala* in Merionethshire, “to be denominated. In confirmation whereof I add, that near the *outlet* of the river *Seiont*, out “of *Lhyn Peris*, in Caernarvonshire, there is a place called *Bryn y Bala*.”|| This evidence of Williams, of Davies, and of Lhuyd, all united in one testimony concerning a word in their own Welsh, seems to form an evidence, to which even boldness itself must be obliged to bow in a Saxon. And, as Mr. Richards, in his late very useful Dictionary, repeats the words and re-echoes the sentiments of Mr. Lhuyd; so Mr. Owen, in his still later and much larger, coincides with all without deigning to mention any, and only says “*Bala llhyn* the outlet or efflux of a lake; hence “it is the name of many places in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.”¶ Against such an embodied host of Lexicographers, all posted upon their native hills, and all fighting for their native fields; how can I stand the encounter for a moment? Yet I risque the issue of one, and I even challenge a victory in it. The linguists of Wales, however unanimous in appearance, are divided in reality; and a civil war in a state always promotes the success of an attack upon it. “Others contend,” Lhuyd himself confesses, and “H. Perry in Dr. Dav. Dict. whom we find too apt to presume “Irish words to be British” or Welsh, is specified on the margin, “that *Bala* in the old British, “as well as Irish, signifies a village; I incline to the former opinion, and imagine that upon farther enquiry, other instances besides these two might be found, which would make it still more “evident.”*† I am one of those who are “apt,” like Perry, “to presume Irish words to be “British;” and think nothing but that spirit of arrogation, which denominates Welsh exclusively British,

* Camden, 135. “Ptolemæo Bolerium dicitur, Diodoro Belerium, fortasse a *Pell* Britannicâ dictione, quæ remotissimum “significat.”

† Pryce.

‡ Gibson 10.

§ Hist. of Manc. i. 370, octavo.

|| Gibson, 792, 793.

¶ Richards published in 1753, Owen in 1793.

*† Gibson, 793.

British, could pretend to doubt the fact. The Irish language is equally British with the Welsh; and, however what I am going to say may grate upon the honest pride of a Welshman's heart, a British more pure, more genuine than that of the Welsh, as the British of a race never subdued (like the Welsh) by the Romans, never incorporated into their empire, never habituated to their language, for ages. Perry thus showed himself more judicious, than even Davies or Lhuyd; and more wise than the very oracles themselves. Bal, Bail, Baile (Irish) is a place or spot; Gwâl (Welsh) a place whither beasts resort to lie; Bal (Cornish) a parcel of tin-works together; Gwâl (Welsh) a wall; Baili, Beili a court before a house in Glamorganshire; Balla (Irish) a wall or bulwark; Beile (Irish) a home, a village, a town, or a city; Bolla (Cornish) an entrenchment; Bala, a town in Wales; *Bally* Salley, a village in the Isle of Man; *Balla* Mona, a monastery within it; and *Luga-Ballia*, a British town in the Roman Itineraries, now Carlisle.* So plainly is Bala at once Irish, Welsh, Cornish, and Manks! So apparently is it British too, derivatively from those languages and positively in itself! And so contracted, so superficial a view had those celebrated criticks taken of all! Yet how is Bala lengthened into Bolerium or Belerium? Camden did not stoop in his general assuredness that he was right, to make out the particular likenesses. But we must, and do it thus. Erw (Cornish) is an acre, a field; Erw (Welsh) is an acre, land, or estate; Gwaederew is a place in Wales, so called as the field of blood; and Belra, for Bel-crew, is a parish or district in Irish. Here then we have *Bolerium* or *Belerium*, as Bala in Welsh is Bolla in Cornish above, complete in all its parts; signifying at once, like the modern Penwith, the court-house of the hundred, the estate annexed to it, and the hundred subjected to both. The house still remains, I conjecture, in a house still retaining half the name; *Bol-lait* being a considerable house in this parish of Burian at present, and appearing considerable almost as early as the conquest;† while the estate, a royal one assuredly, was commensurate, probably, with the present parish, and so extended up to the Land's End.

This promontory, adds Camden, "is called by the Britons," Camden meaning only the Welsh, he with others unwarily adopting the exclusive language of Welsh writers, "*Penrhin guard*, that is, *the Headland of Blood*; but then it is so called only by the bards or poets, the British historians calling it *Penwith*, that is, the headland on the left, and the inhabitants in their own language, *Pen Von Las*, that is, the end of the earth, in the same sense as the English call it the "Land's End."‡ The first intimation in this passage, is as singular in itself as it has been unnoticed by antiquaries. "The headland of blood," as the appellation of the Land's End, carries a sound to our ears, and a signification to our minds, full of historical intelligence. Nor does the name exist merely in the rhapsodies of the bards. Lhuyd himself recognizes the name in his Cornish Grammar, as he says thus: "Pennrhynn Penward, the Land's End of Cornwall; *that hundred is yet called Penwyth*."§ The present appellation of *Penwith*, therefore, appears *not* "to have been as Camden interprets it, from Chuith (Welsh) and Chitach (Irish) on the left;"|| and *not* to have been, as Pryce more judiciously explains it, "Pen-with, the head of the breach

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" or

* Richards, Pryce, &c. Gibson 1448, Gough iii. 703, &c.

† Gibson 12.

‡ Camden 135, 136. "Britannis Penrhin guard, id est, Promontorium Sanguinis, sed tantum bardis sive poetis; Historiis vero Britannis Penwith, id est, Promontorium ad Sinistram;—accolis suâ linguâ Pen vos las, id est, Finisterræ, eodemque sensu Anglis the Land's End."

§ Lhuyd's Vocabulary 238.

|| Ibid. under Sinifra.

"or separation, as the Land's End from Scilly, which signifies to cut off."* But it is merely *Pen-waed*, the promontory of *blood*. Nor does the Cornish appellation of it, still retained by the inhabitants in the days of Camden, *Pen Von Las*, signify as Camden interprets it, the end of the earth. It carries a very different signification, and one exactly the same as the preceding, *the Headland of Slaughter*. *Ladh* is to kill or slay, *Lathe* is a violent death, *Latha*, *Las* is manslaughter, in Cornish; while *Llâs*, in Welsh, means he was slain. But *Von* is the same as *Mann* (Welsh) a place, the same as *Mona* the name equally of Anglesey and of Man islands; varied into *Von*, in the name of Caernarvon, as the town opposite to *Môna*,† and varied again into *Eu-Bonia* in Nennius's name for Man.‡ Thus the recent and popular title of *Pen-von-las* for the Land's End, as marking the promontory of the place of slaughter, is exactly the same in signification with the antient, *Penrhin-guard*, or the headland of blood. And, as we have seen *Gwaed-crew*, or the field of blood, to be a place in Wales, as we have *Gwaettir* for the land of blood in the Welsh laws, and *Guit* (Cornish) blood, all answering to the present appellation of the Land's End; so have we *Bol Laith* or the house of slaughter again, in that court-house of the hundred which has given denomination to the Land's End through all ages to the present.

At Bollait then was this slaughter made, which has so strikingly *memorized* itself in these appellations. Yet when could such a slaughter have been made, to impress such lasting characters of blood upon a house and upon a promontory; except at Athelstan's final reduction of Cornwall, near the Land's End, when the Cornish, who had hitherto retired without a contest before him, were here compelled either to yield at once, or to make one active struggle for all? This appeared so obvious in general to Camden, that he even doubted whether he should attribute the circle of stones at Boscawen *as a trophy*, to the later Emperours of the Romans, or "to Athelstan the Saxon on his reduction of the Damnonii."§ But, as this circle cannot be presumed to be either Roman or Saxon, so from its similitude to other circles must it be acknowledged to be British. We must look, therefore, for other monuments of stone, if any were ever erected in honour of this victory. Yet what monuments did the Saxons erect of stone, as trophies of victory? None that the antiquarian world knows. There is one, however, though unknown. "The stout Duke of the West Saxons, Harold," cries Worcester the historian, "by the command of King Edward" in 1063, "after the nativity of our Lord, taking with him from Gloucester, where the king then was, no large body of horse, marched in much haste to Rudelan, in order to kill Griffin, king of the Welsh, for the frequent ravages which he made in the English border, and for the affronts which he often put upon his lord King Edward. But Griffin, apprized of his coming, fled with his attendants, embarked in a ship, and with difficulty escaped. Then Harold, finding he had fled, ordered his place to be set on fire, and his ships to be burnt with all their stores, and set off the same day on his return. Yet about rogation-week he sailed with an army on board a fleet from Bristol, and circumnavigated almost all the land of the Welsh.

"Earl

* Under *Hundreds*.

† Camden's *Anglica*, Normannica, &c. 865. Giraldus Cambrensis, "Caernarvon, id est, Castrum de Arvon, dicitur autem Arvon provincia quod sita sit contra Monam insulam."

‡ Nennius, c. ii. "Secunda sita est in umbilico maris, inter Hiberniam et Britanniam, vocatusque nomen ejus Eubonia, Man."

§ Camden's *Britannia*, 136. "Hoc, ut conjectura probabile est, trophæum aliquod Romanorum fuit sub posterioribus Imperatoribus, vel Athelstani Saxonis cum Damnonios in potestatem suam redegit."

"Earl Tosti (as the king had commanded) met him with an army of horse; and uniting their forces together, they began to ravage the region. The Welsh, therefore, submitted to give hostages, promised to pay tribute, deposed their King Griffin from his throne, and outlawed him."* Yet a Welshman describes this memorable invasion of Wales by land and by water, with some additional notices. Of all the conquerors of Wales, notes Giraldus Cambrensis, "Harald the last, himself on foot, with foot-soldiers all light-armed, and with such victuals as the country afforded, marched about and across the whole of Wales with so much spirit, that he left but few alive. *In sign and memorial for ever of his victory, you may see very many stones in Wales, at the places where he was victorious, erected into a heap after the antient manner, and having letters to this purport engraven upon them, HERE WAS HARALD VICTORIOUS.*"† Such were the extemporaneous trophies of the Saxons, in a country very similar to Cornwall, and at a still later period of their empire! Such accordingly we have reason to expect, on the final reduction of Cornwall by the Saxons! Such we actually find, and on that very estate of Bollait which we have singled out before for the scene of the slaughter! I notice first, however, what Dr. Borlase calls the "Long Stone in Boswen's Croft, Sancroft" parish, erect, with "a heap" of stones at the foot of it; exactly conformable to Harold's monuments, in all but an inscription.‡ But we have also, though equally without an inscription, and without "a heap" too, "two stones erect at *Bolleit* in St. Beryan, about a furlong asunder."§ One of them is very tall, the other is taller than that in Sancroft, and both unite into a record of the victory "after the antient manner" doubly significant. Both, however, unite in vain, for want of inscriptions; yet no more in vain, than the very monuments of Harold himself. These, with their inscriptions, are just as much lost to the world, as those are to memory. These are even thrown down to the ground, probably, while those rear their heads aloft at present. These exist only in a slight sentence of an unpublished writing, seem to have been there seen by one author only, and are hardly known to any; while those still show themselves visible to every eye, still solicit the notice of every mind, and still tell a tale of wonder to every historical antiquary.

II. Having gained this victory at the Land's End, and so reduced Cornwall completely, Athelstan resolved to crown all with the conquest of the isles, that had been always appendent to Cornwall, were now lying close on the other side of a narrow frith, and seemed strongly to invite him across it. Full of the meditated expedition, he repaired to a small kind of Christian temple in the neighbourhood, which had been a few ages before the hermitage of a religious person, which

* Florentius 424. "Strenuus Dux West Saxonum Haraldus, jussu regis Eadwardi, post Nativitatem Domini, equitatu non multo secum assumpto, de Glawornâ (ubi Rex tunc morabatur) ad Rudelan multâ cum festinatione profectus est, ut regem Walanorum Griffinum, propter frequentes depopulationes quas in Anglorum finibus agebat, ac verecundias quas Domino suo Regi Eadwardo sæpe faciebat, occideret. At ille, ejus adventu præcognito, fugam cum suis iniit, navem ascendit, et vix evasit. Haraldus vero, ut eum fugisse comperit, palatium incendere et naves ejus cum armamentis comburere jussit, eodemque die rediit. Sed circa Rogationes de Bricstowe classicâ manu profectus, magnâ ex parte terram Walanorum circumnavigabat. Cui frater suus Comes Tostius, ut Rex mandârat, cum equestri occurrit exercitu, et, viribus simul junctis, regionem illam depopulari cæperunt. Unde Walani coacti datis obsidibus se dederunt, et se tributum illi daturos promiserunt, regemque se cum Griffinum exlegantes abjecerunt."

† Camden's Britannia, 448. "Haraldus ultimus, ipse pedes, cumque pedestri turbâ, eplevibus armis, victuque patriæ conformi, tam validè totam Walliam circumivit et transpenetravit, ut vix paucos vivos reliquerit. In cujus victoriæ signum et perpetuam memoriam, lapides in Walliâ more antiquo in tutulum erectos, locis in quibus victor extiterat, literas hujusmodi insculptas habentes, plurimos invenias, HIC FUIT VICTOR HARALDUS."

‡ Ant. plate x. figure 3.

§ Plate x. figures 1 and 2.

which after her death had been turned into a chapel, and was now held in high veneration assuredly by the region around, from reverence to her memory as a faint, and to her remains as buried there. "S. Buriana an holy woman of Ireland," we are told by Leland, "sumtyme dwelled in this place, and there made an" hermitage which afterwards became an "oratory. King "Ethelstane, goyng hens—ōnto Sylley made" a vow to build "a college where the oratorie "was."* There was a mere oratory or chapel then, at St. Burian's; this female faint having retired into a solitude near the Land's End, not covered with wood, as it was the scene of a battle, and not a desert, as it had the court-house of the hundred upon it, but a lonely part of the parish of Paul, though many miles distant from its church. In this oratory, and at the shrine or tomb of St. Burian probably, did Athelstan now kneel in prayer to God for a blessing on his intended enterprize; and did now prefer his vow, of erecting the little oratory into a collegiate church, if God blest him. God did blest him, he remembered his vow, he returned to the place, and "returning made *ex voto* a college where the oratorie was."†

He probably formed the *Bel-erw* or *Belra*, the estate of the king's court-house, into a parish of itself; he built the present church; and he added the late college. "The remains of the college," Dr. Borlase informs us, "were wantonly demolished by one Shrubfall, governor of Pendinas "castle during the usurpation of Cromwell;" a man, who seems to have united the two extremes of human folly in his soul, an aversion to every historical monument, and an abhorrence for every religious structure, who, therefore, destroyed the equipoise of that famous rocking-stone the Main Amber in Sithney parish, and equally burnt down the college at Burian; who has thus, like another Herostratus, given himself up to the fame of infamy for ever.‡ The parish extends from the borders of Paul on the east, to the Land's End on the west, and comprehends more than two-thirds of the peninsula, in which it lies conjointly with Paul parish. From its tall tower, and its high position, the church stands conspicuous to all the country; and from its aspect much, but from its history more, attracted my attention particularly. I entered it with enthusiasm, and examined it with awe. It is handsome, lofty, and large, consisting of a nave with two aisles, and having a fine tower at one end. The inside is still disposed nearly as Athelstan left it, being filled generally with forms for seats, and having the forms carved in a very antique style. Some of the gentry, who have seats near the quire, have turned their antient forms into modern pews, and have so far violated the venerable uniformity of the whole. But the stalls of the dean and prebendaries are as antique as the rest of the church. These, equally as at Manchester college, the church of Aethelin near Manchester, &c. present each a broad plane, when the moveable seat is let down, but a narrow triangle when it is lifted up. The stone also inscribed with the name of Clarice, wife of Geoffrey de Bolleit, said by Hals to have been found by the sexton in sinking a grave, at the depth of four feet in the ground, is still there; and appears, what Gibson describes it to be, "a tomb in the church," an antient shallow tomb, lying near the altar-rails, but on the floor in the northern access to it, and blocking up the access in part. The outside of the church is all uniform, except at the east end; where a new projection has been made, as a recess for the altar. Yet the stones of the church carry such a face of freshness with them, as to lend an aspect of newness to the whole. The freshness, however, is the same in every part, and results merely from

* Itin. iii. 18.

† Ibid. ibid.

‡ Borlase's Ant. 181, 384.

from the frequent washings, to which its high position on a hill, and its pointed exposure to the rains from the Atlantick, continually subject it. The windows also are the same in every part, each having a square entablature over head, and each being divided into long, narrow compartments, that are rounded with a little peak above. And the roof within, which once with pride showed its carved timbers to the eye, has lately learnt to conceal them behind a coved cieling. The endowment of the church originally, was an estate annexed to the college, and thus described in Domesday Book: "the canons of St. Berrione hold Eglosberrie" or the church of Buryan, "which was free in the time of King Edward; *there is 1 hide, a land of eight carucates; there is half a carucate, vi villani, and vi bordarii, and xx acres of pasture; it is worth x shillings; when the earl received the land, it was worth xl shillings.*"* These with the tithes composed an income, sufficient in itself for the four clergymen settled here, but very insufficient as unequally partitioned thus; the dean having his proportion estimated in 1291 at twenty pounds a year, yet the three prebendaries possessing only fifty shillings, forty-six and eight-pence, or fifteen respectively.† These were all estimated in the second Valor, at £.48 12 10 for the rectory, being assuredly the amount of the tithes, and £.9 16 0½ for the deanery, being the rent of the estate annexed to it; £.7 6 8, 7 0 0, and 2 0 0 to the prebendaries respectively, being equally the rents of their respective estates.‡ The vacant prebends were always filled by the dean, I apprehend, as the Bishop of Exeter, once usurping the patronage of the church, even since enjoying the deanery in *Commendam* occasionally,§ has now the patronage of the petty prebend;|| and as the real, the legitimate dean now absorbs the two prebendaries beside, by never nominating to their prebends. These, however, as nominated by the dean, and as equally English with him, therefore, had long ceased with him to reside.¶ The whole parish has been thus left to be spiritually managed by one stipendiary curate, instead of a dean and three prebendaries; all the purposes of Athelstan's donation being thus defeated. The absence of the prebendaries, indeed, may perhaps better be supplied now by the presence of two perpetual curates, one settled at St. Sennan near the Land's End, the other fixed at St. Levan on the southern sea, each having his own church there. But then these substitutes of the prebendaries are not half so dignified in themselves, half so well provided with an income, half so capable therefore of promoting the interests of religion; as the prebendaries were or would be themselves. Nor can ever religion be properly promoted, or the purposes of Athelstan ever be answered, before our kings begin to nominate *Cornishmen* for the deanery, before they oblige them to reside at the church, before they compel them to nominate prebendaries equally Cornish and equally obliged to reside, even before they induce them to make a more equal partition of the whole income between the prebendaries and themselves. The very reduction of the income would readily make way for the nomination of the prebendaries, and for the residence of all the chapter. It would extinguish the eager ambition of Englishmen for the deanery. It would thus throw the deanery into the hands of the Cornish. It would appoint those to be deans, who were ready to reside themselves, and induce the deans to nominate others equally ready for their assistants. And the church of Athelstan would then prove

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* Fol. 121. "Canonici S. Berrione tenent Eglosberrie, quæ fuit libera Tempore Regis Edwardi. Ibi est 1 hida, vi. villani, et vi. bordarii, et xx. acrae pasturæ. Valer x. solidos. Quando Comes terram accepit, valebat xl. solidos."

† "Eccles. Stæ. Berianæ xx. Li. Præbenda—I. S. Præbenda—xlvi. S. viii. D. Præbenda—xv. S."

‡ Bacon's Liber Regis.

§ Hals, 40.

|| Liber Regis

¶ Leland's Itin. vii. 117.

a blessing to this wild extremity of the island, a kind of spiritual *Specula* in Britain, set at the Land's End, yet lending its light to the whole island, but especially lending it to this dangerous part of the whole.*

Attending Athelstan to the Land's End for his embarkation at Pordenack cove and Whit-sand bay, we see the country now, whatever it was then, all cultivated nearly up to the brim of the ocean. We even see Cape Cornwall to the north, ending in a high point, that showed it once reached out (as tradition says it reached) to a rock a little distant, insulated, but denominated the Bresan; and, just before it joined the point, disclosing in a hollow its wheat all yellowing towards harvest. There being a haze out at sea, though the sun shone bright, we could not behold the Sylley Isles; but stood looking with curious wonder at that nearer and more striking object before us, the Longships, ranging in an oblique line before us, and showing the waters all in a foam at their base. The rock called the Wolf, and which to my surprize I find not noticed by the great map of Cornwall, did (as I was informed at the Land's End) lie to the south of us, under the land, and invisible to us. It was exactly (as I since understand) south south-west from us, distant eight miles and a half. On this rock was lately attempted to be fixed the figure of a wolf in copper, that should pass the wind through it with a great noise, or that should have bells to ring with the wind, in order to apprize the manner of his approach towards it. But the whole was found impracticable in the execution, because of the violent tides there; and perceived to be surely ineffectual in the design, because the wind that pushed on to the rock would keep back the sound. And after two or three attempts to fix the figure, or to hang the bells, in one of which the projector was like to have been drowned, the plan was of necessity abandoned. The Land's End projected before us into the western sea, while the northern was on our right, and the southern on our left. Before we took this station, we came to a new-built house on our right, which is called upon its sign the Land's End Hotel. We stopt at the door, to order our dinner against our return. The house is good in appearance, but could not be expected to be well stocked with provisions. We ordered a couple of boiled fowls, with bacon and greens. The fowls were not only drest, but *killed* against our return, and *the feathers then lay scattered before the door*. A few yards farther to the west, in the same church-town of Sennan, is the ale-house mentioned by Mr. Barrington, as called on its sign *the last in England*.† But it is also called, though he has not noticed the circumstance, on the *other* side of its sign, *the first in England*. This village Mr. Barrington strangely calls "*the Sennan or most western point*;"‡ when the village is situated about a *mile and a half* from that "*most western point*" the Land's End, and when it takes its appellation from the saint of its petty church, Sennan or Sinnin of Ireland. This church I entered, and found it one aisle, with a side chapel, like St. Helen's in Sylley hereafter, the aisle being the original church, and the chapel erected for the saint's sepulture; *the latter*, therefore, having the beheaded statue of the saint still fixed on its bracket of stone. There was nothing else to catch my eye. But the church-yard presented an object of curiosity to it, persons buried in earth shaped like coffins, by edging the grave with slate-stones, and strewing the surface with sand. The graves thus
look

* Camden 136. "In extremis hujus promontorii scopulis—Speculam Britanniæ erectam fuisse prodidit;—viculus nunc illi infidet, *Saint Buriens*."

† *Archæologia* iii. 280.

‡ *Ibid.* *ibid.*

look like coffins peeping out of the ground, and slightly covered with earth. So at St. Martin's, one of the Sylley Isles, "is the form of a grave, furrounded with stones " pitched edgewise, in the shape of a coffin, eight feet long, and three feet over the widest part." (Troutbeck 108.) So, in the same isle, the sea "has washed away the sand, where a great many " graves " of all sizes have lately appeared, and stones set edgewise in the form of coffins, which lie " east and west,"* and consequently are christian like those at Sennan, the heathen mode of burial in Britain and its isles being, to lay the body north and south, with the head to the north.† As we past by a groupe of houses about a mile beyond, the last groupe before we reached the Land's End, and properly "the most western point" as a village; the men, the boys, and the girls crouded after us, or ran by our sides, till we reached a bleak common, and came up to a long stone, rising with a sharp ridge, about a yard high from the ground. Here, to my surprize, the collected company seized our bridles and stopt our progress, as we were now at the rock denominated the *Whale's Fin* from its form. Then the girls came up with faucers held in their hands, some open to the eye, others having their aprons drawn tightly over them, but all containing little shells, twenty or thirty in a faucer, at sixpence a faucer, for sale. I entered freely into conversation with the men, drew from them all the little which they knew concerning the sea, or the rocks, or the isles, and offered sterling money for *Cornish words*. They knew no Cornish however, and my money was offered in vain. They knew enough of English indeed, to solicit my benevolence for their informations. To so many, I said, all benevolence was impossible. They therefore contracted their petitions cunningly, and requested me to single any one or two individuals for my bounty. I did so to one, who had attached himself to me on the way, and who afterwards took the lead in talking. And as a boy without shoes or stockings, who attended me on my return, to show how ill my benevolence was bestowed, assured me, that the receiver of it was a good farmer; so he arrived at the hotel almost as soon as I reached it, accompanied with a couple of men almost equally leaders with himself in the conversation, to spend my little gratuity in drinking.

Mr. Barrington, let me here observe, in 1773, pretendedly sung the death-song of the Cornish language, and committed it to the grave with Dolly Pentraeth, the fishwoman of Mousehole.‡ But in this he appears to have been as much mistaken, as Dr. Borlase was before him; when the doctor, a native and a resident, an antiquary and a linguist, so early as 1758, declared it to have "altogether ceased, so as not to be spoken any where in conversation." At that very time, as Mr. Barrington has observed, to the disgrace of his attention, an old woman was living "within four miles of him," and talking the language fluently.§ Nor can we convict Mr. Barrington of a similar inattention. He was merely a stranger and a visitant in the country. But the language survived its last speaker. In 1790, William Pryce, M. D. of Redruth, Cornwall, published his "*Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*; or an essay to preserve the antient Cornish language." In the preface to this publication, he gave us such information, as showed the Cornish language to have not expired with Mr. Barrington's fishwoman, to have been still continuing in existence, and to have had its last struggles for life, *if it is even yet dead*, at or about this very prominence of the Land's End. "As for the vulgar Cornish YET SPOKEN," cries Dr. Pryce, not adverting directly

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* Troutbeck, 112.

† Stukeley's *Stonchenge*, 45.‡ *Archæologia* iii. 283.§ *Ibid.* 281, 282.

to the supposed extinction of the spoken Cornish in Dolly Pentraeth, yet speaking decisively to the point, "it is so CONFINED TO," and therefore still surviving in, "the *extremest* corner of the county; and THOSE ANCIENT PERSONS, who STILL PRETEND TO JABBER IT, are even there so FEW; the SPEECH itself is so *corrupted*, and THE PEOPLE too, for the *most* part, are so *illiterate*, that I cannot but wonder at my patience, and assume some merit to myself, for my singular industry in *collecting* the words which I have communicated from ORAL INTELLIGENCE; especially, as hardly *any* of THE PERSONS WHOM I HAVE CONSULTED, could give a tolerable account of the orthography, much less of the etymology or derivation of those words WHICH THEY USE. For they often join, or rather run two or three words together, making but one of them all; though THEIR PRONUNCIATION IS GENERALLY CORRECT. As, for instance, 'Meraftadu,' which THEY PRONOUNCE IN ONE BREATH as if they were a single word; whereas it is a contraction of four, 'Meor 'ras tha Dew,' *many thanks to God*, anciently written 'Maur gras the Deu,' and 'Meraftawhy,' *many thanks to you*, a contraction of 'Maur 'ras tha why.'" This evidence is complete. The Cornish was still spoken, when the voice of Dolly was choked in the grave. She was not, indeed, the solitary speaker of a language lost to all other tongues, the single representative of the purely Cornish nation, the mournful outliver of all her kindred and speech. Numbers talked it at the very time.

Vixère fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longà
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

Nor did they talk it, we find, with even any of that viciousness of pronunciation, which has changed the Latin into Italian, and the Saxon into English. They gave a justly Cornish tone, to the truly Cornish words that they used. They only spoke some short words, that must have occurred frequently in conversation, and that were used uniformly as a whole sentence, with a rapidity which made them sound like one word. We do the same in *prythee* for *I pray thee*, even leaving out the principal word in speaking. - The speakers of Cornwall were more exact, we see, pronouncing every word, and pronouncing every word with fidelity. So accurately was the Cornish then spoken by *many*, at "the extremest corner of the county!" But, what renders the accuracy more surprising, these *many* were in general "illiterate" persons; so, like the "illiterate" among ourselves, unable "to give a tolerable account of the orthography," and sure, therefore, to be tenfold more unable, as even our very scholars generally are, to account for "the etymology or derivation of those words which they use." I even heard in my visit to the west, of two persons still alive that could speak the Cornish language. On my offer of English money for Cornish words, to the men at the Land's End, they referred me to an old man living about three miles off to the south, at St. Levan (I think), a second chapelry with St. Sennan, in the parish of St. Burian; and intimated, that I might there have as many words of Cornish as I would chuse to purchase. On my return also to Penzance, Mr. Broad (captain of a volunteer company of seafencibles) additionally assured me, that there was a woman then living at Newlyn, who could equally speak Cornish. I will go soon, and see both; that I may hear the genius of Cornwall still speaking from his opened grave, as it were, and still greeting an English ear with the native

tive articulation of the Cornish. Even when this articulation is all sunk in the closed grave of death, that genius will still be talking a mixed Cornish, by the tongues of his anglicized sons, or his adopted Englishmen; Cornwall, like Greece, having conquered its conquerors and subdued its subduers, by giving to the English language a multiplicity of Cornish words, blending them intimately with the Cornish in the common intercourse of life, in mining, in fishing, even in domestic actions, and thus making the Cornish to triumph silently amid the open triumph of the English over it.

I have one observation more to make, concerning the Land's End.—“In the rocks “about Whitland Bay,” Mr. Gough relates on some gross mis-information from others, or from some gross mis-conception in himself, by confounding the Whitland Bay, near the Land's End, with another of the same name near Plymouth, and confounding all with a mixture of mis-information, thus confounding and confounded, “the body of — Tilly, esq. who died about fifty years ago, remarkable for the freedom of his principles and life, was inclosed by his own order, dressed in his cloaths, sitting in a chair, his face to the door of a summer-house at Pentilly, the key put under the door; and his figure in wax in the same dress and attitude in the room above.”* The language of Mr. Gough, in his additions to Camden's account, is the very opposite of Camden's own; Camden's being just, grave, and dignified, but his enlarger's low, colloquial, and ungrammatical. We see this in the present passage; where we find the man “sitting in a chair,” with “his face to the door of a summer-house,” with “the key put under the door, and” with “his figure in wax in the same dress and attitude in the room above.” These are evidently the hasty notes of a mere *tourist*, accustomed to write with an illiterate negligence, and then laying his notes in their rude unfashioned state before the public. But the *matter* here is much worse than the *manner*. The fact is most amazingly false in *geography*. The very circumstances show this. A man buried with “his face to the door of a summer-house at Pentilly,” could not possibly be buried “in the rocks” at the Land's End. These two points of Cornwall have nearly the whole very extraordinary length of Cornwall interposed between them; as Pentilly lies at the *eastern* end of the county, and on the banks of the *Tamar*. But Mr. Gough was told the fact at or near the Land's End, thus inserted it with a careless reference only to Pentilly, and afterwards copied it where he found it, with a still more careless inattention to his own reference. The real story is this; and it is proper to be laid before the public, as well to correct this astonishing blunder in Mr. Gough, as to expose “the freedom of” those “principles,” or of that “life,” which ended in such an order for the body's burial. Hals has luckily preserved the moral portrait of the man, and I hang it over his head in his cave of death. “Pentyley,” we are told by this gleaner of private histories, here usefully employed, is “a house—built and soe named by one Mr. James “Tyley, son of in the parish of St. Keverne, labourer, who, as I am informed, was “placed by him a servant or horseman to Sir John Coryton, bart. the elder; who afterwards, by “his assistance, learninge the inferiour practice of the law, under an attorney, became his steward. “In which capacities, by his care and industry he soon grew rich; so that he married Sir Henry “Vane's daughter; by whom he had a good fortune or estate, but noe issue. At length, after the “death of his master, he became a guardian in trust for his younger children, and steward to their “elder

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“ elder brother Sir John, that married Chiverton.*—Whereby he augmented his wealth and
 “ fame to a greater pitch, when, soon after King James 2d. came to the crowne, this gentleman,
 “ by a great summe of money, and false representations of himselfe, obtained the favour of knight-
 “ hood at his hands. But that king soon short while after being informed, that Mr. Tyley was at
 “ first but a groom or horseman to Sir John Coryton, that he was no gentleman of blood or
 “ armes, and yet gave for his coat of armour the armes of Count Tillye of Germany; ordered the
 “ heralds to enquire into this matter. Who, findinge this information true, by the king’s order
 “ entered his chamber at London, tooke downe those armes, tore others in pieces, and fastned
 “ them all to horse taylor, and drew them through the streets of London, to his perpetuall dis-
 “ grace, and degraded him from the dignity of that bearinge, and impos’d a fine of £.500 upon
 “ him for soe doeing, as I am informed. But alas! maugre all those proceedings, after the death
 “ of his then master, Sir John Coryton the younger, not without suspicion of beinge paysond, he
 “ soon married (one) with whome common fame said he was too familiar before; soe that he
 “ became possessor of her goods and chattells, and a great joynture. Whereby he *liveth* in much
 “ pleasure and content in this place, honour’d of some, lov’d of none, admiringe himselfe for the
 “ bulk of his riches, and the arts and contrivance by which he got it; some of which were all-
 “ together unlawfull. Witness his steward Mr. Elliot’s beinge indicted for a mint, and coininge
 “ false money for his use; who on notice thereof forsooke this land, and fled beyond the seas,
 “ though his other agent and confederate Car alias Popjoye, indicted for the same crime of high
 “ treason committed at Saltsb, was taken, tryed, and found guilty, and executed at Launceston
 “ 1695. At which tyme the writer of these lynes was one of the grand jury for the body of this
 “ county, that found those bills; when William Williams, of Treworgye, in Probus, esq. was
 “ sheriff, and John Wadden, esq. foreman of that inquest.

“ Since the writinge of the above premises, about the yeare 1712, Sir James Tyley dyed, and
 “ (as I am inform’d) by his last will and testament obliged his adopted heire, one Woolley, his
 “ sister’s son, not only to assume his name, haveinge no legitimate issue, but that he shoulde not
 “ interr his body after death in the earth, but fasten it in the chair where he dyed with iron, his
 “ hatte, wigge, rings, gloves, and best apparel on, shooes and stockings, and surround the same
 “ with an oake chest, box, or coffin, in which his bookes and papers shoulde be leyed, with penn
 “ and inke also; and *build* for reception thereof, *in a certaine feild of his lands, a wall’d vault or*
 “ *grott to be arched with moorstone*; in which repository it shoulde be leyed without christian buryall:
 “ for that, as he said but an hower before he dyed, in two years space he wold be at Pentley
 “ againe. Over this vault his heire likewise was obliged *to builde a fine chamber*, and set up therein
 “ the picture of him, his lady, and adopted heire for ever; and at the end of this vault or cham-
 “ ber *to erect a spire or lofty monument of stone*, from thence for spectators to overlooke the conti-
 “ guous country, *Plymouth, Sound, and Harbour*. All which, as I am tolde, is accordingly per-
 “ formed by his heire, whose successors are obliged to repaire the same for ever out of his lands and
 “ rents, under penalty of loosing both. However I heare lately, notwithstanding this his pro-
 “ mise of returninge in two years space to Pentley, that Sir James’s body is eaten out with
 “ wormes,

* “ Chiverton *asore said*,” as in page preceding, Sir John is said to have “ married one of the heirs of Sir Richard Chi-
 “ verton, knight, bred a skinner in London, and was lord mayor of that city. 9 Charles 2d, 1657.”

“wormes, and his bones or skelleton falne downe to the ground from the chaire wherein ’twas seated, about four years after it was sett up, his bookes and wearinge apparell all rotten in the box or chayre where it was at first layd.”* If the character here drawn be a just one, this founder of the family of Tilley, of Pentilley, was one of those persons, whom we frequently see rising up in life; men born in a low situation, from their earliest years looking up to grandeur with a foolish feeling of admiration, and as they grew in manhood aspiring to procure what they have so long envied. Then, unawed by any dread of God for want of religion, and exerting the powers of intellect that God has given them for better purposes, they become men of business, clever, dexterous, cunning, and knavish; practising every enormity that is safe from the sword of the law, and wading successfully through guilt into wealth. Such seems James Tilley to have been! He had thus lived, till he feared to die. His fear at last operated so powerfully, as to stupefy his understanding, and extinguish his common sense. He felt he must die, but he persuaded himself he should soon revive. In *two* years he fancied he should revive, and ordered himself to be dressed ready for the revival, but forgot that in *two* years his dress and his flesh would be equally rotted off from his body. He believed he should rise and take possession of Pentilley again, in a couple of years; yet gave Pentilley away *for ever* to an adopted heir, ordered *him* to build a vault for his own residence at present, and commanded his *successors* to keep the vault in repair *for ever*. Such a fool to fear was this man! Such an idiot in death does persevering wickedness make, even the wife of the world! Mr. Gough, however, has heightened the account of this fool in one part, we see, and distorted the description of his idiocy in another. He did not order himself to be placed “in the rocks” near the Land’s End, but in a room on his estate at Pentilly. He did not order himself to be placed, with “his face to the door of a summer-house at Pentilly,” and with “the key put under the door;” but ordered what is wildly meant by a summer-house, “a spire or lofty monument of stone,” to be erected at the end of his vault, for the view that spectators might have from it of the country round. “The key” too has been “put under the door” by the ingenuity of the living; the deceased having naturally forgotten this little circumstance, in his forgetfulness of that grand point, the speedy corruption of his body. Nor was “his figure in wax in the same dress and attitude in the room above,” as Mr. Gough relates; because we know of no upper room ordered “in the rocks” near the Land’s End, because the upper room ordered was actually “a fine chamber” over the vault, and because in it was set up, *not* “his figure in wax in the same—attitude, but merely his *picture*,” the picture too of “his lady,” with the picture of his “adopted heir.” All are, in the same futility of infidel folly, commanded to be kept there “for ever;” as an infidel’s eternity is merely—a couple of years. Such, however, are the many mistakes of Mr. Gough, in this short passage concerning the Land’s End! Yea, such are the tales of indistinctness, the anecdotes of confusion, the narratives of ignorance, that all travellers hear, that the injudicious receive with the very stamp of folly upon their brow, and that the presumptuous publish,

With all their imperfections on their head,
 — Full-blown as May —

III.

* M. S. under St. Mellyn.

III. But let us now advert to the Sylley Isles, and trace their history downwards from the descent of Athelstan, even from the first visits paid them by the Phenicians. We shall thus be able to throw some new light upon a dark subject, to show the true state of Cornwall with its isles originally, and to complete the discoveries which we have made before.

"Dr. Borlase thinks it *highly probable*," as Mr. Gough tells us, and I have made it *certain* before, "that there was a time when" *almost* "all these islands made but one. N. B. In Henry's Valor, even so late, "Silly Inful Chapel."—Hence he naturally *infers*," what is surely not inferrible at all, and what the doctor was too wise to infer, "that the antients included under the "name of Cassiterides the western part of Cornwall, if it did not then join to it."* Mr. Gough here has strangely distorted the sentiments of Dr. Borlase. Wild and illogical as the doctor really is, Mr. Gough has made him ten times more illogical and wild. The doctor actually speaks of "the Cassiterides," as, "by the most ancient accounts of them, appearing *always* to have been "islands;† and therefore *not* joining to Cornwall. The doctor also "infers that the ancients included under the name of Cassiterides, the western part of Cornwall," from other and very different premises. "From this hill" of the Giant's Castle in St. Mary's, says the doctor himself, "we were pleased to see our own country, Cornwall, in a shape new to us, but what certainly induced the ancients to reckon it among the isles, generally called by them Cassiterides; for as an "island it appears to every eye from Scilly."‡ Dr. Borlase thus takes for granted what is absolutely false in fact, and then endeavours to account for it by a logick all frivolous in itself. That any of the antients ever spoke of Cornwall as one of the Sylley Isles, I utterly deny; and that they could possibly have so spoken of it because it now appears as an isle from Sylley, I equally deny. If they ever beheld it from the Giant's Castle, if they—beheld it looking like an isle, they could not have considered it as one of the isles *from which they were viewing it*, and they must have considered it as *another* isle. Even if the antients were so absurd, as to denominate the land which they saw, an isle, merely because it carried some appearance of an isle to their eyes; yet the *natives* must have corrected their error, and made them know the land for a part of Britain. But of the natives Dr. Borlase never thought. Nor did he think much about the antients, to make them view Cornwall only from the Giant's Castle, to make them describe it only from this erroneous view, and to make them *always* viewing, *always* describing from this alone. But, though Dr. Borlase *here* takes it for granted, that the ancients included the west of Cornwall in the isles of Sylley; yet near sixty pages afterward he himself considers it as doubtful, and endeavours to reason his reader into a belief of it. "Whoever sees the land of Cornwall from these islands," he then says, turning his mode of accounting for the averred fact into a proof of the fact itself, "must "be convinced, that the Phenicians and other traders did most *probably*" do what was assumed as *certain* before, "include the western part of Cornwall among the islands, called Cassiterides."§ The doctor is thus, through the whole work, straining up a steep precipice, in his first efforts mounting successfully, but then disabled by the very ardour of his efforts before, and finally beaten by his own struggles down to the bottom. Yet, in want of better hold-fast, he endeavours to stay his descent, and to save his neck, by an appeal to two authors, one of whom, as a modern, could prove only he was as wild as the doctor himself; and the other, who as an antient, proves nothing to

* Gough iii. 758, misprinted 578.

† Scilly Isles, 93.

‡ Scilly Isles, 18.

§ Ibid. 75.

to the point. "Ortelius is plainly of this opinion," cries the doctor, thus grounding his assumed certainty before on a mere opinion, now, on the opinion too of a mere foreigner, "and makes Cornwall a part of the Cassiterides."* I stop not to examine, whether Ortelius is really of this opinion; I hasten to the doctor's next appeal. "Diodorus Siculus," he adds, "does as plainly confound, and in his description mix, the western parts of Cornwall and the Cassiterides, indiscriminately one with the other." Supposing he does, how would this prove a part of the main land of Britain to be reckoned for one of the Sylley Isles? These isles are an integral part of Cornwall now, have indeed been always a part. Yet does this prove Cornwall to be considered as one of them? The question answers itself. Yet, to pursue this shadow of a reason, this evanescent ghost of logick, till it is lost in the light of day; how does Diodorus "confound and mix" Cornwall with the isles? Dr. Borlase tells us himself just afterwards, when he speaks of him as "*confounding*" not the mainland with the isles, but the trade of both, even "the tin-trade of those western parts of Cornwall with that carried on in Scilly."† Thus to speak of the pilchard-fishery of Cornwall and Sylley now, is in this mockery of reasoning a proof, that Cornwall is reckoned a part of Sylley, even the west of it one of the Sylley Isles. Such reasoning is best to be answered by ridicule,

As to be grave exceeds all power of face.

The antients knew Cornwall too well, to make such mistakes as these. They knew it early, they knew it late. They knew it in the Phenicians at first, in the Greeks afterwards, and in the Romans at last. They knew it even in those not merely by views from Sylley, but by voyages along the very coast, by landings upon the very beach, and by both *beyond* the west of Cornwall, *beyond* the middle of Cornwall, *beyond* even the very east of it. But what is still more, the Romans came with their conquering armies from the east of Britain, entered Cornwall as a part of the continent of Britain, and reduced it with the rest of the continent. How then *could* the ancients, in general, have *possibly* considered Cornwall as an island, as one of the Sylley Islands, as what they saw, what they felt it not to be? Antiquaries at times take a peep into the cells of Bedlam, imagine they behold the antients there playing their anticks of frenzy, and become deranged themselves by the imagination.‡

"That the Phenicians accounted their trade to these islands for tin of great advantage," as Dr. Borlase tells us, "and were very jealous of it; is plain from what Strabo says, that the master of a Phenician vessel bound thither, perceiving that he was *dodged*," dogged, "by a Roman, ran his ship ashore, risking his life, ship, and cargo (for which he was remunerated out of the public lick

* Scilly Isles, 75.

† Scilly, 76.

‡ Mr. Troutbeck, a very noted surveyor of the Sylley Isles, cited before, strangely says the isles "sometimes are mistaken for the proverbial Scylla, the name of a rock near the Italian shore, opposite the island of Sicily, mentioned by Virgil, lib. iii. v. 246, &c." p. 1. He then, without any acknowledgement, in p. 3, repeats from Dr. Borlase thus: "Scilly, lying farthest to the west of all the high lands, was the first land of all these islands, that could be discovered by traders from the Mediterranean and the Spanish coast, on which account sailors went on still in their old way, and called them in general the Scilly Islands:" and thus in p. 9, "whoever sees the land of Cornwall from these islands, must be convinced that the Phenicians and other traders did most probably include the western part of Cornwall among the islands called Cassiterides; and Diodorus does plainly confound, and in his description mix, the western parts of Cornwall and the Cassiterides, indiscriminately one with the other; for talking of the promontory Bolerium, alias Belerium, the tin commerce and courteous behaviour of the inhabitants, he says they carried this tin to an adjoining British isle," &c. These are the very absurdities of Dr. Borlase, continued by Mr. Troutbeck, and refuted by me above. A body once set in motion, say the mathematicians, would continue to move for ever; if it was not checked by the friction of matter, and by the resistance of air.

“lick treasury of his country) rather than he would admit a partner in this traffick, by shewing him the way to these islands. The Romans, however, persisting in their resolution to have a share in this trade, at last accomplished it.”* This is all truly said, but with so much indiscrimination, as might be pardonable in one writing at the time, when every point was well known, but is certainly un-pardonable in others, that live at such a distance of time, and that *can* write with a greater distinctness of language. The full history is this.

These Phenicians were indeed Phenicians in origin; but were no more Phenicians in reality, than the English of America are Germans or Gauls at present. They were Phenicians transplanted to Carthage in Africa, and again transplanted to Cadiz in Spain.† From their settlement at the latter, inheriting all the nautical genius of their Tyrian ancestors, and improving it in adventures upon the once dreaded Atlantick before them; with a spirit of enterprize, which reflects high honour upon them, they found their way to the Sylley Isles at the nearest end of our own Britain. They there discovered, in their very curious inquisition into the products of the countries which they visited, a metal not unknown to the nations on the Mediterranean, those central tribes of the globe, but very rare among them, and yet of infinite value to them all. None was then discovered in Germany,‡ and none then imported from India. It was discovered only in Portugal and the adjoining parts of Spain on the north.§ There the Syrians of Carthage previously found it, and the Tyrians of Cadiz therefore ranged the seas for more of it. The mines of Spain and Portugal appear from the very celebrity of the Sylley mines in all ages of antiquity, to have been as un-productive in themselves as they must have been prior in working; and are now known to have been quite exhausted for ages. We thus find *tin* expressly specified among the metals, with which the Tyrians traded; in that large and ample description of its commerce, which Ezekiel has given us concerning its coming destruction; and which exhibits a more circumstantial account of it, than all antiquity besides exhibits.¶ I shall select only a few touches of the picture. “Now, thou son of man,” says God to the prophet, “take up a lamentation for Tyus, and say unto Tyus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles, Thus saith the Lord God, O Tyus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty, thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty;—fine linen with brodered work from Egypt, *was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail*; blue and purple from the isles of Elisba, *was that which covered thee*; the inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners; thy wise men, O Tyus, that were in thee, were thy pilots;—*all the ships of the sea, with their mariners, were in thee to occupy thy merchandize;—Tarshish,*” Cadiz, as I shall soon show, “was thy merchant, by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, TIN, and lead THEY TRADED IN THY FAIRS.” The metal had then been long known to the world. We find it specified among the metals of the east, in the days of Isaiab, or more than 700 years before the Christian æra, God then speaking of it as the customary alloy of finer metals, in figuratively promising the Jews to free them from their corruptions by his kind punishments, and so saying, “I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, “ and

* Scilly Isles, 72, 73.

† See a note concerning Justin, soon.

‡ Camden, 136.

§ Pliny xxxiv. 16. “Plumbum candidum, a Græcis appellatum Cassiteron,—nunc certum est in Lusitaniâ gigni et in Galliciâ.”

¶ Ezekiel xxvii. 2, 4, 7, 9, 12.

"and take away all thy TIN."* But the metal was familiar to Greece, more than four centuries before; Homer maintaining it as one of the metals used in the composition of Achilles' shield.† Yet the first mention of tin in the human history is still earlier, even fourteen centuries and a half before our æra; Moses himself thus noting it as one of the metals then familiar among the Jews, "the gold and the silver, the brass, the iron, the TIN, and the lead."‡ These notices are certainly antienter in some of them, if not in all, to the exportation of tin from Sylley; and the world must therefore have been then supplied with the metal, through the traders of Carthage, from the mines of Portugal or Spain. Eager, probably, to rival their brethren in a commerce, that furnished all the world with the metal from a few mines, the Cadizians very fortunately discovered the isles of Sylley, all replenished with tin. This was as beneficial a discovery to such a maritime and commercial commonwealth, as the discovery of the West-Indies has since been to the monarchy of Spain; and, what is very surprizing, centered equally with that in the port of Cadiz. They therefore took the one precaution, which the weakness of their marine, as calculated only for trade, and the habits of their minds, all bent like the Dutch since upon the lucre of it, permitted them to take. They brought such quantities of tin into the market, from some distant isles in the Atlantick, as gained those isles among the Græcians the general appellation of the TIN ISLES; but they concealed from all the world the exact position of the isles.§ Pliny; plainly reciting some account much older than himself, in a curious but unnoticed passage, observes "the tin was called Cassiteron by the Greeks, and fabulously narrated to be fought in "islands of the Atlantick sea, and to be brought to the seekers in wicker boats, sowed round with "leather."|| We thus catch the very idea that was first floating in writings, concerning the visits of the Cadizians to Sylley, and concerning the conveyance of the tin from the shores to the ships, in boats of the British fabrick. All this was believed to be fabulous at the time, because of the strangeness of it. But the isles were known to be in the Atlantick. Yet where in the Atlantick, was not known. This ocean, now the great *medium* of passage betwixt Europe, India, and America; now, therefore, the most frequented sea in the whole globe, was then a blank, a vacuum, a desert generally to the whole. Nor was concealment all the means used by this Dutch kind of republican merchants, for keeping to themselves the whole trade in British tin. More effectually to preclude all rivals in it, with a truly Dutch spirit they falsified geography itself; by giving such lying accounts of their position, as imposed upon the world for three or four ages. Even to the days of Pliny, the isles were believed to "lie opposite to the coast of Celtiberia" or Spain.¶

But the Greeks of Marseilles, with all that fire of activity which they had derived from their ancestors, and with all that fondness for maritime enterprizes which had carried them from Phoecea
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* Isaiah i. 25.

† Pliny xxxix. 16. "Album habuit autoritatem et Iliacis temporibus, teste Homero; Cassiteron ab illo dictum." So in Iliad xviii. the metals of Achilles' armour are specified thus,

χαλκον δι' εν πυρι βαλλεν κασσίτερον τε, κ. τ. λ.

And Achilles' boots are thus said to have been made,

κημιδας κασσίτεροιο.

‡ Numbers xxxi. 22.

§ Strabo 265. Πρότερον μὲν οὐκ, φοινίκες μόνον τὴν ἐμπορίαν ταύτην ἐκ τῶν ἰαδείρων, κρυπτόντες, &c. &c.

|| Pliny xxxiv. 16. "A Græcis appellatum Cassiteron, fabulosèque narratum in insulis Atlantici maris peti, navigiis circumfusus corio advehi."

¶ Ibid. iv. 22. "Ex adverso Celtiberiæ complures sunt insulæ, Cassiterides dictæ Græcis a fertilitate plumbi."

into Gaul before, resolved to explore the Atlantick themselves for these islands of wealth. They accordingly sent a navigator, who has rendered his name immortal by the act, PYTHEAS MASSILIENSIS. Yet, with the wonder of ignorance in reciting his discoveries, he saw a vast prodigy (he says) in the enormous tides of our ocean; the water rising no less than eighty cubits upon the land.* But he ranged up to the very north of our island, as there he beheld another prodigy, and heard of a third "at Thule, the most northern of the *British* isles," he adds, "where was neither land, nor sea, nor air by itself, but a something composed of all, like the lungs of the sea; in which he says the land and the sea, and all things, are suspended on high; and this acts as the bond of the universe, not accessible either by land or by sea: of all which he" ingenuously owns "he saw nothing himself except the likeness of lungs, and" merely "relates the rest from information."† He had opened a communication with the natives, he had conversed with them by a Gallic interpreter assuredly, but had grossly mistaken their information. He himself, indeed, saw only such a thick sea-fog, as has been frequently mistaken for land by our own mariners, as would thus be neither land nor sea, nor air, yet something composed of all. And in this, as the natives (we may be sure) really reported to him, the land and the sea and all things appeared suspended on high, all nature swimming in the fog as it moved slowly along the shore. He thus pushed as far (can we conceive it possible for navigation then?) as the NINETIETH degree of latitude, or the very north pole itself; because he wrote in the journal of his voyage, that at Thule, "six days sail beyond Britain, the days continued for SIX MONTHS together."‡ But from his mention of the isle as a British one, as only six days sail to the north of Britain, and from the physical impossibility of his wintering at the pole, to know personally the length of a day for six months; we may be sure he went only as far as the Orkney Isles, the only isles on the north ascribable to Britain, there experienced a day of eighteen hours and a half, so went no farther towards the pole than the sixtieth degree, and related all the rest from information received there.§ Yet in this amazing voyage of discovery, which seems to have rivalled all that even the present reign has produced, commerce then running an equal race of glory with philosophy now, and Pytheas ranking in naval action almost with a COOKE himself; he certainly discovered what must have been as certainly the first object of his expedition, the Sylley Isles, though he discovered not what perhaps, from the extent of his navigation, was equally an object, new Islands of Tin. That he reached the former, is plain from what Timæus, the Greek historian of Sicily, who wrote about the year 300 before Christ, and what he could declare only from this the only great voyager of the Greeks in our seas; is reported by Pliny to declare, that "the island Mictis," the island Silura called Mictis, I apprehend, before it was reduced by the Silures, and took their name,|| "is distant from Britain westward by a navigation of six days," that "tin grows in
"IT,"

* Ibid. ii. 97. "Ostogenis cubitis supra Britanniam intumescere ætus, Pythias Massiliensis auctor est."

† Strabo 15.

‡ Pliny ii. 75.

§ Borlase in Ant. of Cornwall, 33 edit. 2, says: Pytheas, "sailed so far north, that he saw the sun disappear, only for a moment of time, and immediately to rise again; which must be as far as 68 degrees of north latitude," rather 66, 31. But for the assertion itself there is no authority. Pliny's is directly against it.

|| Camden 837. "Adjacentem habet Silly insulam exiguam in littore Silurum, quorum nominis plusquam umbram retinere videtur, ut oppidulum regione in agro Glamorgan." But Mictis is from the same root in the British language, that *Vectis* or the Isle of *Wight* is. We know this to be the isle which "vocatur *With*, quam Britones insulam *Gueid* vel *Guith* (vocat), "quod Latine *Dwortium* dici potest." (Nennius c. ii.) Yet the root is no longer found in any of the branches of the British language;

"IT," and that "the Britons navigate to it in wicker boats sewed round with leather."* *Mictis* is thus described in the very same terms with which we have just seen *Silura* and its isles described before; the tin then being "narrated to be sought in islands of the Atlantick sea, and to be brought to the seekers in wicker boats sewed round with leather." And from this voyage it is, that Britain became what Pliny expressly avers it was, what however the industry of learning has toiled in vain to discover whence or how it was, "celebrated in the monuments of the Greeks."† The Greeks of *Marfeilles* now visited the *Sylley Isles*, equally with the Phenicians of *Cadiz*; and equally exported its tin. *Posidonius*, who appears to have been cotemporary with *Pompey*, and to have been visited as a famous orator by *Pompey*, when the latter was engaged upon the piratical war; in a passage that first notices, and surprizingly for a writer so early notices, the British position of *Sylley*, says, "tin is generated in the isles the *Cassiterides*, and is carried from the British isles to MARSEILLES."§ But we even know the very name of the first merchant of *Marfeilles*, that exported a cargo of tin from *Sylley*; *MIDACRITUS*.|| These isles received their general and characteristic name of *Cassiterides*, from the Greeks alone. By this name were they known to *Herodotus* himself, about four centuries and a half before Christ; and probably at a period just posterior to the very voyage of *Pytheas*.† By this name did they continue to be known, through all the succeeding ages of antiquity. The Greeks imposed their Greek name upon the isles, when their predecessors and cotemporaries the Phenicians imposed none; because the Greeks gratified their national vanity in imposing them, and could perpetuate the gratification by their writings. They thus appear also to have done, what the Phenicians appear not to have attempted; to have not only prosecuted their voyages of commerce to the isles, but to have taken their stations at them, to have thence directed their voyages of discovery along the main land of Britain, and to have marked their courses by imposing their names as they sailed along. This is a circumstance utterly unnoticed hitherto, yet very obvious in itself.¶

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language; though the very name of *Pict* is certainly derived from it, (*Hist. of Man.* i. ii. 2.) and with a variation similar to that of *Mictis*. *Pryce* alone, giving a word in his etymons at the end, that he gives not in the body of his work, says thus: "Pen *With* the head of the breach or separation." "These islands," says *Mr. Troutbeck*, 189, "were first discovered by *Hamileo*, a *Carthaginian*, belonging to the *Silures*, a *Phœnician* colony in Spain." Can words be more comprehensive of folly!

* *Pliny* iv. 16. "Timæus historicus a Britannia introitus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim, in qua candidum plumbum provenia," &c. &c.

† *Ibid.* *ibid.* "Britannia insula, clara Græcis monumentis."

§ *Strabo* 220. Κατίηρος—γεννασθαι—εν ταις Κατίηερισι νησοις, και εκ των Βρετανικων δε εις την Μεσσαλιαν κομει ζιθαν. See 752, 753, for *Pompey*.

|| *Pliny* vii. 56. "Plumbum ex Cassiteride Insula," as one isle principally, "primus apportavit Midacritus." This name however, so plainly Græcian, as being *Midas Kpîns*, is violently distorted by *Stukeley* after *Bochart* into *Melcartus*, to make it a Phenician name, *Stukeley* yet acknowledging him as "the first bringing tin into Greece from the Cassiterid Islands." (*Stonehenge* 55.) He certainly meant *Gades* for Greece; or why by force does he give the name a Phenician cast of countenance? And the very force is conviction enough, against the user of it. No word, no name peculiarly, should be altered in an antient manuscript, without a necessity for the alteration. And to alter this into *Melcartus*, is to new-form the history in the mere impotence of fervility to an hypothesis.

+ Ουτε νηος οιδα Κασσιτεριδας εξ ου ο κασσιτερος ημιν φοιτα. "Neither do I know any thing of the isles the Cassiterides, being those from which the Cassiteros" or tin "comes to us." This Greek name of the isles must have been given by the first Græcian that visited them, *Pytheas*; his voyage therefore was prior to the history, and only just prior, I apprehend, about a century and a half after the first voyages of the Phenicians from *Cadiz* to *Sylley*.

¶ *Dr. Borlase* in *Ant. of Cornwall* 28, objects to *Bochart* concerning the Phenician navigators, that "if the Phenicians had been near the Straits Mouth about 800 years before the reign of Pharaoh Nechao, viz. in the time of *Joshua*, it is not likely—such enterprizing sailors should make that their ne plus ultra, for so many ages;" yet in p. 33 avers himself concerning

As they advanced from the Sylley Isles to pass up the British Channel, they took their departure from the Bolerium Promontorium, our Land's End; but gave it an additional appellation of their own; Ptolemy, a Greek like themselves, noting expressly "ANTI-VESTÆUM Promontory, " which is also Bolerium."* But what can be the meaning of such a name? The usages of the Greeks in imposing names, serve sufficiently to explain the meaning. We have thus their Rhium and Anti-Rhium in antient Greece, their Bacchium and Anti-Bacchium in the Arabian Gulph, their Barrium and Anti-Barrium in the Adriatick, from the opposition of the one to the other.† We have also from these general denominators of half the globe, Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and (to come nearer home) Antipolis or Antibes, so named by these very merchants of Marseilles, as standing opposite to their previously founded Nicæa or Nice, but, to come still closer to the case of our Anti-Vestæum, a point on the continent of Phenicia itself denominated Antaradus, from its position over against Aradus, an isle. We thus see the name of Anti-Vestæum derived, from the name of one of the isles which it confronted; *Vest*, like the north and south *Vist* of the Hebrides. And we thus catch by reflection the original appellation, of another of the ten Cassiterides. The Greeks then moved along the southern shore of Britain, to that grand prominence in it, from or at which our own vessels take their departure, or mark their return, the Lizard Point; and called it as Ptolemy calls it from them, "the DAMNONIAN which is also the Ocrinum " Promontory."§ The latter was the antient name, being the name equally of a long ridge of hills that runs from Bridgwater Bay to the Point,|| and being the Welsh *Ochr*, the edged rim of any thing, *Ochros* or *Ochren* edged;¶ these hills, with this terminating prominence of them, being so called as the hills between Yorkshire and Lancashire, are named Blackstone Edge, some hills in Cheshire are entitled Alderley Edge, or some in Warwickshire are denominated Edge-hill.*† The Greeks afterwards advanced to that promontory near Plymouth, which we now denominate from a fanciful yet new imaginary assimilation of the land to an animal, the RAMHEAD in the parish of *Rame*; and, as to our agreeable surprize we find, in so assimilating or so denominating, we are only echoing the voice of the very Greeks, who called it as they called a point in the Euxine,

cerning the Greeks, navigators as enterprising, that "about these Straits they stuck and settled for some ages." The doctor then fixes the Phenician discovery of these isles about 600 years before our æra (p. 27), and the Grecian about 325, (p. 33). He thus overlooks the decisive testimony of Herodotus, for the name of *Cassiterides* imposed by the Greeks upon the isles, and for the conveyance of *Cassiteros*, or Tin, from them into Greece, even as early as "Herodotus, who lived about 440 years " before our Saviour," (p. 29). The decisiveness of this testimony, however, has been equally overlooked by all; in confining the trade to the Phenicians, when the Greek denomination of the isles extends it equally to the Greeks.

* Ptolemy ii. 3. *Αντισεσκαιον ακρον το και Βολεγειον*. Camden 136, who doubted whether the name was Greek, because he could find no correspondent name, applied to the British language for an explanation, but was equally at a loss there; "cum nihil tale invenerim, ad Britannicam linguam me retuli, nec tamen hic me expedire possum." I feel a friendly concern at seeing such a man so puzzled.

† Camden 136. Yet Mr. Gough in i. 3, comes with his "f. *Αντισεσκαιον*, see Vesci, Vefca in Ortelius, Biscaian." Half the actual use of learning is, to puzzle a plain subject.

§ Ptolemy ii. 3. *Δαμνονιον το και Οκρινον ακρον*.

|| Richard 20. "A fluminis Uxellæ sinibus continuum procurrit montium jugum, cui nomen Ocrinum; extremumque " ejus ad promuntorium ejusdem nominis extenditur."

¶ In the Welsh, Awch is the edge of a weapon, Hogi to make a sharp edge, and Ochri the same. I note these, because Richards puts a query upon the meaning of Ochren. Analogy, that best guide in languages, shows determinately what it means.

*† Some doubt may be raised, whether *Tol Pedu Penwith* be not the Ocrinum or Damnonium promontorium, rather than the Lizard; as Ptolemy fixes the south-western angle of the island at it. But Richard's map settles the doubt at once, placing the promontory where it had always been placed, at the Lizard.

Euxine, Κριε Μελαιπον, or the Ram's Front.* But the Greeks still advanced up the British Channel, and even denominated the Start Point in Devonshire the HELENUM PROMONTORIUM, or Græcian Cape;† no longer contenting themselves with giving Greek appellations to our shores, but fixing upon them the very name of Greece, and so fixing apparently upon *this* as the boundary of their range along shore to the east. Thus given, the name shows this expedition of Greeks along our shore, to be *not* what I have felt inclined, as I proceeded, to consider it, as the very voyage of Pytheas himself into the German ocean and the North Sea; but the course of some Greek merchants, exploring our coast from Sylley, and denominating points in it as if these had never been denominated before. *We find no Greek appellations to the east of this.* But, what is very extraordinary, we can trace the same signatures of their coasting from Sylley, in the *Irish* as well as the British Channel. Immediately before the mention of Anti-Vestæum, Ptolemy notices what the Greeks had entitled Ηρακλειος ακρον, or the Promontory of Hercules, that hero of Greece for peregrinations as wonderful as his deeds; and what proves the familiarity of these Greek names among the very natives themselves, a familiarity which could be introduced only by the Romans, we still preserve the Greek title in our English of *Hert-land Point*.‡ The isle of Lundy near it, so inconsiderable even now as to have only one family upon it, was then important enough from its cliffs rising up near eight hundred feet in height, and from its own projection of fourteen or fifteen miles into the sea, to have also a specifick appellation from the Greeks, to have one correspondent with the other, and to have the dignified title of HERACLEA or INSULA HERCULEA,§ the Isle of Hercules. But we crown all with THE PILLARS OF HERCULES, erected upon Hert-land Point;|| the evidently intended signature of the limits of this coasting navigation to the north, as the Græcian Cape was to the east. Thus we actually find “altars erected for the limits of the Roman empire, and Ulysses said after his storms on the sea, to have fulfilled his vows upon them,” at the borders of Caledonia.¶ From all we may fairly conclude, that though “the” written “monuments of the Greeks,” in which “Britain was celebrated,” have not reached us; yet we have enough of notices remaining, to see how it was celebrated, by seeing the coasting navigation of the Greeks from Sylley in the Irish as well as British Channel, by marking the course of their progress along our shores to the north as well as the east, and by observing them to define the extent of their progress with either significant names, or significant erections. But at the close it is amusing to observe, that these navigators of antient times sailed along our shores, and gave appellations to our promontories, with the same curiosity of mind, with the same adventurousness of spirit, with the same unconsciousness of our future consequence as a nation; with which we ourselves

* Richard, p. 21. “Promuntoria—Ocrinum et Κριε μελαιπον. So Mela ii. 1. for the Euxine.

† Richard's Map “Helenum prom.” and p. 20, 21. “tria promuntoria, Helenis scilicet, Ocrinum,” &c. Camden had caught some rumours of this name, but some that made him affix it to the Land's End. “Quodsi Helenum hoc promontorium appellatum fuerit,” he writes in 136, “ut Volaterranus et recentiores habent, non ab Heleno Priami filio, sed a Pen-
“Elin profluxit, quod cubitum Britannis sonat, ut Ancon Græcis.” How ingenious, how judicious, yet how wrong!

‡ Ptolemy ii. 3, and Richard's Map “Herculis Prom.”

§ Richard's Map, and p. 20, “non procul hinc Insula Herculea.”

|| Richard 20. “Visuntur hic, antiquis sic dictæ, Herculis Columnæ.”

¶ Richard's Map, “Aræ finium Imp. Rom.” and p. 32. “Extractas ibi pro limitibus Imperii Romani fuisse aras, Ulyss-
“semque tempestate fluctibusque jactatum heic vota perfolvisse.”

ourselves have been recently exploring the coasts of New Zealand or New Holland, in the southern hemisphere.*

The merchants of Marfeilles thus became sharers with the merchants of Cadiz, in the treasures of the Sylley Isles. But their interest equally instigated them, to conceal the position of the isles from all the rest of mankind. Even their near neighbours and firm friends, the Romans of Narbonne, at that time the greatest emporium of Gaul, and a distinguished colony of Romans,† were not admitted into a share of the gainful traffick. In commercial transactions of such a nature, arresting all the natural, all the honest selfishness of the human heart, and even compelling patriotism itself to come in aid of selfishness; there could be no neighbourly kindness shown, and no partiality of friendship exerted. Hence the islands were as much concealed as ever, from the rest of the commercial world. The Romans, however, made a bold effort to discover the position of them, by sending out a vessel to hover about the port of Cadiz, to wait there the stated outlet of the regular ship for the isles, to attend its course, and move as it moved to its destination. The captain of the Cadizian vessel, who was equally the pilot and the proprietor of it, observed the Roman and perceived his design. Then, with a mixture of private and publick selfishness, he formed a plan of deceiving him, and he executed it completely, at the risque of his life, and with the loss of his property. So valuable was the commerce in itself! So much were all the passions of all the people engaged, in keeping it concealed! And to such heights of generosity did even selfishness itself exalt the souls of some! He had just left the harbour, he was near the coast, he knew it well. To mislead the Roman, by carrying him off into the Atlantick, then doubling upon him in the night, and escaping unseen to the isles; would not satisfy his zeal for this endangered monopoly of the silver metal. He resolved to baffle the present, and to preclude a future attack upon the monopoly, by leading the Roman into a destructive snare. He accordingly steered for a point of the coast, where he knew the water to be shallow and the bottom soft; where his ship and cargo would be lost indeed, but the lives of the crew might be saved; and where the pursuing vessel with all her crew would be sure to be lost. Both the ships were lost; but the Cadizian captain got to land with his men, returned to Cadiz, related the adventure, and was immediately indemnified for his losses out of the publick treasury.‡ Romans however were not then inclined to despair, under any disappointment. They persisted in their efforts, and attempted (like the Massilians) to explore the islands by themselves. They made many efforts for the purpose, but were still baffled in their views. The falsified position of these isles might well baffle them. They would seek the isles where they were not to be found, on the north-western

* Richard, so very useful in every part of Britain, in this has fallen into two gross errors. Thus, p. 20, he writes in the following strain of folly, once thought to be merely Cornish; "cum vero desertas propemodum et incultas Britanniae partes Romani nunquam salutaverint; minoris omnino momenti urbes eorum fuisse videntur, et historicis propterea neglectae." In saying this, however, he is as contradictory as he is erroneous; he having the instant preceding specified two towns, "Mufidum," in the map more properly *Musidunum*, "et Halangium;" and he specifying afterwards thus, "urbes habebant—Volubam, Ceniam," &c. In p. 20 also, and in his map, he splits one promontory into two; "geographis tamen memorantur promuntoria Bolerium et Anti-vestæum," and "Bolerium prom." standing for one, Cape Cornwall (I suppose), but "Anti-vestæum prom." for another, the Land's End (I presume).

† Diodorus Siculus i. 361. Wesselingius.

‡ Strabo 265. *Τῶν δὲ Παμαίων ναυκληρῶ τιμῇ*, &c. &c. How grossly erroneous then is Mr. Troutbeck, in p. 190, when he says "the Romans, to find out their place of trade, employed some of their vessels to follow a Carthaginian or Phœnician in his voyage thither, who perceiving their design, rather than put into Scilly, ran his ship ashore near the Land's End!"

western coast of Spain. And our Sylley would appear to them, as lost in clouds and enveloped in fogs. At last their perseverance was crowned with success. Some years before the entry of Cæsar into Britain, a merchant of the name of Publius Crassus, who deserves almost equally with Pytheas to be recorded for the action, made his way successfully to these objects of desire and doubt. He appears to have been a knowing, thinking, judicious man. He saw their mines of tin, to be very shallow. He beheld the owners and workers of them, to be living in a peaceable kind of plenty on their little islands, and never venturing to sea any farther than Cornwall. He usefully instructed them therefore, to sink their mines deeper in the earth; and boldly advised them to push over the ocean in order to visit the ports of the continent.* In all this he seems to have acted a part equally disinterested and dignified; with all the adventurous turn of a merchant then for gain, to have borne in his breast the soul of a Roman, that actual conqueror of half the globe, and that aspiring sovereign of it all. But, as merchants are formed for gain and conquerors for glory, he acted assuredly like a merchant, and aimed to divert the golden current from its old channel to a new one. He aimed to begin the exportation of tin from the isles by the natives, the transportation of it to the neighbouring shores of *France*, and the consequent conveyance of it over land to *Narbonne*. He would thus cut off the envious monopolists of Cadiz, from all participation in it; and his revenge upon them for their monopoly, would be complete. Having fought for the isles in vain about Cape Finisterre, he would naturally take his course by coasting to the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, up from it along the western shore of France to Ushant, and thence to the Sylley Isles in sight. He must thus have considered *Narbonne*, even Spain itself, to be too distant for such a navigation with such sailors. He could have considered France alone, the western side of France, and the north-western extremity of it, as the only point of the continent accessible to them, as the only point dividing from them "a sea" just "wider than the sea" "betwixt them and Britain."† The mines of Sylley at the time were merely such, as are denominated *Koffens* in Cornwall at present; the veins of metal being followed only, as the courses of stone are at present; and one such mine appearing large in one of the isles at present.‡ But Crassus, in order probably to draw them into his meditated plan of diverting the commerce to *Narbonne*, suggested to them the mode of mining that was practised on the continent, taught them to sink perpendicularly into the earth, and so for the first time introduced among us the formation of subterraneous *lodeworks*. Yet these, as in the infancy of the practice, were only slight and shallow; some still appearing in one of the isles, even near to the very *Koffen* above, none more than four fathoms in depth, but most only six or eight feet perpendicular.§ So usefully did

Crassus

* Strabo 265.

† Ibid. *ibid.*

‡ Borlase's Scilly, 45. "On these downs" in Trescow "we saw a large opening made in the ground, and dug about the depth of a common stone-quarry, and in the same shape. There are several such in the parish of St. Just, Cornwall," and there is one near Redruth, "where they are called *Koffens*, and shew that the more antient way of mining was to search for metals in the same way, as we at present raise stones out of quarries, which, as the metals bear no proportion to the strata of stone in which they lie, must have been very tedious and expensive."

§ Borlase's Scilly, 45. "A little further" than the *Koffen* "we found a row of shallow tin pits, none appearing to be more than four fathom deep, most of them no deeper than what the tanners call *Coflean* shafts, which are only six or eight feet perpendicular." *Coflean*, says Pryce in *Mineralogia Cornubiensis* 319, "from Cothas to find, *steal* tin." This is too devious for admission. The word is *Cos flean* wood-tin, as we have *Steal Coofe*, or Tin-wood, in St. Agnes. It is a term of distinction, for tin raised from shallow works. So *Grain-tin* is the tin of stream-works, *Mine-tin* that of subterraneous works, and *Coflean*, or Wood-tin, that of such subterraneous works as were the first to be supported by timber, the prior mines needing no timber.

Craſſus adviſe, and ſo readily did the iſlanders adopt his advice ! The hiſtorian, indeed, ſays expreſſly, that the iſlanders were “ willing ” to receive the information of Craſſus.* They readily received it in fact, we ſee from the remains ; conſtrasted as theſe ſtrikingly ſtand, from their very vicinity to each other. And the advice concerning navigation was ſo amply carried into execution, that the very iſlanders of Sylley are celebrated by Feſtus Avienus in the fourth century, for men of high minds, great prudence, as merchants, and for great ſkill as pilots, in ſteering their veſſels of ſkins with dexterity through the vaſt ocean. The Greeks, who had given the iſles the name of Caſſiterides from their produce, gave them alſo the title of *Oeſtromenides* from the appearance of their inhabitants. Theſe, ſays Strabo, “ are clad in black, wearing tunicks down to their ancles, girt about the breaſt, walking with ſticks, and *looking like the tragick furies* ; they live generally “ like Nomades upon their cattle, having metals of tin and lead.”† This deſcription is very ſtriking. It ſhows us the iſlanders, even with all their aſpect of “ Tragick Furies.” to have been much more refined in their appearance than the other Britons. The ſkins and the body-paintings of the others are here exchanged, for clothes fabricated of wool, and dyed a black colour. The oppoſition is ſtrongly marked by this circumſtance alone. But the iſlanders had riſen to a ſtill higher degree of refinement. They wore their garments, as our clergy ſtill wear their caſſocks and gowns, as our females (thoſe conſtant leaders in refinement among us) equally wear their gowns and pettycoats, all flowing down to their ancles. They had even mounted to that luxury of refinement in our own faſhions, of walking with canes in their hands, and of wearing girdles about their breaſts. Thus do they juſtify what Diodorus has averred in general concerning the Britons about the Land’s End, but what he certainly meant for theſe iſlanders alone ; that they were “ the moſt civilized of all the Britons.‡ Their intercourse with the Phenicians of Cadiz, and the Greeks of Marſeilles, had produced this improvement in the Britiſh aſpect, as from them they muſt have alſo derived by barter for their tin, the garments and the girdles which they wore. But in this ſtate of civilization, ſo much ſuperior to that of their countrymen, yet ſo totally unnoticed by modern hiſtory, how could they be aſſimilated at all to the Tragick Furies ? Only from this caſual combination of ideas, I believe ; that the furies upon the Græcian ſtage were attired in this very manner, with long garments of black, with girdles round their breaſts to bind up the garments, and with ſtaffs in their hands to ſupport their perſons ; juſt as witches are equipped upon our own ſtage, with broom-ſticks, and clothes that have once been black, and hats that are ſteep-crowned. The iſlanders, ſays Strabo, “ are clad in black, wearing tunicks “ down to their ancles, girt about the breaſts, walking with ſticks, and ” ſo “ looking like the “ Tragick Furies.” From this look the Greeks even proceeded, to give a new name to the iſlands, and to call them the OESTROMINIDES, or the Iſles of the Furies.¶ Accordingly Feſtus Avientis,

totally.

* Strabo 265.

† Ibid. *ibid.* *Ἀνθρώποι μελαγχλαῖνοι, ὅμοιοι τοῖς τραγοῖς.* Inſtead of *τοῖς τραγοῖς*, “ like goats ; ” other copies read *ταῖς τραγικαῖς*, and the old Scholiaſt accordingly gives us theſe words in his Latin verſion, “ *Tragicis qui ſimiles Furiis.* ” The juſtneſs of this reading, though the other has been adopted by the beſt editors, ſo much is excellence at times oppoſed to judiciouſneſs ! is fully evinced by the very appellation of *Oeſtromenides* for the iſles. Mr. Troutbeck ſays, p. 189, from this paſſage, that “ the inhabitants lived by cattle,” or rather “ upon their cattle, *like the Nomades*,” which is all that Strabo ſays ; yet, as he adds to Strabo, “ and ſtaggled up and down *like them*,” he means like the Nomades whom he has omitted to mention, “ without any fixed abode or habitation.”

‡ Diodorus.

¶ Richard 21. “ *Ultra brachium in oceano ſitæ ſunt inſulæ Syddiles, quæ etiam Oeſtrominides et Caſſiterides vocabantur, “ diſtæ.”* The new name is derived from *οἰστρομινια*.

in his description of the sea-coasts, speaks of these isles by this appellation; and says they used to be visited for traffick not only by the men of *Tartessus*, the *Cadiz* evidently of these times and the *Tarshish* of scripture, but by those also who can in no sense be said to have traded with the Sylley Isles, except as the immediate ancestors of the Cadizians, the men of *Carthage*.

Tartesusque in terminos *Oestrymnidum*
Negotiandi mos erat, Carthaginis
Etiam colonis.*

At the far-distant isles, *Oestrymnides*
Did the *Tartessians* use to have a trade,
The very colonists from *Carthage*.

The authority of such a writer as this, conspires with the analogy of history; to beat down the testimony of Justin, and to extinguish the belief of modern historians, concerning the equal origin of the Cadizians with the Carthaginians immediately from Tyre. Here the Cadizians appear, as all their history shows them to be, Tyrians successively transplanted to Carthage and to Cadiz, even "the very colonists from Carthage" itself.† And thus that *Tartessus* or *Tarshish*, which has been long floating in uncertainty betwixt Carthage and Cadiz, is here fixed firmly for ever at the last.§ But Festus tells us what is still more important concerning these isles, and shows us the ready use made of Crassus's advice by these islanders.

In quo insulæ sese exerunt *Oestrymnides*
Laxæ jacentes, et metallo divites
Stanni atque plumbi; multa vis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax solertia,
Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus;
Nullisque cymbis turbidum latè fretum,
Et belluosi gurgitem oceani, secant;
Non hi carinas quippe pinei texere,
Facere remos non abiete, ut usus est,
Curvant phasellos; sed, rei miraculum,
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.†

There raise their heads the isles *Oestrymnides*,
Lie loose together, and in metals rich
Of tin and lead; the men are very strong,
Proud in their minds, but in their conduct wise,

H

Their

* Camden 857. "Nostri," Pliny iv. 22, "Tartesson appellant, Poeni Gadir," &c. &c.

† Justin xlv. 5. "Cum Gaditani a Tyro, unde et Carthaginensibus origo est, facta Hercules,—in Hispaniam transfugerent, urbem que ibi condidissent," an account too romantick to be true! "invidentibus incrementis novæ urbis finitimis Hispaniæ populis, ac propterea Gades bello laceissentibus," the Tyrians (we expect) would assist their infant colony, but no! "auxilium confanguineis Carthaginensibus misere. Ibi, felici expeditione, et Gaditanos ab injuriâ vindicaverunt," then "left them as Tyrians and Cousins, we anticipate, but no! considered them as colonists, "et majorem partem provinciæ imperio suo adjecerunt."

§ The voyage of Colæus to Tartessus, beyond the pillars of Hercules, coincides with this. See Herodotus iv. 152.

† Camden 857. The text being corrupt, I have taken the various readings suggested by Nonnius or the Parisian editor, to make sense and grammar of it.

*Their souls are ever on their traffick bent ;
 Yet with no boats like ours do they attempt
 The wide, the boisterous, monster-breeding sea ;
 To form the keel of pine, as others do,
 Or shape the beech for oars, is not the way
 They bend their skiffs ; but, wonderful to tell !
 They make their vessels with conjoined skins,
 And range in leather o'er the wide-spread waves.*

So much was the genius of these islanders changed, by this visit of Crassus to them ! So very different were they now become, from what they had been ! From a life of peace and plenty on their little isles, knowing nothing of the world about them, considering the kindred isle of Britain as a continent, an universe to them, and rich in a metal for which they had no use, from their want of knowledge in the qualities of the ore, and in the modes of manufacturing it ; they were suddenly visited by some strangers from a region, then thrown by the general ignorance of the world concerning its own geography, to the seeming distance of half the globe from them. They were amazed undoubtedly at their dress, so superior to what they made for themselves out of the same materials with their very boats ; at their persons, so strongly attesting the neighbourhood of their country to the sun ; and at their ships, so strongly built, so largely framed, so plentifully provided with all kinds of stores. Yet they would be more amazed, to hear of the vast distance from which the strangers had come, to find they had a person among them, a miner assuredly from Spain or Portugal, whose eye fastened readily upon their tin ore, whose hand eagerly picked it up from their brooks, and whose tongue taught them to collect it carefully for the present, to separate the metal from its adherences by water, and then to fuse it by fire into ingots. So commenced the mining for tin in Britain ! It commenced at first at the south-western angle, in one of its detached isles there. It went on there, till the islanders had been successively taught by the Carthaginians of Spain, by the Greeks of Marseilles, or by the Romans of Narbonne, to become expert miners, to rise even into bold mariners, and in their sea boats of skins to explore that very continent, from which they had been now visited by three different nations of it. Yet, what is perhaps more surprizing than all, this amusing, this instructive portion of our British history, has never been called out into notice before ; though it is so necessary to the origin of all our domestick manufactures, and of all our foreign commerce ; so necessary even to the history of our commerce and manufactures afterward.*

To

* Dr. Borlase has totally overlooked this passage in his Scilly Isles, important as it is in itself, and actually cited by Camden for him. Dr. Pryce, in his Min. Corn. writes thus wildly, for want of knowing the evidence above. "I hope the reader will not judge it improbable," he cries, in the introduction, "if we suppose that the inhabitants of Cornwall and Devon, after the flood, were well acquainted with tin in its richest mineral state ; for it requires no uncommon degree of intellectual examination to comprehend, that, in the earliest ages from that grand epocha, our richest shode and stream tin must have been found" and fused and shipped to other countries ; so "that we supplied all the markets of Europe and Asia with that commodity, in early ages." So easy is it to fabricate a system, when we know not the facts, of history ! "From hence we would infer," he continues to say, in p. iii. "that all tin produced in the primitive ages of the post-diluvian world, was from stream or shode," the latter by cutting trenches in the ground in order to discover veins of metal, "perhaps many ages before deep mining was at all known." He overlooks the mode of mining by *Koffens*. "We have authority to say," from Mr. Carew and a M. S. of Serjeant Maynard which we have seen, that the working of lodes was unknown to our ancestors in the first ten centuries after the Incarnation ; so that we may reasonably conclude, our lode or mine works are not 700 years standing." They appear above to have begun in Sylley, about the very period of the Incarnation itself.

To what part of the continent, then, did the islanders of Sylley, those earliest navigators and first merchants of Britain, transport their tin? To the region of the Veneti, and to the harbour of Vannes their capital, in Bretagne. We know the fact from the subsequent history. We are sure that the islanders went to the continent, we naturally pitch upon the nearest part of France as the point to which they went, and we actually behold the natives of this point trafficking afterwards with the islanders. "The Veneti," as Strabo observes with some little deflection from truth in the reason assigned, but in full accordance with my argument as to the fact alledged, "engaged in a naval war against Cæsar, *because* they wished to preclude him from his expedition into Britain, AS THEY USED THAT EMPORIUM."* "The Veneti," adds Cæsar during this war, "have very many ships, with which THEY HAVE BEEN USED TO NAVIGATE INTO BRITAIN."† But, as he afterwards adds concerning the Veneti, "they send for auxiliaries out of Britain, WHICH LIES CONFRONTING THEIR COUNTRY."‡ And, as he finally subjoins with a peculiar reference to auxiliaries so fought, "in almost all his Gallick wars he understood auxiliary troops to have been FURNISHED FROM BRITAIN."§ The voyages of the islanders to Vannes were not frequent enough in themselves, or the vessels of the islanders were not roomy enough for stowage, or the navigation across the mouth of our channel was not safe enough for them. For one or more, or all of these reasons, the Gauls of Vannes, having once acquired an insight into the traffick from the access of the islanders to their port, soon superseded the necessity for this by repairing themselves to the isles. Then the experience of the Gauls in navigation, the firmness of their vessels, the expeditiousness of their movements, and their habits of commerce, would speedily, without a prohibitory law, throw the whole trade of carrying, into the hands of foreigners again. In both these modes of management, however, the tin would certainly form a greater article of commerce than ever, be exported in larger quantities from the isles, and be lodged almost entirely for sale in the warehouses at Narbonne.

But the current of commerce is perpetually shifting its channel. Some accident intervenes to obstruct its course, or some opening is made for dividing its waters. Accordingly the trade for the tin of the isles took a new course soon. All Gaul was reduced under the power of the Romans, and the commerce to Britain could be prosecuted upon a larger scale. It now became a national object, involved in it the interests of half the south of the island, and was carried on by a combination of powers that appears gigantick in itself, if we compare it with the infantine weakness then of the mercantile mind in Britain. Even so early as the reign of Augustus, as Strabo informs us, "there are four passages out of the continent to the isle familiarly used, from the mouths of the currents of the Rhine, of the Seine, of the Loire, and of the Garonne."|| The first "course, or that from the places about the Rhine," as Strabo himself explains his own meaning, "is not from the very mouths" of the Rhine, "but from those neighbours of the Menapii the Morini, with whom is the Ictium," or port of Witfand.¶ This is the very course which was taken by the merchants of Gaul, near Witfand, in Cæsar's time, in which he meant

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to

* Strabo 297.

† Cæsar De Bell. Gall. iii. 8. "Naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consueverant.

‡ Ibid. 9. "Auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas regiones posita est, accerunt."

§ Ibid. iv. 20. "Omnibus fere Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat."

|| Strabo 305.

¶ Ibid. ibid.

to move for Britain himself, and concerning which he interrogated the merchants when he had convened them.* The second is equally described by Strabo himself thus: "the Rhine upwards may be navigated a great way, by large vessels, thence the course is up the Arar and the Dubis, but *there* comes a portage or carrying-place to the river Seine; down this river do they now go to the ocean, the Lexobii, or the Caleti; and the course from them into Britain is less than a day's sail."† This commenced evidently at the mouth of the Seine, and ended plainly on the opposite coast of Hampshire. The third is the very course that we have seen the islanders of Sylley first, and the Gauls of Vannes afterward, taking from the isles to the continent; but on the destruction probably of the naval power of these primitive Venetians by Cæsar, had been removed from Vannes to Nantz, from the metropolis of the Veneti to the capital of the Monnetes, the building-yard of Cæsar's gallees for their destruction, and that harbour at the mouth of the Loire.‡ And the fourth was obviously another course from France to Sylley, one set up to shorten the carriage of the Sylley tin from Vannes, or from Nantz to Narbonne, by transporting it up the Garonne to Toulouse probably, and then conveying it by a short portage to Narbonne. So very important did the tin-trade of Sylley still continue. It seemingly comprehended one full half of the whole trade of Britain. But it seems to have comprehended still more, as another port of passage from Gaul into Britain had equally the tin for its commercial object. This is the second of the four, so particularly described by Strabo above, as extending across the whole continent of France from the mouth of the Rhone to the outlet of the Seine, and traversing the channel to the opposite coast of Hampshire. It terminated on this side of the channel, at the Isle of Wight; as we find from a parallel passage in another historian, that relates to the same line of commerce, but is more circumstantial in its narrative, and unites with Strabo's to complete the curious intelligence. Even while the tin of Sylley was transported by sea directly to the Garonne and the Loire, it was equally transported, and in more than an equal quantity, I believe, from Sylley, by sea, into Cornwall, and from Cornwall by land to the Isle of Wight. There was it shipped off for the opposite coast of France, and gangs of horses were then employed in conveying it across the continent. These traversed the country from the channel to the Mediterranean, in thirty days generally; and deposited their loads at the mouth of the Rhine. They were there put on board the vessels which waited for them, and carried away to Marseilles or Narbonne.§ This is a very interesting account of our tin trade, and arrests the attention of every historical mind strongly. It proves the tin of Sylley to have been the grand export from Britain, and the mighty *medium* by which the commerce of Britain was chiefly prosecuted then. The depository at the mouth of the Rhone was the city of *Arles* assuredly, which then lay immediately upon the margin of the Mediterranean, though it is now at a considerable distance from it; because the Mediterranean has been retiring for ages from the southern shore of France, as the ocean has equally been from the northern.|| But, in a few years, the active spirit of the merchants at Narbonne and Marseilles, those former contenders for the trade being now the pursuers of it in partnership, improved even

* De Bell. Gall. iv. 20.

† Strabo 288.

‡ De Bell. Gall. iii. 9.

§ Diodorus Siculus i. 347 and 361. Weffelingius.

|| Wraxall's Tour, 121. "Freius, which is situated between Toulon and Antibes, where the Emperour Augustus laid up his gallees after the battle of Actium, is now become an inland city." Aigues Mortes also, another port once, "is at present half a league from the shore." 122. Agde was made a port by Richelieu, in the room of it; but before 1670 Agde was rendered almost useless as a harbour. Then Colbert built Cette, and Cette is now obstructed greatly by sand.

even upon this plan of proceeding, and adopted what Strabo has described to us before. They sent out large vessels immediately from their respective ports, laden with proper commodities for the British market. These entered the mouth of the Rhone, and found in the address of their crews the means of pushing up that very rapid current, though the French dare not attempt to push at present, as far as Lyons.* There they left the Rhone for the Saone, advanced easily up this gentle river, till it receives the Doux; and then took to the channel of the last, though this is not navigable to the French at present.† When thus they had mounted within a few miles from the source of the Seine, they un-shipped their cargoes, carried them over-land to the current, and so fell down with it to the ocean. They advanced therefore by the Rhone, the Saone, and the Doux, as high as Dole or Besancon, both of them the towns of the Romans, yet the only towns that the Romans had on the Doux; then formed a portage of some miles to Troyes, I suppose, another town of the Romans; there embarked upon the Seine, to glide along it by Melun, Paris, and Rouen, to the channel; describing a line of inland navigation, which must appear surprising even to the present age, under all its improvements in managing rivers and constructing canals for trade, as it intersected the whole kingdom of France from the south to the north.‡ But it also fixes our eye upon the Sylley Isles, shows these to be still the great sources of tin to the world, and proves them still to furnish the great materials of our very extended commerce with the continent.

So important were the isles of Cornwall then! Yet the Cornish writers, in a continued paroxysm of zeal for the continent, as opposed to the isles, have been long affecting either to deny or to disguise this account, to substitute Cornwall for Sylley, and to give that a share at least, even a principal share, in all the commercial glory of this. "The vestigia of any ten lodes, mines, or workings, in the islands of Scilly," cries the Cornish Mineralogist, "are insufficient to convince us, that they only gave this beautiful metal to the world: the remains of any such workings are scarcely discernible; for there is but one place, that exhibits even an imperfect appearance of a mine; and so necessary an appendage to a mine, as an adit to unwater the workings, is not to be seen in all the islands. If, in those days, the metal was produced from stream or rhode stones only, we must undoubtedly have discovered in latter times those lodes or veins, from whence they were dismembered by the deluge. Some remains of such lodes would
" now

* Strabo iv. 175, shows the *mouth* of the Rhone even then, to be entered with difficulty from the impetuosity of the current. "You cannot possibly *return* by water" up the Rhone; "for it is never *practised* on account of the rapidity of the current, which frequently runs in the Rhone at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour." *Gentleman's Guide through France*, 149, 150. The boats, that go down laden, must return un-laden, creeping along the shore; using a sail some times, as at entering the river, in order to stem the current; and at other times taking advantage of those eddies, which are along shore in all strong currents, and by which a part of the downward current is made to run upwards.

† Breval's first Travels, i. 202.

‡ The Romans had once formed a plan for uniting the Moselle with the Saone, so making an inland navigation betwixt the ocean and the Mediterranean, (Tacitus Ann. xiii. 53.) This was a more circuitous one, than the course here. But this very course was projected in the present century, to be made *without a portage*. "When I was last at Lyons," says the knowing Mr. Breval, "an engineer had actually undertaken a junction—between the Rhone and the Saone," he means the Seine; "which was to be effected by means of the Armenon and the Ouche." (Second Travels, ii. 116, 117.) In 1784 this junction was begun to be made, with two others; one to unite the Rhone and Saone with the Loire, a second to unite the Rhone and Saone with the Ill, and the Rhine below Strasburgh, but the third to unite the Rhone, the Saone, the Yonne, and the Seine. All were hoped to be completed before 1790. But alas! before 1790 arrived, a general spirit of insanity had seized the whole kingdom, the French were eager to revert into their savage state again, and they plunged into Atheism to reach it the sooner.

"now be visible on the sea-coast or cliffs, if any such had ever been."* I cite this passage only to show in a lively instance, how far the confidence of reasoning will go, in making strong assertions in the very face of facts opposed. The "one place, that exhibits an imperfect appearance of a mine," is the one appealed to by me before, and thus described by Dr. Borlase himself: "this course of tin bears east and west nearly, as our loads, or tin veins, do in Cornwall; these are the only tin pits which we saw, or are any where to be seen, as we were informed, in these islands."† These are said too by Pryce, to exhibit only "an imperfect appearance of a mine;" merely because they are what Dr. Borlase himself calls them, "shallow tin-pits, most of them no deeper than what the tanners call *Coftean shafts*."‡ They are therefore real, perfect mines, and familiar as such to the tanners of Cornwall. Nor is the other assertion true, that "an adit to under-water the workings is not to be seen in all the islands." At the very place to which he is here alluding, at this "even imperfect appearance of a mine," is actually an adit. The fact may seem astonishing after the averment. But it is mentioned by the very author, to whom Pryce is tacitly referring for an account of these shallow tin-pits. "To the west end of these pits," cries Dr. Borlase, "there is THE MOUTH OF THE DRAIN OR ADIT."§ The islanders of Sylley are thus found to have not only reduced the advice of Crassus into practice, by sinking shafts perpendicularly in the earth, but to have added to their shafts, shallow as they were, what seems to be necessary to deep mines alone, and what is certainly a bold operation of the mining genius, a tunnel underground for diverting the waters that break in upon the mines. Nor is the insinuation one iota truer, than the assertions before. Lodes or veins of tin are actually "visible on the sea-coast or cliffs." They are actually noticed as visible, by Dr. Borlase himself. "Nothing surprized me more," he tells us, "than that there should be *so few* veins in the rocks of these islands."|| There are *some*, therefore. "I saw one vein," he adds, "at Trescaw," even the very course of tin noticed in the *Coftean shafts* before. So exceedingly unfortunate is Dr. Pryce, at that place; falling into the shafts repeatedly, and hazarding his neck at each fall! This vein "might be two feet wide, on a cliff near a place called the Gun-well." But "there was" also "a very narrow one, on the same island," even "under Oliver's Battery."¶ Nor is this all the evidence that we have of the remaining mines in Sylley. "The former," observes Dr. Borlase, "has been worked for tin, and has several shafts and burrows on the course of it," as indeed we have seen before, "the only ones in all Scilly; the other we could perceive no metal in."*† Such existing remains, however, raise in us a high degree of wonder at the boldness and rashness of Pryce. Yet our wonder still rises as we proceed. "I saw two veins," subjoins the same author, "about two inches wide, running through the rocks on the back of the pier at St. Mary's." Even "a gentleman with me," again notes the author, "thought he found one vein in Porth-Mellyn cove."*|| Nor is this all the evidence, which his own author was continually holding up to the eye of Pryce, even while he wrote. "There may be also tin-veins," his author ingenuously acknowledges, "in those cliffs which we did not visit, although the inhabitants upon enquiry could not recollect, that they contained any thing of that kind; as the *Guél Hill* of Brehan, *Guel Island*, the name *Guél* (or *Huél*), in Cornish, signifying a working for tin."††. So Camden argued

* Min. Cornub. Introduction iv.

† Ibid. 72.

‡ Scilly Islands, 45.

*† Ibid. ibid.

‡ Ibid. ibid.

*|| Ibid. ibid.

§ Ibid. ibid.

†† Ibid. 73, 74.

¶ Ibid. 71.

gued to prove the Sylley Isles the Cassiterides, (for even this, it seems, was doubted very recently by some,) "principally from this circumstance, that they have what no other islands in this tract have, *veins of tin*, and two of the lesser isles, *Minan-witham* and *Minuis-island* seem to derive their names from mines."* And, to close all with another testimony from Dr. Borlase, whom Pryce seems as little to have consulted, as Dr. Borlase consulted Camden, "I have been lately informed," he confesses in a note, "that under one of the cliffs of *Annet* there is a load, in which there is the appearance of tin; and that it looks as if it had been worked."† So very groundless is Pryce's assertion, of there being little or no signatures of mines in Sylley, and absolutely no remains of adits or of lodes within it! One mine, one adit, and several lodes, appear still attested by names, or still evident to the senses. Even if no mine was to be found, no adit to be seen, and no lode to be traced; yet, after such convulsions as the isles are confessed to have suffered, what would the objection avail? It would avail only to show, that the mines were in the lowest parts of the isles, and buried with them in the overflowing ocean. This the Cornish Mineralogist unconsciously allows, in alledging that, "unless we make great allowances indeed for encroachments of the ocean since those early ages, the islands of Scilly are merely in their present state a cluster of barren rocks."‡ Every one, who knows the history, and views the state of these isles, must make great allowance indeed for those "encroachments."

Yet, with all allowances, we have seen before, and shall instantly see again, many traces of mines in the parts preserved of the old islands. Dr. Borlase was a mere visitor to the isles, and consequently could not be expected to collect full information upon the point. But we have another writer, a resident upon the isles for years, no antiquary indeed, no scholar, but (what is better for our present purpose) an observer of what he saw, and a recorder of what he heard. This author has noticed many mines still existing in remains upon the isles, of which Dr. Borlase knew nothing. In St. Mary's, he tells us, "at a little distance from the entrance of the garrison, on the outside of the lines, is AN OLD TIN PIT, wherein some miners were lately employed; but, as they could not raise ore of a quality and quantity sufficient to defray the expence, they were discharged."§ In the very same island, "on the shore of Toll's Porth, close by" a breast-work, "are TWO OLD TIN PITS, partly filled up, one of which is now about six feet deep, and near four feet square."|| In St. Martin's Isle, "a little to the west" of Burnt-hill, "is Culver Hole, supposed to be AN OLD TIN-WORK;" and at Wine Cove, "close to the shore, is a round hole, twelve feet deep, and seven feet diameter, supposed to have been A TIN PIT."¶ In White-Isle, "on the east side, a cavern goes in under ground so far, that no person now living ever saw the farther end of it; I heard a custom-house officer say, that he went in so far in a direct line, in search of run goods, that he could not see the light from the entrance, and that he was afraid to go further in, lest he should meet with water or some other danger; it is supposed to have been AN OLD TIN-WORK, its direction is east and west."*† In Tresco Isle, "on the north side of" Tregarthen-hill, "is AN OLD TIN-WORK, close to which is" what analogy shows to be

* P. 857. "Quod caput est, cum Stanni venas habeant, ut nullæ aliæ hinc tractu insulæ, et a fodinis duæ minores, *Minan-witham* et *Minuis-island* nomen duxisse videantur." *Menawethan* is one of the eastern isles, but *Minuis-island* exists no longer under that name. The only names approaching to this, and equally derived from mines perhaps, are Great *Minalto*, Little *Minalto*, *Mincarlo*, and *Menarvorth*.

† Scilly Isles, 73.

‡ P. iv.

§ Troutbeck, 53.

|| Ibid. 102.

¶ Ibid. 110.

*† Ibid. 111.

be another, "a subterraneous cavern called *Piper's Hole*, which goes in about sixty fathoms under the hill from the sea-shore; in the middle of this cavern is a pool of fresh water, about "twenty fathoms over and three fathoms deep," a *Koffen* probably, filled up with water; "this cavern is from ten to twenty feet wide, and about the like in height."* But "on the north-west side of Tregarthen-hill is the head of a pond, which is supposed to have been for WASHING TIN ORE in ancient times;" while "at the most northern extremity of Tresco island is a cavern under ground, about twelve feet in height to the roof, and about three feet wide, and which runs under ground about seventy feet; near which is another cavern, about twenty feet high, which goes under ground about sixty fathoms, and about ten feet wide; these caverns are supposed to be OLD TIN-WORKS;" and "at the east-side of the entrance of New Grimsby harbour is a cavern, that goes east north-east under ground about twenty fathoms, supposed to have been AN OLD TIN-WORK."† These caverns show us the islanders pursuing the instructions of Crassus, not merely in shallow *Coffean* shafts sunk perpendicularly, but improving in courage, advancing in skill, so as to sink shafts to a considerable depth; yet in a manner that still marks their half-timidty and half-ignorance, by sinking their shafts half-horizontally, going by a gradual declension into the bowels of the earth, and so forming a process in mining that was very natural in itself, but has never been noticed (I think) as either actual or probable. And these serve happily to point out to us another cavern, that has all the features of a tin-work, yet has never been supposed one, "a large subterraneous cavern" in St. Mary's, "which is called *Piper's Hole*," like one in Tresco above;—"going in at the orifice, it is above a man's height, and of as much space in its breadth, but further in grows narrower and lower;—strange stories have been related of this place, of men going in so far that never returned; that dogs have entered here and gone under ground so far as the island of Tresco, where, at another orifice of the same name, upwards of four miles distant, they have come out again with moist of their hair off."‡ Upon one side of the last-mentioned tin-work in Tresco, "about a furlong north from the old castle, is ANOTHER OLD TIN-WORK."§ So pregnant with tin does this single isle appear to have once been! Yet we have even another relique of its mines to mention. "About a quarter of a mile west south-west from the Blockhouse," continues our useful informant, concerning these significant remains in the Cassiterides, yet all insensible of their significance, "upon the top of the hill is a natural rock, about nine inches from the surface of the ground, with a round hole in its centre, eight inches (in) diameter, supposed for an upright post to work round in; and, at the distance of two feet from this hole in the centre, is a gutter cut round in the rock out of the solid stone, fourteen inches wide, and near a foot deep, wherein a round-stone, four feet diameter and nine inches thick, did go round upon its edge, like a tanner's bark-mill, which is worked by a horse; the round stone has a round hole through its centre, about eight inches diameter: this is supposed to have been A MILL FOR THE PURPOSE OF PULVERIZING THE TIN ORE in ancient times, and worked either by men or a horse, before stamping-mills were known of the present construction,"|| and, as "at the north-east end of Annet Island is an opening, which comes in from the sea, about forty yards long, near ten feet wide, and about twenty deep wide, called Lake Anthown, which goes in under ground, and is supposed

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* Troutbeck, 124.

† Ibid. 125.

‡ Ibid. 52.

§ Ibid. 125.

|| Ibid. 133, 134.

“to have been AN OLD MINE,” and an “iron” one, “because the rocks here have the appearance of iron ore,” when the isles never in any age produced any iron, and the mine must certainly be what all the others of these isles are, tin;* so are there other caverns in the isles that were tin mines originally, as in St. Mary’s “a cave among the rocks, called Tom Butt’s Bed, “which is very dangerous and difficult to get at, the ground being so steep about it,”† or “a subterraneous cavern called Darraty’s Hole, where smugglers sometimes conceal run goods,”‡ or in St. Martin’s “a subterraneous cavern called the Pope’s Hole, about fifty fathoms under the ground, into which the sea flows, above ninety feet high from the level of the water.”§ We thus find the mines of the antient islanders, in the traditions and in the remains existing upon the islands at present. We even find a *buddle-pool* and a *slamming-mill* of the antients, still exhibited to the eyes of antiquarian curiosity. We therefore cannot but wonder at the negligence in Borlase, that could ever speak of the fewness of the reliques still preserved, from the mines of these celebrated isles of tin; and condemn the presumption in Pryce, that could ever venture to assist either their nothingness or their existence.

But as to the crowning effort made by Borlase and Pryce, in conjunction, for diverting Diodorus’s account of the tin conveyed to his *Ictis*, or to the *Isle of Wight*; it is so full of folly, as reflects infinite disgrace upon the judgments that could make it. By this, avers Dr. Borlase, Diodorus “means one of the Scilly Isles, to which they conveyed their tin before exportation from the other smaller islands.”|| But Diodorus expressly tells us, that the tin was carried to his *Ictis* in *wains*.¶ This single circumstance oversets the whole argument. I need not appeal to the course of the navigation for this tin, from the mouth of the Seine to the coast of Britain opposite, when there were two courses more to the west, from the Loire and from the Garonne; in order to prove the *Ictis* to be what its name tells us it was, the Isle of Wight. And as to the fancy which Pryce has borrowed from Hals, of the *Ictis* being a name still preserved in that of “Car-ike road, “the chief part of Falmouth harbour, and Arwyn-ike and Bud-ike lands;”*† it is such a ringing of changes upon the name, as is fit only for a cell in St. Luke’s Hospital. I shall only add therefore, that at this period, when the tin became such a valuable article of commerce, was carried by so many different channels of conveyance into France, and one of these a conveyance by land through the whole length of Cornwall; the tin of Cornwall probably came first to be sought. It was certainly sought by mining at a period just like this, when the Britons had *not yet* learned the use of the mining instruments of the Romans. “It is supposed,” cries Norden with a strange substitution of Jews for Britons, “that the Jewes first endeavoured to dyve into their rocks,” those of the Cornish, “for this commodious minerall; though they then wanted theys prevayling instruments, “which latter times doe afford. Their pickaxes were of weake mater to comaunde the obdurate rockes, as of holme, of boxe, hartes horne, and such like, which kinde of tooles,” obviously those of the primæval Britons, and anterior to the familiar use of iron, “MODERN TYNNMEN “FINDE IN OLD FORSAKEN WORKES.”*§ So plainly did the Britons work in the mines of the Cornish continent, *before* the Romans came to conquer them, and so take them into the great society of civilized men! But the argument is enforced, by the appearance of the Romans themselves

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* Troutbeck, 158.

† Ibid. 52.

‡ Ibid. 94.

§ Ibid. 109.

|| Scilly Isles, 76.

¶ *AΓΑΖΕΞΙΣ*.

*† Min. Corn. v.

*§ Norden ii. 12.

selves in these mines. "The Romans also in their time," adds Norden, "tooke their turne to search for this comoditie," tin, "as is supposed" and demonstrated "by CERTAYNE OF THEIR MONIE, which HAVE BENE FOUND IN SOME OLD WORKES reviewed."* And, as Leland informs us concerning a discovery in his own time, "there was found of late yeres syns spere heddes, axis for warre, and swordes" all "OF COPER," all Roman or Roman-British, "wrappid up in LYNIN," introduced by the Romans, "and perisid, nere the Mount, in St. Hilaries paroch, in TYNNE WORKS."† These works would naturally commence at the points nearest to Sylley, and thence advance to the eastward. They had then proceeded under the Romans, as far as the Mount; proceeded afterwards, but still under the Romans probably, to the east of the county; and concluded their march at last, yet probably under the Romans still, by visiting the west of Devonshire. The tin mines of Cornwall were assuredly worked with more vigour, as they would certainly be worked with more wisdom, by the Romans; than they ever were before the present century. The un-controuled range of our tin throughout their vast empire, and by their means at times through all the nations around, even to India, in exchange for her jewels;‡ must have lent such an encouragement to the miners, while it also opened to them such mysteries of mining, theoretical or practical, as no other period of our history could either open or lend. The present mode of lining the inside of our copper pans with tin, so necessary to our health, so gratifying to our delicacy, and so largely multiplying the calls for tin among us; commenced among the Romans, commenced early among them, but was first practised by the Gauls under them, even so ingeniously practised, that silver, the usual lining of superior sauce-pans before, could hardly be distinguished from tin now; and thus was one grand cause probably of such large demands from Gaul for the tin of Sylley. §

This isle ranged then all under the eye from the high grounds of the Land's End, much lower than these grounds, extending from that prominence on the east, to the rock on the south-west, about thirty miles in length. "There is," cries Mr. Troutbeck, settling what none of our maps, none of our charts, none of our histories settles, "a very bad range of rocks that lies between Scilly and the Land's End, about three leagues east north-east from St. Martin's Head," which head (as the author says in another place) "bears due east about ten leagues distant" from the Land's End, and so seven leagues west of the Land's End themselves, "called the SEVEN STONES, very dangerous to shipping coming from abroad, as well as for coasting vessels."|| Accordingly we find his Majesty's sloop the Lizard was lost upon the *Seven Stones* in February 1747, and all her crew drowned.¶ Others have been equally lost.*† But, as the author adds in direct conformity to

* Norden, 12. "For "reviewed" read perhaps "renewed."

† Itin. iii. 17, 18. Norden 37, says thus: "nere this place," Mousehole, when the discovery was some miles from Mousehole, "as Hollinshed reporteth, certayne tynners in their mineralls founde armour, spear headdes, swordes, battle axes, and suche like, of copper, wrapte up in linnen clothes, the weapons (the cloth) not much decayde." Camden 137. "Dum stannum effoderetur, cuspides, secures, et gladii aenei lino involuta reperta erant."

‡ Pliny xxxiv. 17. "India neque aes neque plumbum habet, gemmisque suis ac margaritis hæc permutat."

§ Ibid. ibid. "Vix discerni queat ab argento." The Romans gilt their copper vessels for the kitchen, instead of tinning them; and gilt them (my author incredibly adds) *without* as well as *within*. (Thicknesse ii. 96, from M. Seguer's collection of Antiques). In the Museum at Naples, replenished with the spoils of Herculaneum, are "bronze pots and pans, some, the sauce-pans, lined with silver." (Gentleman's Guide through Italy, 283.) How tenfold more absurd then does that etymology now appear, to which our Cornish antiquaries have been for many years resorting, by taking the national name of Damnonii as *Dunmonii*, and explaining it to mean Hills of Tin-mines! It now appears *historically* absurd, *historically* false, *historically* impossible to be either true or rational.

|| P. 163, 139.

¶ Ibid. 211.

*† Ibid. 164.

to what we have heard from Dr. Musgrave before, "this place is *good for fishing*, and is *frequented* " by the Scilly *fishermen* in summer."* And just nine furlongs from the Land's End, a little south of the west, is another range of rocks, that is denominated the LONGSHIPS, that extends in a line obliquely abreast of the Land's End, that in 1786 had a Swedish vessel striking upon them,† that have assuredly had many others before or since, but have very lately been crowned with a lighthouse upon the largest of them, a tall, round, big rock in the middle of them. The isle then appears to have been divided from Cornwall by a channel somewhat more than ONE mile wide, and stretching from the Land's End to the Longships, but narrowed more than a third of this breadth by a shoal on the east of the Longships, that is called *Kettle Bottom* from its form, and has only one fathom of water upon its northern end, with two fathoms on its southern. Such is, such was the *Frith* of Solinus, narrow indeed, and therefore *turbulent*, yet deep enough at present, to lend a safe passage between Cornwall and Sylley to any vessel that draws not more than twelve fathoms. But the isle was terminated on the south-west by lofty hills, terminated on the north-east by hills not so lofty, yet tall, one in the middle particularly tall, and having a plain extended between both. In this plain, and about two thirds of the distance from that end of it, appears to have been a town, denominated by the natives of the Land's End, those best repositories of such a tradition concerning such an object, the CITY OF LIONS; a *Lugdunum* or *Lyons* probably in Silura as in Gaul, so named from its position on a knoll by the water, and thus giving the popular title of *Lyonois* in Gaul, of *Lionesse* in Silura, to the region itself. The long plain of the isle was overflowed at once; and nothing remained rising above the surface of the sea, except the mountains to the south-west, or the hills to the north-east. These still reared their heads over the deluge around them, those in the shape of isles, but these in the form of rocks. And the sea, which is said to be forty fathoms in depth at the Longships, is only twenty at the very *side* of this drowned isle, and not more than eight over the very plain of the isle itself. Even so, the sea must have risen at this extraordinary revolution in the world of waters, not less than ten or twelve fathoms in perpendicular height; as we must allow the land an altitude before of two or four, to resist the violence and to check the overflow of the common tides from the Atlantick. But, what is a very remarkable coincidence in fact, though it has never been remarked before, the half-moon of Mount's Bay was first formed at the very period, when the plain of Silura was covered with the ocean. A tradition prevailed in the parish of Paul during the days of Camden, that there "the " ocean broke in with a violent course" into Mount's Bay, "and drowned the lands in it."‡ Worcester also has united with Leland before, to assure us, that the Mount once stood five or six miles from the sea. The bay was consequently *all dry land* before, a plain of five or six miles, running down to the margin of the sea, there guarded probably by a ridge of land from it, but opening at the *western* end to the violent pressure of the waves, so suffering the admitted ocean to exert its violence particularly upon the *western* side of the plain, and thus making *Gwavas Lake* the deepest part of the bay at present. This lake was evidently an house and estate in the parish of Paul before, as we find one house in Sithney denominated *Gwavas*, as we find another near it, denomi-

* P. 164. † Ibid. 221.

‡ Camden, 136. "Hinc," from the Land's End and Boscawen Woon in Buriem parish, "sensim in Austrum (Boream) " circumacto littore, sinus lunatus admittitur, Mount's Bay vocant, in quo oceanum, avido meatu irruentem, terras demer- " sisse fama obtinet."

nated Tre-wavas, and as we find a rock on the shore of this lake, denominated *Carn Gwavas* at present; because the lake extends along the shore of Paul only, from Newlyn to Mousehole, and the sea still pays what the land once paid, tithes to the church of Paul. Worcestre accordingly assures us himself, with a comprehensiveness which is very useful on the subject, that "there was "as well wood-land as meadow-land and tillage-land *between* the said *Mount* and *the Isles of Syllye*, "and A HUNDRED AND FORTY PARISH CHURCHES WERE BURIED IN THE WATER *betwixt* "this *Mount* and *Scilly*."* The whole extent of Mount's Bay thus appears to have been before, like the length of Silura, a plain formed into one or more parishes, decorated with one or more parish churches, and laid out in meadows, corn-fields, or woods. The parish-churches *between* the Mount and Sylley, could be only those of Sylley, and those of the Mount; the firm ground at the Land's End being incapable of yielding to the ocean, and leaving only the two extremities of the line to answer for the whole. Even thus, the number of parish churches lost is so astonishingly great, as to baffle the power of evidence, to preclude the possibility of conviction. I therefore take upon me to reduce the number from 140 to 40, to suppose a mistake very easy to be committed in numerical figures, to cut off what any dash of the pen might casually have created, the first figure, and so bring the enormous amount of the whole within the compass of credibility. Yet however inclined we may be to deduct from the amount, in order to reconcile the general fact to our reason; we must see enough of evidence, and feel enough of conviction, to acknowledge the fact in history, and to view the bay scooped out of the land by that grand inundation, which burst in upon the body of the isle. Thus the bay becomes as remarkable now as the isle has ever been, for the irruption of the sea into the shore, for the subversion of churches by the violence of the usurping waves, and for the interment of churches, villages, or towns in the very deeps of the dry land. Only, the principal scene of desolation must have been within the isle. An extent of *thirty* miles is *there* buried, while a range of *five or six* only is buried *here*. The inundation at Mount's Bay, therefore, is only a miniature copy of that in Sylley. Yet it is a faithful, a lively, a luminous copy. And, as our evidence for the copy is much stronger than for the original, the lesser throws a light upon the greater, illustrates the desolation of this by reflection from that, even unites with this to exhibit the desolation in all its full scope of horribleness.†

Such was the grand blow given to the island! But it has received an un-interrupted succession of blows since. The continued ravages of the sea are equally apparent here, as at the Mount; but are much more distinctly traceable here, than there. When Athelstan made his descent upon the isle, this was in all its magnitude of size, and in all its multiplicity of mines. He found hermits, he found monks upon it assuredly, and combined the latter (as the former were not combinable) into a society or college, at a place, that was then a part of Silura undoubtedly, denominated

* Worcestre, 102. "Fuerunt tam boscus quam prata et terra arabilis inter dictum Montem et insulas Syllye, et fuerunt "140 ecclesie parochiales inter istum Montem et Sylly submersæ."

† Dr. Borlase, p. 90, mentions, "particularly a *straight lined ridge like a causeway, running cross the Old Town creek in* "the southern shore of St. Mary's, which is now never seen above water." "In the middle of Crow Sound," on the north of St. Mary's, Mr. Troutbeck tells us in p. 163, "a fine regular pavement of large flat stones is seen, about eight feet under "low water at spring-tides." Are these one and the same, or are they as different as their positions? Either way, the Romans appear to have carried their roads with their conquest, over the isles, as well as the continent of Cornwall.

minated Trefcaw (like our own Boscawen) from the elder trees around it; * *Tre-scaw*, because it was a part of the great island then, and *Inis-scaw* since, because it has since become an island itself; yet with only an occasional use of the latter name, because the former had been so long in possession before. The elder is still called the *scaw*, in the mixt language of Cornwall at present. In this part of Silura did *Athelstan* assuredly fix a college of clergy, with a church, as at Burian on the other side of the channel; an abbey remaining here to the reformation. † The church and college are expressly averred by Edward the Third, to have been “founded by our progenitors, formerly kings of England.” ‡ Those took to themselves, and even imparted to the whole island at times, the name of St. Nicholas; a hermit or monk undoubtedly, who had lived at the place in great devoutness, but whose fame kept up continually before the reformation by the lesson in the church upon his festival, has since, from the loss of that lesson “melted into air, into thin air.” All the islands derive their original or present names, from sainted men, who had lived equally upon them. § But the abbey had a kind of royal jurisdiction, over several of the isles; a jurisdiction, that could have been conceded only by the royal proprietor of all. Thus “Reginald, the son of the king,” Henry the First, gives “to the monks of Sully,” every wreck except whale and whale-ship, made “at the islands which they possess wholly;—that is, in *Rentemen*,” the original appellation of Trefcaw, or St. Nicholas’s Isle, “and *Nurcho*, and the isle of St. Elidius, of St. Sampson, and of St. Teona.” || Pope Celestin also in 1193, confirming the adjunction of this abbey to the abbey of Tavistock, confirms the donation of “the isle of St. Nicholas, the isle of St. Sampson, the isle of St. Elidius, the isle of St. Theon, and the isle which is called *Nutho*.” ¶ These then were all of them the property of the abbey at Trefcaw, being at present Trefcaw isle, Sampson isle to the south-west of it, *Nut Rock*, then an isle, but now a rock merely, to the south, *St. Helen’s* and *Tean* isles to the north-east. The four last mark the extent of the first, being parts undoubtedly of the same isle when they were given by Athelstan, and even with it parts of the great isle Silura. *†

Thus endowed, the collegiate church of St. Nicholas, in Trefcaw, was the mother or presiding church to all the isles; the charter of Pope Celestin granting with the five isles above, “all the churches

* Leland’s Itin. vii. 116. “Ther is another cauled *Iniffchawe*, that is to say, the *Iste of Elder*, by cawse yt bereth synkyng elders.” Hals 41. Boscawen “antiently, it seems, produced no other trees than *Scawen* (i. e. elder) proper to those parts of the country; neither, I think, is (are) there any other trees at present, that grow there.” Boscawen is *Bod Scawen*, the House of Elders.

† Borlase’s Scilly Isles, 44.

‡ Monasticon i. 1002. “Prioratus Sancti Nicolai in insula de Sully, qui per progenitores nostros quondam Regis Angliæ, fundatus et de patronatu nostro existit.” This record is stated by Borlase 103, to be that “of Edward the First,” because the king is amply styled “Edwardus” in it, not “Edwardus tertius.” But the date is a much more decisive circumstance; and the writ is dated “anno regni nostri quadragesimo primo.” The first Edward reigned only 34 years, but the third 50. And, as what the doctor says in 104, 105, concerning Blankminster, is founded upon this false date, it falls with it.

§ “It is handed down by tradition among the islanders” of St. Agnes, “that St. Werna came over from Ireland in a little wicker boat, covered on the outside with raw hides, and landed here in this” Sancta Werna “bay.” (Troutbeck 149.)

|| Monasticon i. 1002. “Reginaldus Regis filius.—Sciatis me pro animâ Henrici Regis patris mei et meâ, et pro carâ ipsius quam vidi, concessisse et confirmasse—omne wreck quod in insulis quas ipsi totas tenent advenerit præter cetum et navem integram, hoc est, in Rentemen, et Nurcho, et insula Sancti Elidii, et Sancti Sampsonis, et Sanctæ Teonæ.”

¶ Ibid. 998. “Infra insulas etiam de Sully insulam Sancti Nicolai, insulam Sancti Sampsonis, insulam Sancti Elidii, insulam Sanctæ Theonæ Virginis, et insulam quæ Nutho vocatur.”

*† “The chief division,” says Dr. Borlase 61, concerning these parts, “was called St. Mary’s, in honour of the Virgin Mother,” when it was so called undoubtedly from the saint of the church, and when this was not “the chief division,” but Trefcaw was; “the next dedicated to St. Nicholas, the general patron-saint to all seafaring people, the other to St. Martin, St. Sampson, and so on.” The ideas of the doctor were not sufficiently Cornish, here. He refers names to the saints of other countries, when they are all local; and attributes them to characters, when they belong merely to churches or oratories.

"churches and oratories constructed through *all* the isles of Sully, with the tithes and obventions, "and other their appertinances."* There were even then several oratories, and several churches, in the isles; churches and oratories, which had escaped the grand inundation, like the abbey-church, and, like it, were still used as the temples of the God of Christianity. But the metropolitan church had also possessions then, in the other isles; the confirming charter above specifying equally with the other estates of the abbey, "two *boscates* of land in the isle of *Aganas*, "and three *boscates* of land in the isle of *Ennor*."† The isle of *Aganas* is obviously that of St. Agnes, so distinguished at present by what is denominated the Sylley Light-house; and *Ennor* isle, or *Enmor*, as more properly called in a charter of the Third Edward, appears from the charter's mention of the King's Castle and the King's Constable within it, to be St. Mary's at present, with its Old-town Castle, formerly the residence of the king's governour of the isles."‡ But the positions of these two estates concur with all the evidence before, to show us St. Mary's and St. Agnes's isles as parts of the isle in which the abbey was placed originally, the *En Mor* or *Great Isle*; as the isle *Silura*, from its superiour largeness to the nine isles near it, here appears to have been called by the Britons, while all the isles were denominated *Siluræ* or *Silley*. A specifick appellation was thus wanted peculiarly for the greater, and this was naturally given it in that of the Great Isle. Yet so prevalent was the old language still, concerning all these isles; that even as late as 1367, almost three centuries after the grand inundation, Edward the Third, in a writ of protection, speaks of "the isle of *Enmour* in *Sully*," and of "the priory of *St. Nicholas* in the isle," not isles, "of *Sully*."§ All was one isle at first, guarded on the south-eastern end by what is named the Giant's Castle at present; a castle placed on a high turret of rocks, that runs down sharply to the sea, but declines less sharply towards the land, that has on the summit of the rocks a wall of stone at the only accessible side, beyond this a tall rampart and a fosse still further securing this side, as ranging across the narrow neck of land from sea to sea, and beyond all another rampart with another fosse. || This is plainly a *British* fortress, one built by the Britons in the first ages of their wars, and exactly similar to fortresses used by them against the Romans. It was therefore formed by the first inhabitants of *Silura*, and the only fortress probably opposed to the Romans. But the Romans assuredly built another, and so began a Roman town at the foot of it. "Old Town," says Dr. Borlase, "lies in the eastern corner of a small cove or creek, fronting the south, and was formerly the principal place of dwelling in all this island; but the houses are now poor cots with rope-thatch coverings: behind them stands an eminence, called the Old-Town Castle, and part of the walls still remains."¶ This was entire in the days of Leland, and it is thus described with the town by his pen, as the only town, with the only castle in the isle; "a poore town and a meately strong pile."*† Such was the island then! Such, or nearly such, did it continue to the conquest; when was built, I apprehend, what exists only at present in "the
"remains

* *Monasticon* i. 999. "Et omnes ecclesias et oratoria per omnes insulas de Sully constructa, cum decimis et obventionibus et aliis pertinentiis suis."

† *Ibid.* *ibid.* "Et duas boscatas terræ in insulâ de Aganas, et tres boscatas, terræ in insulâ de Ennor."

‡ *Ibid.* 1002. "Constabulario Castri in insulâ de Enmour in Sully." Leland's *Itin.* iii. 19, and Borlase 6. "This castle," cries Mr. Troutbeck in a careless reference to Leland, "has been a long time in ruins, for Leland calls it a moderately strong pile, but dismantled." How could even negligence mount up into interpolations?

§ *Monasticon* i. 1002. "Insula de Enmour in Sully," and "Prioratus Sancti Nicholai in insulâ de Sully."

|| Borlase 16, 17.

¶ Borlase 6.

*† Leland's *Itin.* iii. 19.

“remains of an old fort; it is a round hillock, and seems to have had a *keep* on the top of it, in the same manner as” those Norman constructions, “*Trematon and Launceston Castles in Cornwall*, but smaller; ’tis called Mount Hölles.”* It stands just below the present lines, and “the walls of it have been stripped to build the lines.”† It lies at the distance of a mile from the *Old Town*, and shews the Normans had then meditated what the Godolphins have recently executed, to fix the principal town where it is now fixed, having not any longer a cove “little, rocky, and exposed to the southern seas,” but “a large sandy pool, the neighbourhood of a peninsula formed by nature for a fortification,” and a hill for a castle to protect the inhabitants.‡ On the same hill, but higher up, even at the very summit, did Sir Francis Godolphin, in 1593, erect his castle with lines; and the town below is now, “the most populous place in these islands,” for “here is the custom-house, and the principal inhabitants and tradesmen live here;” *that* and *this* taking from their English settlers, their English titles of *Heugh* and *Heugh-town* at present.§

Giant’s Castle also shews us the breadth of the Great Isle, from north to south here; which was much greater however on the west, from the north of St. Helen’s to the south of St. Agnes. The whole, therefore, seems to have gone broad to the west, and narrow to the east; about twenty miles perhaps broad at the western extremity, about ten perhaps in the middle, and contracting perhaps to five at the eastern end. Such a configuration of the whole seems to be pointed out, by that of the parts at present; and plainly accounts with what I have said before, for the submersion of all the eastern parts, as well as for the appearance of the western, at present. And an extent of thirty miles in length with ten at a *medium* in breadth, or a space of three hundred square miles, will admit *forty* churches, though it will not admit a *hundred and forty*, to have been constructed upon it, to have been with it overflowed by the inundation, and to be now buried with it in the ocean.

Of all the isles, St. Mary’s is considered now and was formerly considered, as the principal; being formerly denominated Enmor or Great Isle, and being now known as the largest, the most populous, the most cultivated of them all. It has always with other isles belonged to the crown, for the same reason that Trefcaw with its isles belonged to the abbey, because *that* was the estate of the one as *this* was of the other. In the estate of the abbey, however, was one portion of St. Mary’s, the “three boscatcs of land” mentioned before, and the *Holy Vale* plainly of the present times. This “is most pleasantly situated,” as Dr. Borlase informs us, “it lies warm, well exposed towards a little southern cove, called Porthelik, and so well sheltered from the north, that trees grow very well, of which a few tall trees now standing are a sufficient proof; and I am persuaded, that every kind of fruit-tree common in England might be propagated here with great success: the house was formerly large and commodious, but was unhappily burnt down, “ the

* Borlase 12. † Ibid. *ibid.*

‡ Ibid. 10, 9, 10. The doctor intimates in p. iii. that “the lines were designed to go quite round this *peninsula*, and are well nigh completed, the whole circuit near two miles.”

§ Ibid. 10, 12, 13. “A high ridge or tongue of land running out into the water,” notes Dr. Borlase 12, concerning the name of this hill and town, “is upon the shores of the Tamar, near Saltash, called Hue, otherwise Heugh; and among the fishermen, he who looks out from the high ground into the sea to discover fish, is said to Heugh, and is called a Heugher. Whether such ridges of land have the name from the use they are generally applied to in looking out for fish, and the use its name from *huer* or *heuse* (in French signifying to shout or make a noise) or from *hue*, colour and shew; I must leave to etymologists to determine. Certain it is, that such high lands as this in Scilly, are called in Scotland Heughs.” They may well be so called in both, the term being the Saxon *hoga* or *how* a hill. See Spelman under *Hoga*.

"the spring before I saw it: the lands and gardens are much out of order at present, but seem all to have had better times, the governors of the garrison retiring hither formerly from Star-castle," Sir Francis Godolphin's fort, "as to their country seat. From the name I should judge, that the monks belonging to the abbey in the island of Trefcaw had a house and chapel here; but this is only my conjecture."* In this conjecture the judgment was good, but the memory was bad. When he came, as in a subsequent page he comes, to refer to the very record which I have cited before, and to speak of "two pieces of digged ground in the isle of Aganas, and three in the isle of Ennor,"† as belonging to the abbey, he forgot the word in the original *boscata*; for *boscata* is plainly a measure of land, and that he was in want of such an evidence before, for appropriating *Holy Vale* in accordance with its name to the abbey. These three *boscates* of land appear from the very term, to have been *woods* at the time of the grant; and therefore to have been cleared by the monks to whom they were granted.‡ On that ground also the monks appear to have erected, as Dr. Borlase well conjectures, "a house and chapel;" a house for the clergyman, and a chapel for the people, in this remote part of the Great Isle before the inundation, and in this insulated part after it. In such a manner were the interests of religion provided for, I believe, till the reformation; when the house was seized by the sacrilegious sovereign princes, was then appropriated to the use of his governor of the isles, and the chapel was turned into a dining-room perhaps. But what confirms my belief into assurance upon the point, no church appears in the whole island before; the present church being "not so old as the reformation," says Dr. Borlase himself,§ being also placed, as I add, not at Old Town, not at Heugh Town, but on the western side of Old Town creek; too early for the removal of the town to the Heugh, yet with some meditated removal of it probably to a point lower down, and on the western side, of its own creek.||

With the three *boscates* of land belonging to the collegiate church of Trefcaw in St. Mary's, are mentioned two belonging equally to the church, but situate in St. Agnes. Here then, as well as there, would the college build a house for the clergyman and a chapel for the people. A chapel accordingly appears there, noticed by the pen of Leland. "St. Agnes isle," he remarks in his brief and passing notes of things, "so caullid of a chapel theryn."¶ But this chapel has been long gone, either buried in the still encroaching waves of the sea, or suffered to sink into ruins from irreligion and distress united; this, with all the churches, except one in the off isles, and except the one at St. Mary's which is built in the form of a cross, being "all built by the family of Godolphin," notes Dr. Borlase, "and I do not think any of them older than the restoration;" being also plain, low buildings, of a nave without an aisle, "from twenty-four to thirty-

"two

* Borlase 14, 15.

† P. 102. Dr. Borlase shews us by his strange language of "two pieces of digged ground," that he did not understand the original, that he saw not it meant a measure of land, and that he fancied "*boscata*" was derived from *bejcher* in Norman, or *becher* in modern French, to dig. The word is plainly *bosquet*, a thicket, in French, yet plainly used for a measure of ground, as "three *bosquets* of land" can mean nothing else.

‡ P. 8.

§ "The original chapel of this island," says Mr. Troutbeck 59, 60, "is supposed to have been in Heugh Town, which is now converted into a dwelling-house, where a great quantity of human bones were dug up, in consequence of the great overflowing of the sea in the year 1744.—What seems to strengthen this supposition, is a square hewn stone which now stands near by upon the quay, in the top of which is a square hole, which seems as if it had formerly an iron cover, like the poor man's box in the church. This is supposed to have been the poor man's box, when this chapel was in use. The walls of the house, which was formerly the chapel, appear to be ancient and well built, and some of its windows are cased with hewn stone, like the old windows of the church; and the burial-ground, where the bones were dug up, is on the south side of the dwelling-house." The chapel cannot be older than the town, as it was plainly the chapel and burying-place of the town.

|| Itin. iii. 19.

"two feet long by fourteen wide," with a door in the middle of the short length, a window on each side of it, and a chimney-like turret for a bell at the western end.* The college thus erected a chapel and a chaplain's house, whenever it obtained an estate, in any of the *off-isles*, as even St. Mary's itself must have been then called. We may therefore be sure, that it would equally at least erect them, if equally wanted, on *its own* isles, Nutho, St. Elidius, St. Sampson, and St. Teona. That on the first has been buried with all the isle in the waves. One on St. Elidius or St. Helen's isle appears to have been not wanted, as there was one built long before. "St. Lyda's isle," Worcestre informs us, is so named from one "who was the son of a king of"[†] and who lived here (we may be sure) in great devoutness of spirit. But he was not (as we may suppose he was) one of those hermits whom we have seen the first Henry noticing in his charter, as inhabiting the isles of Sylley in the reign of the Confessor.[‡] He was no hermit originally, and he lived long before the Confessor. He was a bishop of Cornwall, before the very days of Athelstan; and retired into this isle, to spend the close of his days in solitary devoutness. "The festival-day of St. Elidius, the bishop," says Worcestre from the very calendar of *Tavistock* abbey, and consequently from the very calendar of the college at Trescow, "is on the eighth of "August: HE LIES IN THE ISLAND SYLLYS."[§] He was buried in the church of the isle, within a chapel annexed to it; as is plain from a hint in Leland's account of the isles, and from Dr. Borlase's description of the church. "Saynct Lide's isle," notes the former, "wher yn tymes "past at her (his) SEPULCHRE was gret *superstitioun*."^{||} And, as the latter tells us, "the church "of this island is *the most ancient* christian building in all the islands: it consists of a south-isle," the real nave or body of the church, "thirty-one feet six inches long, by fourteen feet three "inches wide; *from* which two arches, low and of uncouth style, open into a north isle," really a lateral chapel, in which St. Elid was buried, "twelve feet wide by nineteen feet six inches long; "two windows in each isle," two in the nave, and two in the chapel; "near the eastern window "in the north isle" or chapel, "projects a flat stone to support, I suppose, the image of the saint "to whom the church was dedicated," or rather, the saint who was buried in the chapel and to whom *it* was dedicated.[¶] And *in* this chapel, *to* this image, but *at* the "sepulchre" beneath it, was undoubtedly shown the "gret *superstitioun*" noticed by Leland. We thus find a church existing in one of the Sylley Isles, of the most remote antiquity in the establishment of the gospel upon the land of Britain. It is more antient than the saint, who was first revered at his "sepulchre" in the chapel, then communicated his name to the church, and afterwards extended it over all the island. The size of the church too, about ten yards long and five wide, with only two windows in it; even the "two arches" from it into the chapel, though later in time, yet "low and of uncouth style;" and the form, so exactly correspondent with that of our old churches in Cornwall, in having a nave and a chapel at its side; all unite with this attributed antiquity, and carry up the erection of the church probably to the very establishment of the gospel in Britain. As to the churches of St. Sampson's and St. Teona, what shall we say? They had each a chapel upon them, we may be sure from their bearing the names of saints, and from their being the pro-

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perty

* Borlase 39. † P. 98. "Infula Seynt Lyda, fuit filius Regis"

‡ Monasticon i. 1002. "Terram sicut unquam monachi aut hæremite—eam tenuerunt tempore Regis Edwardi."

§ P. 115. "Sancti Elidii episcopi, 8 die Augusti, jacet in insulâ Syllys."

¶ Itin. iii. 19.

¶ P. 51.

perty of the college. St. Sampson's has no chapel and no inhabitants, at present;* nor has St. Teona any inhabitants, or any thing more than ruins, though it has fields of corn and grass upon it.† Who these faints are, I know not. But I know the second *not* to be what Dr. Borlase conjectures, when he says "Theonus, bishop of Gloucester, was elected *archbishop* of London A. D. "545, Usher's Primordia, pag. 525, 526, and was probably the faint who gave name to the "island;‡ because I acknowledge no such bishop in *real* history, because Dr. Borlase himself disclaims any *male* faint whatever in reciting the name twice afterwards *Saint Theona*,§ and because the name is actually recited in the charter of Reginald "Sanctæ Teonæ," even more fully in that of Pope Celestin "Sanctæ Theonæ Virginis."||

The metropolitical church to all these, as I have noticed before, was at Trescaw. This had an abbey or college adjoining to it, and a proportionable number of clergy in the college or abbey. The clergy are noticed by Henry the First; he in his charter of 1114 granting "to Osbert abbot "and the church of Tavistock, and to *Tuold their monk*" then prior of Trescaw evidently, "all "the churches of Sullye;" and ordering that "*Tuold himself* and *all* the monks of Sully, as *my proper prebendaries*, have firm peace together with all things which appertain to them."¶ Reginald also says in his grant of wreck to them on their own isles, that he grants it "to the monks "of Sully as *the proper prebendaries of my father*."*† Edward the Third too, in his writ of protection to them, mentions "the *prior* of the priory of St. Nicholas in the isle of Sully, which was "founded by our progenitors, formerly kings of England, and *is of our patronage*, and has been "endowed with possessions for *his* maintenance, and that of the *monks*, and that of the *secular chaplains* there serving God;" and provides for the protection of "the *prior*, priory, *monks*, "chaplains, and *servi*ng-men."‡|| How very falsely, then, has Tanner described the abbey as "a "poor cell of two Benedictine monks!" It certainly consisted of more, as we see "the prior" and his "monks" mentioned, "the prior" and "*all* his monks." The number could not be less than four or five, and was probably more. But to these were added "secular chaplains," clergymen not monastick, and intended to officiate (as I shall soon prove) in the church of the abbey. All these must have been supported by the rents of the five appropriated isles, by the estates in two others, and by the tithes of all. "The abby pond" is "a most beautiful piece of "fresh water," as Dr. Borlase tells us, "edged round with camemel turf, on which neither briar, "thistle, nor flag appears. I judge it to be half a mile long, and a furlong wide. An evergreen "bank, without rock or weed, rises high enough to keep out the sea; serving at once to preserve "the pond, and shelter the abby. The water is clear, and contains the finest eels that can be "tasted.

* P. 62, 65.

† Ibid. 52.

‡ Ibid. ibid.

§ Ibid. 101, 102.

|| Monasticon i. 1002. "Insulæ Sanctæ Teonæ," 998, "insulam Sanctæ Theonæ Virginis."—Dr. Borlase, in citing Usher 525, 526, for Theonus, cites only the *Index* of Usher. This says "Theonus, Glocestrensis episcopus, ad Londinensem archiepiscopatum translatus fuisse dicitur, p. 37," by *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, "183" by *Geoffrey of Monmouth* again, "274" by *Geoffrey of Monmouth* once more. Such are Dr. Borlase's authors, and such is his reference to Usher!

¶ Monasticon i. 1002. "Osberto abbati et ecclesiæ de Tavistok, et Tuoldo monacho suo omnes ecclesias de Sullye," and "quod ipse Tuoldus, et omnes monachi de Sully, sicut proprii prebendarii mei, habeant firmam pacem cum omnibus quæ ad eos pertinent."

*† Ibid. ibid. "Monachis de Sully, sicut propriis prebendariis patris mei."

‡|| Ibid. ibid. "Prior Prioratus Sancti Nicholai in insulâ de Sully, qui per progenitores nostros, quondam reges Angliæ, fundatus de patronatû nostro existit, ac de possessionibus pro sustentatione suâ et monachorum ac capellanorum secularium ibidem Deo deservientium—dotatus fuisset;—nos gratiosè suscepimus ipsos Priorem, Prioratum, monachos, capellanos, ac homines servientes."

“tasted. The land quite round is cultivated, and by its gentle declivity, even to the brim of the water, adds much to the beauty of this place. The abby church stood on a small rising, fronting the southern end of this pond; and though, higher up on the hill behind the abby, you see the bare bones, that is, the rocks and craggs of Scilly, yet here at the monastery you see but little indeed, but it is altogether tender and delicate, compared to what the other prospects in these islands afford you. The monks, ’tis generally allowed, were very judicious in chusing situations the most pleasant and retired of the country where their lot fell; and were you to see the isles of Scilly, you would think their seating themselves here was a strong proof of that observation.”* The compliment, here paid to the monks, is due only to their patrons; and the judiciousness attributed to those, is only the piety exerted by these. The monks had not, as the compliment implies they had, a power of ranging over a county or an island, and a right of selecting the finest parts in either. The whole was settled property before. Nor could this property be transferred to the monks, unless it was offered by the owners. Then the owners, acting under the awe of that high principle of delicacy in the law of Moses concerning sacrifices, “if there be any blemish therein, as if it be lame or blind, or have any ill blemish, thou shalt not sacrifice it unto the Lord thy God;”† looked out for donations worthy of being tendered to God, or positions proper for the sequestration of a monastery. Thus Athelstan, when he fixed his abbey at Trefcaw, gave it lands that belonged to himself by right of conquest, the lands probably of the Cornish crown before; and singled out a position for it, the most rich, the most retired of all the island. And thus Holy Vale in St. Mary’s, as we have seen already, is “the most pleasantly situated” of any there; as “it lies warm, well exposed towards a little southern cove, and so well sheltered from the north, that trees grow very well.” Yet some of the richness of the land, it must be acknowledged, results from the agricultural spirit of the monks. Bred up in habits of literature, refined in their tastes by reading, and possessing in many that flame from heaven, genius; they became good architects, good limners, and good sculptors; good fabricators of organs, good dressers of vines, and good managers of farms. The monks of Trefcaw, accordingly, cleared Holy Vale of its woods, and modelled it into what it is. “Holy Vale,” adds Dr. Borlase, “is indeed capable of every kind of improvement,” and received every kind from its monastical proprietors; “but it has not the happiness of any” at present, from its laical though lordly owners.‡ The very pond in Trefcaw seems to have been equally formed by the monks, and stocked with eels for their fish-meals; by raising “an evergreen bank without rock or weed,” as a head to the pond within land, and as a shelter to their abbey from the sea without. And, as “the land quite round is cultivated,” it is so from their improving spirit originally. They even seem to have built and maintained a house of entertainment for all sea-faring strangers that landed on the isle; as “near the pier,” Mr. Troutbeck tells us without any application of the fact, “is a dwelling called *Trefco Palace*,” a name, that marks the magnificence of the building in the eyes of the islanders, and intimates its relation to the palace of the clergy the college, “which formerly used to be much resorted to by masters of ships and strangers coming to this island; but the custom has some time been altered, to houses of better accommodation further up the island.”§ Just such also was assuredly the banquetting-house, that I have shown to have existed

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isted

* P. 43.

† Deuteronomy xv. 21.

‡ Borlase 71.

§ Troutbeck 128.

ifted within memory on the mount, clofe to the town, and one long room for entertainments. Both were the fame as the *Almonries* of all our monafteries, rooms of gratuitous entertainments; but, from the maritime fituation of our own, placed at the ports of accefs to them, and in all appearance fupported by a more expenfive hofpitality than at monafteries more inland. But, as Dr. Borlase proceeds with his account of the abbey, “the church is for the moft part carried off,” in the fpirit alas! introduced by the reformation! a fpirit at once groveling, barbarized, and anti-chriftian, “to patch up fome poor cots, which ftand below it, on the fpot where I imagine the “monaftery flood; but the door, two handsome large arched openings, and feveral windows, “are ftill to be feen, cafed with very good freestone, which (’tis thought) the monks got from “Normandy.”* But, in addition to this account, let us perufe Mr. Troutbeck’s, which repeats juft as Dr. Borlase has fpoken, but adds ufefully to his fpeech. “No veftiges of the monaftery,” he tells us from the doctör, “are now to be feen; but part of the church belonging to it, is ftill “ftanding, and is ufed as a burying-place, the inhabitants efteeming it more facred than any other “fpot in the ifland.—A great part of the walls of the church is carried off, to patch up fome poor “houfes which ftand below it, on the fpot where, probably, the monaftery flood. This church “is ninety feet in length, and thirty feet in breadth, and ftands due eaft and weft. In the fouth “fide wall is a fine arch of good workmanfhip, and on the north fide has been another arch di- “rectly oppofite to it, and of the fame breadth, which is now fallen down, and only fix feet in “height ftanding. The church appears, from thefe two arches fronting each other, to have been “built in the form of a crofs.” But where are the pillars requifite to compofe the crofs? “The “arch, that is ftanding on the fouth fide, is twelve feet wide at the bottom, and runs up to a “fharp point at the top, which is fixteen feet high from the rubbifh at the bottom; which is “three or four feet thick upon the floor of the church, where the dead are now buried. And, “on the weft fide of the ftanding arch, is an arched door,” much lower in its pitch than the other. “Both arches are raifed with ftone of a very fine grit. Several windows as well as doors “have been cafed with the fame fort of red ftone, which it is thought the monks got from Nor- “mandy. This fine red ftone is not fo ponderous as Portland, or any other fort of ftone that is “to be met with either here or in England, i. e. if a piece of the fame fize fhould be weighed. “This church is fuppofed to have been burnt down. A man, about thirteen years ago, was em- “ployed to remove fome ftones and rubbifh at the weft end of the ancient building, to make “room for burying the dead, who found a large piece of a bomb fhell, and feveral pieces of “coked timber, among the ftones and rubbifh that he cleared away. There is earth fufficient “carried within the walls of the church, from time to time, upon the old flagged floor, in depth “to dig a reasonable grave.”† And, as Leland ufefully fubjoins, it was “a paroch chyrche” indeed

* Borlase 44.

† Troutbeck 134, 135. “In a little meadow adjoining to it,” fays Borlase 48, 49, concerning the *prefent* church, “the “tenant told us he had offered leave to his brother iflanders, to bury their dead; but they have, continued he, fuch a notion “of the fanctity of the abby, that they carry the dead body there, and interr it in that church, though at near two miles “difance.” They thus prefer the confiderations of religion, for ages impreffed upon their minds, to any trifling eafe for themfelves! They bury where their fathers have been always ufed to bury, rather than bury in a ground *not* fet a part for burial by any forms of dedication, *not* fanctified by the reverence of ages, and liable without any reluctance from either religion or from feeling in general, to be tilled next year for corn. Mr. Troutbeck in p. 15, 18, notes many cuftoms as peculiar to the iflands, which are common to them and the continent of Cornwall. So in p. 108, he notes what I have noted above at

as well as a collegiate one;* so could with propriety be separated from the college, could not indeed without much impropriety be included within it. The church still remains in the *shell* of its lower half, but seems not to have ever had any side-aisles, and still less to have had a cross-aisle. The absence of all pillars, even of fragments of pillars, proves this. The area of the church is all fenced round with walls still lofty, still showing their original use, still crying to heaven for vengeance upon those who caused them thus to appear in ruins. Who then were those? They were assuredly the presbyterians of the last century, who with the zeal of heathenism in their heads, as the "large piece of a bomb shell" shows, actually *bombarded the church*, so beat down the loftier part of the walls, and burnt all the beams into mere "pieces of coked timber." This evidence alone is sufficient to convict them. But let me adduce another of another church. "It is handed down by tradition," Mr. Troutbeck tells us many ages afterward concerning St. Agnes, "that the old church" noticed by Leland "was *beaten down by the parliament forces* in the last century, and that it lay in *ruins* many years."†

We thus behold the island Silura reduced by one great inundation into several parts, those parts again diminished continually by the triumphant waters, and the island Nutho, particularly, wasted away into that mere *Os Sacrum* of an island, a rock. But we shall see the wasting power of the sea more distinctly and more comprehensively, by taking our station upon the pages of Leland, and comparing the condition of the islands *then* with their state *before* or *now*. Trefcaw, he tells us, "is the *biggest* of the islettes, in cumpace a 6 miles or more," while "S. Mary isle is a 5 miles or more in cumpace."‡ In another place he speaks of "the *biggest* isle (cawled S. Nicholas isle) of the Scylleys."§ "Ther be yn that paroch," he adds concerning the isle, "about a lx. householders."|| Yet it now contains only about *forty* families, and is little more than *half* as large as St. Mary's, which is three miles long and two broad.¶ So much has Trefcaw lost of its extent, in the period only of two centuries and a half! "I was shewn," Dr. Borlase remarks, "a passage which the sea has made within these seven years, through the sand-bank that fences the abby-pond; by which breach, upon the first high tide and violent storm at east or east-south-east, one may venture to prophesy, that this still and now beautiful pool of fresh water will become a branch of the sea, and consequently exposed to all the rage of tide and storm."** But let us catch another circumstance in the state of this island, that has never hitherto been appropriated to it, yet forms a striking feature in the discrimination of its present aspect from its past. In the year 1200, King John "gives, grants, and confirms to the abby of Scilly the tythe of three acres of *assart* land, in the forest of Guffaer: and commands his sheriffs and bailiffs that they do not suffer the *canons* of Scilly to be impleaded for any tenement they hold, except before him or his steward of Normandy."*† Where then was this forest, part of which had lately been *assarted* or cleared for cultivation, and the tythes of which would not have been due without a special grant, as rising from the soil of a royal forest? As no one isle is specified

at St. Sennan, in Cornwall: In St. Martin's isle "the form of a grave, surrounded with stones pitched edgewise, in the shape of a coffin, eight feet long, and three feet over the widest part." See also p. 104 and 155 for other graves in this form, on a part of St. Agnes, called the Guew.

* Itin. vii. 16. † Troutbeck 151. ‡ Itin. iii. 19. § Ibid. vii. 116. || Ibid. ibid. ¶ Borlase 49, 50.

** Borlase 88, 89.

*† Borlase 102, 103, from "Cart. i. Joann. pag. 1, n. 155 and 219. Tanner Notit. p. 69." Thus Tanner only refers to the record, while Dr. Borlase cites it. There is in Monasticon i. 516, a record very like this in the latter half, but very different from it, as not having the former half, and being marked as "Cart. i. Jo. part. 2, num. 65."

fied in the grant, how shall we confine it to any one? *From this very circumstance.* Had the forest been in an isle different from that of the abbey, the isle *would* have been specified expressly. Being both in the same isle, this isle is not expressed either for the abbey or for the forest. The forest then was in Trescaw, and was (we may be sure from the very appellation of the isle) a forest of elder-trees. "There," notes Leland concerning the whole isle, but evidently means this particular point the forest, "be wild bores swync."* But *now* the elder-trees are all rooted up, the forest is vanished, and the wild boars are extinct. Such changes have been made in a single isle, by the continual inroads of the sea upon it! And such or similar must have been the changes that the sea has made in the others!†

Yet to the violence of the sea was added another enemy, in the middle ages; one, still more violent for the time, and proceeding nearly to the total desolation of the isles. In 1367 Edward the Third sent a writ of protection to the prior, on his complaint to him. Then, as the complaint alledges, "the priory is so much injured and impoverished by the frequent access of mariners, passing through the island itself from the ships of all nations, for want of defence to it; that the prior is not able to support the reasonable burdens lying on the priory; and the prayers and devotions, and other works of piety, which used to be done there, are much subtracted, and must (it is feared) be subtracted more, unless a remedy be provided." The king, therefore, endeavours to provide a remedy against these "malefactors," as he calls them, by ordering the constable at his castle, in the isle of Enmour, to guard and defend the priory.‡ So the king ordered, but ordered in vain. The constable could not protect the isle of the priory, from his castle at Old Town in St. Mary's. And the injuries from "mariners of all nations" having "frequent access" to the island, then "passing through" it, ranging and roaming over it with such a mischievous spirit, as made them "malefactors;" not being actually pirates themselves, but with the real licentiousness of sailors on shore doing piratical actions; must have been continued. The king accordingly provided another remedy, as we have reason to believe, in constructing another castle upon the very isle of Trescaw. In Leland's time, we find, there was "a lytle pyle or fortres" upon it.§ It is now called the Old Castle, and stood upon a point of land commanding

* Itin. vii. 116.

† *Gassiaer* is probably from *Gavar* (C), a goat, *Hyvr* (W), a he-goat, *Gauvrsa* (A), a she-goat. "Most of these islands have such pasture and rocky common, as would maintain a number of goats to great advantage, and afford the inhabitants their kids, milk, and venison, at a much cheaper rate than the sheep does her mutton and lamb, at least without interfering; and in places where the sheep will not live without more care than the goat requires." Borlase 82. From our etymology (if just) it appears, that formerly the islanders had anticipated this lesson, and had stocked a forest in Trescaw with goats.

‡ *Monasticon* i. 1003. 1003. "Prioratus—per frequentes accessus marinariorum navium universarum regionum, per ipsam insulam transeuntium defectu tuitionis, in tantum destructus et depauperatus existat; quod dictus prior rationabilia onera eidem prioratui incumbencia supportare non sufficit; et suas preces et devotiones, ac alia pietatis opera, quæ—ibidem fieri solebant, in multum subtrahuntur, et plus subtrahi formidatur, nisi sibi de alio remedio per nos provideatur. Unde a nobis supplicavit, ut dictum prioratum contra hujusmodi malefactores tueri velimus et defendere.—Et tu, prefate constabularie, eidem—posse tuo auxilians sis et intendens," &c. Borlase 103, states the substance of the record thus: "that by the frequent resort of mariners of all nations to that place, the priory for want of proper defence was so damaged and impoverished, that the prior was not able to repair it, nor to perform the requisite duties of church service." Here many mistakes are committed. To *repair*, a specific burden, is put for all the burdens, which are general, as "rationabilia onera eidem prioratui incumbencia." Nor is the *priory* said to be damaged "for want of proper defence," but the mariners are averred to range over the island "for want of proper defence" to it. Nor had "the mariners of all nations" a "frequent resort" to the isle, which (if true in fact) would be an argument of its trade; but "the mariners of the ships of all nations" had "frequent access" to the isle, and, by "passing through the island itself." And that expressive stroke, of the works of piety there being "much subtracted" already, is wholly omitted.

§ Itin. vii. 116.

ing the present harbour of New Grynsey;* a harbour so denominated, to distinguish it from another denominated Old Grynsey, and seemingly by the name formed *within one or two centuries past*, from the plunder of the isles about it. And this would undoubtedly prove some protection to the priory. Yet it was not sufficient even for this isle, and was no protection at all to the others. The piratical acts therefore went on, till in the reign of the Eighth Henry they had nearly reduced all the isles to a state of solitude. "Few men be glad," says Leland, "to inhabit these islettes for all the plenty" in them, "for robbers by the sea, that take their caitail of force."† Yet these were not pirates, any more than the others before. "These robbers," adds Leland himself, "be French men and Spaniardes," then engaged in a war against each other, and mutually agreeing to plunder these un-defended isles.‡ We even find the isles exposed long before, in one of our national wars with France, to plundering descents from the enemy. "By an inquisition in the first of Richard the Third, A. D. 1484," observes Dr. Borlase, "I find the said islands were yearly worth 'in peaceable times,' when there was an interval of cessation to the wars, so long continued with France in the reigns of Edward and the two Henries preceding, 'forty shillings, IN TIMES OF WAR NOTHING.'"§ But we see the desolation marked again, in another way. We have found the monks of Syllly to have been several in number, when the First Henry annexed Syllly as a cell to Tavistock abbey; yet we soon find the number reduced by the reduced consequence of the isles, into *two*. "The abbot and convent of Tavistock lords of the isle of Scilly inhabited within the sea," says a writ from the Third Edward in the year 1335, "have supplicated us; that whereas the aforesaid abbey, to which the aforesaid isle belongs, and the same abbot, and the other abbots for the time being, are bound for war to find two chaplains their fellow-monks within the isle aforesaid, by reason of their lands and tenements there being, to celebrate divine service every day; and the same monks, as well BECAUSE OF THE WAR MOVED BETWEEN US AND THE MEN OF FRANCE, as for various other causes, dare NOT ABIDE THERE IN THESE DAYS; we would please to concede, that the same abbot shall find two secular chaplains to celebrate divine service every day within the island aforesaid in the room of the monks DURING THE AFORESAID WAR: we listening favourably to their supplication, have granted" it.¶ Monks, confined to a cloister, and conversing little with the world, were very susceptible of fear, and "dared not to abide there in those days" of war; but the secular clergy dared. The suspension, however, was only for the war, and with peace returned the prescribed observances of the abbey. Two monks resided in the isle, and officiated in the church, as before. Yet the number was again reduced in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Then the piratical descents of French and Spaniards on the isles, as we have already seen, were very frequent and very harassing. Nor did the two forts, that were begun at St. Mary's and at Trefcaw; one called Harry's Wall, but injudiciously posited, and never completed;¶ another, which

* Borlase 46, 47.

† Itin. iii. 19.

‡ Ibid. ibid.

§ Borlase 109.

¶ Monasticon i. 516. "Supplicarunt nobis—abbas et conventus de Tavestoke, domini insulæ de Sully infra mare inhabitatæ, ut cum abbatiâ prædictâ, ad quam insula prædictâ pertinet,—et idem abbas, et cæteri abbates abbatiæ prædictæ qui pro tempore fuerint, duos Capellanos Commonachos suos infra insulam prædictam, ratione terrarum et tenementorum suorum ibidem existentium,—singulis diebus celebraturos in perpetuum invenire teneantur; iidemque monachi, tam propter guerram inter nos et homines de Franciâ motam, quam aliis variis ex causis, hiis diebus ibidem non audeant immorari, velimus eis concedere, quod idem abbas duos Capellanos Seculares, loco monachorum prædictorum, singulis diebus infra insulam prædictam celebraturos invenire possit, durante guerrâ supradictâ: nos eorum supplicationi favorabiliter annuentes, concessimus."

¶ Borlase 15, 16.

which is Old Castle enlarged a little after Leland's writing, and from the aspect of the enlargements plainly not older than Henry the Eighth;* either prevent the visits of these plunderers, or preclude the desertions of inhabitants from the island. And, at last, the very monks of the abbey, now reduced to one, relinquished the abbey, relinquished the isle, and retired to Tavistock. "In—S. Nicholas isle," cries Leland, "—ys—a paroch chyrche, that a monke of Tavestoke YN "PEACE doth serve, as a membre to Tavestoke abbay."† The monks of the priory were thus dwindled down into one, and that one had now fled away with the inhabitants to the continent of Cornwall. The isle, the church became scenes of solitude and silence. Both would accordingly suffer much in the general distress. The church was probably left to be so delapidated, as to totter at the first assault of that giant-sinner Henry the Eighth, even to fall "with the" very "whiff and wind of his fell sword." And as Leland informs us concerning Old Town in St. Mary's isle, that "the roues of the buildinges in it be SORE DEFACID AND WOREN;" so he equally assures us, that "there appere tokens in *diverse of the islettes*, of habitations NOW CLENE "DOWN."‡ Here then was the annihilation nearly of the old British race, the correspondents of the Phenicians at Gades, of the Greeks at Marfeilles, of the Romans at Narbonne, and the first miners for tin, the first exporters into foreign parts, the first navigators for commerce to the continent. They had been swept away in numbers, by one grand inundation during the tenth century. They had been gradually diminished since, by the absorption of their lands in the waves. They had been even invaded by mariners of all nations at first, who plundered them in want or in wantonness; and by French or Spaniards afterwards, who in a war with each other made a common war upon neutrals, in landing upon the isles and carrying off their cattle. The few inhabitants remaining on them, the one only clergyman remaining at the abbey, could no longer be induced by the plenty of productions on the isles to continue amidst such distresses, and deserted the isles for possessions more secure upon the continent of Britain. The isles, once so celebrated for their subterraneous wealth, for the personal appearance of their inhabitants, and for the efforts made from the continent to find these concealed *Indies of the North*, became more and more deserted; till in the reign of Elizabeth, the crown, which by sacrilege had got possession of *all* the isles again, consigned them all over to a subject for the petty rent of 10l. a year § This subject, though a Cornishman himself, yet bred up in England and at the court, brought over a colony of English to re-people the isles, and secured his colony by a new fort at St. Mary's with another new one at Trefcaw.¶ So secured, yet secured still more by the growing power of the British navy, that is continually scouring the seas and keeping "the mariners of the ships of all "nations" in order, the slight reliques of the Aborigines united in friendship with the colony of English, had power enough to keep up many of the old or Cornish names of places, but had not power to prevent the superseding of many by names new or English.¶ Thus were they soon mingled with the English, like their countrymen on the continent; like them, half-learned the language,

* Borlase 46, 47.

† Itin. vii. 116.

‡ Itin. iii. 19.

§ Borlase 112.

¶ Borlase 111, 47. "As soon as people knew the nature of fortifying better," says that author concerning the Eighth Henry's fort at Trefcaw, scarcely appropriating any thing, yet obviously referring without knowing he refers it to the time of the new colony, "it was neglected, and another more serviceable one, which lies below, built out of its ruins, and called "Oliver's Castle."

¶ Borlase 86, for the Cornish; the English are these, Eastern Islands, St. Martin's, White Island, Maiden Bower, Broad Sound, Crow Sound, St. Mary's Sound, Old Town, Heugh Town, Holy Vale, &c.

language, the customs of England, and so became as much Englishmen in appearance or in reality, as their brethren or their countrymen were. And, as with common concern they all behold their isles sensibly shrinking in their dimensions still, before the waves of the sea; so with common joy they equally behold a good provision made for their best interests, the sacrifice of the crown in seizing the abbey-lands almost wholly corrected, and, instead of a single clergyman for all the isles, as in the days even of Dr. Borlase,* one settled at Trefcaw, one at St. Mary's, with a third at St. Agnes, each receiving an income of £.100 a year, with a house for his residence, without any of our English taxes, yet with all the original plenty of the isles.†

* P. 135.

† "You will easily imagine, that it would be more comfortable as well as more plentiful living here, for people of commerce or fortune, and might therefore promote their settling here, if they had a small ship of forty ton passing and re-passing, as the weather would permit." (Borlase 134.) Here behold the usefulness of authors. The hint has been taken. A packet goes every week, if wind and weather permit, from Penzance to Scilly, maintained by the general post-office, and carrying either letters, or packages, or passengers.

"The soil is very good for grain of every kind *except wheat*," Dr. Borlase tells us in 68, "*some of which, however, they have on St. Mary's, but not much, neither will it make good bread.*" A note adds thus: "wheat however seems to have been more usually sown on these islands, in former ages; for 'Henry III. commands Drew de Barrentine, governor of his islands of Scilly, or his bailiffs, that they deliver every year to Ralph Burnet, seven quarters of wheat, which Robert Legat used to receive, and which is escheated to the king.'" Rot. Claus. 32, Hen. III. m. 2. "Mr. Heath, of Scilly, p. 180." The author has overlooked that striking declaration in Leland's Itin. iii. 19, concerning St. Mary's: "the ground of this isle bereth exceeding good corn; infomuch, that, if a man do but cast corn wher hogges have rotid (rooted), it wyl cum up." The difference in the produce must arise from the difference in the cultivation. Thus Agnes is in the doctor's own account, "a well cultivated little island, fruitful of corn and grafs," p. 36. Even Tean, though uninhabited, has on it "fields of corn and pasture," p. 52. And, on the principal tenement in Trefcaw, "its soil is so very fruitful, that one field of seven acres has been in tillage every year since the remembrance of man, and carries exceeding plentiful crops," p. 48.

Sat. Sept. 28th, 1799.

ON THE ROMAN ARCHITECTURE AND CASTRAMETATION,

By *Bishop BENNET.*

SUPPLEMENT to the FOURTH CHAPTER of the FIRST BOOK.

ON the subject of Roman Architecture and Castrametation in the west of England, I have been honored with the following letter from * Bishop Bennet: And, in justice to that excellent antiquary, I shall print it entire.

Dublin Castle, 7th March, 1793.

"The wish you have so publicly manifested for information relative to Devonshire, must lay you open to much impertinent intrusion, and I fear you will have too much reason to include this letter under the same censure. I cannot, however, refrain from sending you a few remarks on the Roman antiquities in the west of England; which you have my free consent to work into your own plan, making me a slight acknowledgement in your preface, or if you think them not worth notice, to throw them into the fire, and excuse the liberty I take in troubling you with them. They consist of three heads:

I. *An additional Argument for Moridunum being Seaton.*

In 1778 the present Bishop of Cork (Dr. Bennet), and the Rev. Mr. Leman, travelled the fosse from Ludbrough N. E. of Lincoln, (probably a station), to the borders of Devonshire, where, after trying two days, they gave it up in despair like all their predecessors. Among many other remarks they observed during the whole course of the road, (and it has been confirmed by observations on all the other Roman roads they have travelled) that when the fosse mounted a hill there was generally a distinguished object, either a camp or barrow to be seen on the next rising ground, tho' at many miles distance, towards which the road pointed; as among a thousand instances the barrows at Segsbury, and the beacon barrow near Shepton-Mallet on the fosse; those between Old Sarum and Woodyeats Inn on what Hutchins calls the Skenild-street; those on Gogmagog Hills, near Cambridge, on the Roman road from Colchester to Chester; Celsfield Common on the Stare-street, in Suffex; and the camps themselves at Old Sarum; Bedbury, and many others. Now, upon mounting the hill between Chard and Crewkerne, just by the house called
Windwhistle,

* Now Bishop of Cloyne, 1804.

Windwhistle, at which our travellers lost the fosse (and to a clump of trees near that house the road had evidently pointed for some miles) on mounting this hill one little bay of the sea was directly in the line of the road, making the only distinguished object in the horizon, and the only visible part of the sea itself, and upon enquiring the name of this bay, they found it to be the bay of Seaton. This is an argument which strikes more upon inspection than in a narrative; but if there is any force in the remark, that the ancients either pointed their road to such objects, or (as in the case of barrows) perhaps constructed them to direct the line of their roads, which Appian says was actually done in the great road across the sands of Africa, to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, the hypothesis adopted by Stukeley of Moridunum, being near Seaton, will receive some additional countenance.

II. *Examination of Horfeley's idea that Isca Dumnoniorum is Chiselmorrough.*

Mr. Horfeley's character as an antiquary stands high, and with great reason, for in the places where he has been himself, he is more to be depended upon than any other writer in his line; but he seems to have known nothing of the west of England more than what he saw in his map, and this has led him into some unfortunate mistakes. His arguments for removing Isca from Exeter are these; that he knew of no Roman road to or from it; that it does not suit the latitude assigned to Isca by Ptolemy; that it does not agree with the number of miles in the 12th iter of Antonine. To all this it is easy to answer, that a Roman road from Honiton to Exeter has been since discovered, and according to Richard of Cirencester, another road went through it, bearing to the west, traces of which have been also seen; that Ptolemy, from his general inaccuracy, and in this case his particular and enormous error of mistaking Isca Dumnoniorum for Isca Silurum cannot be looked upon as any authority; and that the number of miles in Antonine from Moridunum, not agreeing to Exeter, can be no argument against the position of Exeter, till we know for certain where Moridunum itself is; besides that the places in that iter are remarkably confused, and the miles undoubtedly erroneous: but even if there had been any force in those arguments, to remove Isca from Exeter, why should it be fixed at Chiselmorrough? On looking at Horfeley to discover his reason, I find a page filled with arguments to prove it *not to be at Chiselmorrough*, but at *Ilchester*; at the close of which he is in great doubt whether, instead of Ilchester, it might not be at *Hamden Hill*, after which follows this very extraordinary sentence. "Besides the camp at Hamden Hill, *Isca* a place called Chiselmorrough, which sounds like antiquity, and not very unlike *Isca* as to the former part of the name. Chiselmorrough stands upon the Parret; but Isca seems to have been a common name for most of the rivers hereabouts, and one bearing the name of Ax, is not far off, and I make no doubt but, as I hinted before, this part of Somerset, so near the borders, antiently belonged to the country of the Damnonii. I have, therefore, on the whole, given the preference to this rather than Ilchester." These then are the reasons for Chiselmorrough being the Isca of the Romans, and let us examine the claims of the two places. Exeter has been from the earliest time the chief city of the Damnonii; Exeter stands on the Isca; Exeter has roads leading to it, and many Roman antiquities found at it: What has Chiselmorrough to urge against this? Does it agree with the number of miles at which Isca Damnoniorum is placed in the itinerary? By no means. Have any Roman antiquities been found in it? None

at all. Have any roads been traced to or from it? No. Does it stand upon the river Isca? Nothing like it. Was it even within the district of the Damnonii? It is not certain it was. Are there any foundations or remains of any kind to lead us to conjecture it ever was a city at all? No such have ever been found. What then is its claim? A Roman road which crosses all England happens to pass half a mile from it, and the name *Chefelboro'* founded to Horfeley's ear not unlike *Ifca Damnoniorum*. And is this really all?—All that ever has been or can be produced upon the subject. Upon no better foundation than this did Mr. Horfeley (tho' often a judicious and cautious writer) remove Isca from Exeter, where it had been placed by antiquaries before his time, and publish what he calls a *corrected* map of Roman Britain, in which Isca Damnoniorum is boldly placed at Chefelborough. I visited Chefelborough myself, examined it with great care, could see no mark of Roman antiquity, nor hear of any thing being found but a little diadem or fillet of gold many years ago, which was most probably a Saxon or Danish ornament. I was, therefore, from this inspection, and the general weakness of the reasons produced by Mr. Horfeley in the passage before quoted from him, convinced of the absurdity of the whole hypothesis, and should have remained quiet under this conviction, if Dr. Henry, in a History of England not many years ago published, had not declared himself as thoroughly satisfied on the other side by the arguments of Horfeley, that Isca Damnoniorum ought to be placed at Chefelborough; and Mr. Strutt, of Malden, in his late works, adopted the same idea as an acknowledged truth. Fearful, therefore, that Mr. Horfeley's authority (of whose general character no one can think higher than myself) may lead other authors, prevented from examining the spot, into the same mistake, I have thrown my opinion on this subject upon paper, and submitted it to the historian of Devonshire, to vindicate to the public, if he thinks fit, the antiquity of the chief city in his county.

III. *On the Camps in England.*

The camps in England are in general reducible to three kinds; oblong or square, with a single ditch; circular, with a single ditch; of any figure, with two or more very deep ditches. Modern antiquaries have made great confusion, by attributing all these kinds to the Romans, as the Ancients used to do to the Giants, particularly if the camp was large and strong. I am inclined to think the first fort only are certainly Roman; the second and third belong equally to the Saxons, Danes, and Britons, with some little distinction to be mentioned presently. This, like all general rules, must admit of exceptions: but the following observations will explain my reasons for adopting this idea. Almost every camp known certainly to be Roman is of a regular figure; as the camps for instance at Haerfounds, Battledykes, and Aairdoch in Scotland, and all the camps on Severus's Wall, without one exception: and on the other hand in Ireland, where the Romans did not penetrate, *tho' the northern nations did*, a camp of a regular figure is almost unknown. I know the authority of Vegetius will be produced against me, that the Romans made their camps square, triangular, oval, or oblong, prout loci qualitas aut necessitas postulaverit; but all I mean to assert, is, that when the Romans were not pressed loci necessitate, they preferred a square or oblong, an assertion which this passage of Vegetius neither confirms nor contradicts, and which no one, I think, can contradict, who has seen the innumerable camps in these forms in the Roman roads and walls in the north. A stronger argument against my hypothesis at first sight, is the irregular

regular camps which are acknowledged to be Roman from their position agreeing with the itinerary distances, or from the Roman coins and antiquities found in them, as Old Sarum, Maiden Castle and Badbury in Dorsetshire, the camp at Gogmagog Hills near Cambridge, and many others. I might get rid of these however at once, by allowing them, as they are very few in number, to be exceptions to the rule; but I am rather inclined to think that these places have been since altered by Danes or Saxons encamping in them, enlarging or diminishing them, according to their own numbers, (as General Roy observed to be the case with the Roman camps in Scotland, and as every eye may see in Maiden Castle), and fortifying them with double or triple ditches after their own manner; for it is observable, that Vegetius says the Romans made their ditch “*latem novem, undecim, tredecim, vel (ubi major adversariorum vis metuitur) pedibus septemdecim;*” but never mentions a word of double or triple ditches 50 yards broad. To recur, therefore, to my original idea, I am inclined to look upon every camp of a square or oblong figure to be Roman, and to regard with a very suspicious eye all irregular camps whatever, tho’ by this hypothesis I remove from the honor of being Roman fortifications, many an old Cæsar’s camp, as it is vulgarly called; Julius Cæsar being by some odd fatality in possession of all our old camps, as King John is of all our old palaces. Whenever, therefore, I find a camp of the figure before specified, single ditched, and situated conveniently for water, by whatever name it may be distinguished, Cester Bury or Castle, tho’ the former is a strong additional argument, I always would assign it to the Romans.

Of the irregular camps there is from the nature of them much less certainty: The Danes and Saxons being both northern people, and even the Belgæ, who invaded the island much earlier, being I believe a Gothic tribe, it is not probable there could be much difference in their mode of encamping; but it is reasonable to suppose the Celts, or original inhabitants, both from their antiquity and their low state of civilization, would use a less artificial way of fortifying themselves. I would therefore attribute those camps of an awkward figure approaching to a circle with one ditch, especially if in the recesses of our forests, such as Ambresbury, near Epping, in Essex, to the old Britons. The camps better chosen on high ground, and with outlines better defined, and large ditches, may belong perhaps to the Saxons. There is a very extraordinary line of camps of this sort in sight of each other, so as evidently to have been constructed at the same period, reaching along the great range of chalk hills from Vandleburg or Gogmagog Hills, in Cambridgeshire, to the Wiltshire Downs, as if drawn for the purpose of defending that range of country from a northern enemy, a position which (the form of the camps putting the Romans out of the question) answers to the Belgic or Saxon settlers, and to no other people in the island. I therefore look upon these fortifications as specimens of the Saxon style, and I distinguish the Danish camps from these by a form more *romanized* by more numerous and deeper ditches, and perhaps by the peculiar mode of defending the gateway, as in Yarnsbury camp, Wiltshire, (see Gough, vol. I. plate 8,) the burgh of Moray, (see Cordiner’s Antiquities, plate X. page 58,) and Maiden Castle, in Dorsetshire, (see Hutchins’s History,) which is evidently the improvement of a late and military age. By these considerations, if well founded, some light may be thrown upon our history, as well as more accuracy in the antiquities of our counties: For instance, it would lead one in your own county to reject Woodbury, Musbury, and most of your other Bury’s, from the

the rank of Roman camps; to look upon Hembury from its figure, as having a better claim, and to place in the same rank, without hesitation, a small and regular camp on Exmoor, near Linmouth, formed undoubtedly for the purpose of guarding the sea coast in that exposed quarter from the Irish or northern pirates. On the other hand, Clovelly Dikes (which Mr. Gough, in his additions to Camden, calls a Roman camp, tho' no Roman road can be traced to or from it) does not appear to me, from its figure and triple ditch, to have the least pretensions to the name: I should from my hypothesis pronounce it Danish; and it is curious enough, that in this instance we can go very near to point out the makers of it, for in the year 876 Inquer and Haldun's brother, two Danish leaders came from South Wales, where they had wintered with 23 ships, landed on the coast of Devonshire, and besieging the E. of Devon, in Appledore-castle, received a complete defeat, and lost their celebrated standard of the raven. Now a fleet coming with a fair wind at north, from Carmarthenshire, could make no part of England with so much ease as Clovelly Point; it was directly in their course, and as was their usual custom, they fortified strongly the first ground on which they landed, then marching along the coast, Appledore-castle, then ten miles off, would be the natural object of their attack; and thus the possibility appears to me very strong, that Clovelly dikes was made at this time, and was in fact (as according to my hypothesis it ought to be) a Danish, not a Roman fortification.

ADDITIONAL PROOFS.

Saxon Camps known.

Tong Castle, in Kent, was the work of Hengist, or his son: It is a large hill, flat at top, surrounded with a broad ditch 50 yards, which is again incircled with a strong bank or vallum; its figure is nearly circular. Withem, in Essex, was built by Edward the Elder in 913, similar in all respects to the latter. Alfred's camp, near Millon, in Kent, made in 892, in order to check Hastings, the Dane, is certainly of this construction, a small hill, a broad ditch, and an external vallum inclosing all, the form an irregular oval.

Danish Camps known.

Hastings' camp, near the last, is a long square, with the corners rounded off, and a ditch and vallum like Alfred's. The breadth of the ditch is the great distinction between this and a Roman camp.

Bretton Castle, in Wiltshire, to which the Danes retired and were forced to surrender by Alfred, is of a similar form, the angles rounded, and the gateways defended by additional works. (See Gough's plate, Camden, vol. I. plate 8.)

Burgh Castle, in Moray, a celebrated Danish encampment, has the entrance defended by triple ditches, each with a vallum.

At Whitehawk Hill, in Shoreham, is a strong camp, triple trenched, and open to the sea. Quere, Danish? Near it a large single circle. Perhaps Saxon against it.

The keep at Thetford, an enormous work, fortified by three great and deep ditches, is known to be Danish.

In

In the Isle of Anglesey, near the Ford, by which the Romans passed the Menai, is a square camp, and opposite to it a round one, allowed to be that of the inhabitants (Britons) against it.

I fear, sir, I have tired your patience by this long and perhaps uninteresting memoir, and I can only say, you are at liberty to vent your indignation upon it, by throwing it into the fire, for disturbing you in the midst of your important pursuits: If, on the other hand, there is any thing in it worth your notice, you are at liberty to insert it in your history in any shape you please. You are acquainted with a gentleman who is the best judge now living upon these matters, and whom I sincerely respect, tho' I have not the honor of being personally known to him, I mean Mr. Whitaker, to whose History of Manchester I owe my first love for antiquarian pursuits, and in consequence, some of the most pleasant hours of my life: To his judgment and to your's I cheerfully submit; and am,

SIR,

Your very obedient servant,

WM. CORK."

AN ACCOUNT OF FOUR ROMAN URNS,

The first three described by the Rev. MALACHY HITCHINS; in a Letter to the Author, dated St. Hilary, Dec. 1803.

SUPPLEMENT to the FOURTH CHAPTER of the FIRST BOOK.

“**T**HE first Urn was found on the barton of Godolphin, the property of the Duke of Leeds, in the parish of Breage, about five miles west of Helston, in the month of April, 1779, by one Nicholas Pearce, as he was narrowing a bank, which formed the boundary of his field, who sold the greater part of the coins, which it contained, to a Jew, soon after he had discovered them, and before he had informed any gentleman of the circumstance; for which imprudent conduct his neighbours having censured and ridiculed him, it had such an unhappy effect on him, as to cause a temporary derangement, and danger of suicide. The Jew purchased 8lb. avoirdupois weight, for which he gave the finder only eight-pence a pound; but as his brother and others found a great number, scattered by the violent stroke of the mattock, which broke the urn in pieces, I suppose the whole coin to have weighed about 10lb. and as ten of these coins weighed an ounce, the whole number must have been about sixteen hundred. The urn was thick and curiously molded, having many furrows and involutions, but I could not get a sight of the fragments, which might enable me to give a more particular description of it. The spot on which it was found lies little more than half a mile from the Roman fort at Bosense, in which were discovered many curious articles of antiquity, as related by Dr. Borlase, p. 316, &c. 2d edit. of *Antiq. of Cornwall*, many of which are deposited in the Museum at Oxford. The urn lay under the north edge of a bank, which is about six feet high, and near ten feet wide, composed of earth and stones, and running nearly in the arch of a circle for 170 yards, which would be about one-third of the circumference if completed; but, as it appears to have had no foss on either side, it was probably thrown up in haste to resist a sudden and unexpected attack of an enemy coming from the opposite hill, and the danger of the situation and pressure of circumstances might occasion the concealment of the coins; for the ground has none of those recommendations which might induce the Romans to make it a fortified station, as they did the fort at Bosense. The urn was covered by a curious stone, of bluish elvan, about four feet long, two feet broad, and uniformly one foot thick, between which and the urn was a thin stratum of earth, and the stone itself was covered by the shelving of the bank.

The next urn was discovered by one William Harry, in June, 1789, in the parish of Morva, about five miles nearly north of Penzance, and within a few yards of the road between those two places.

places. It was near the N. W. corner of a small enclosure, surrounded by a thick uncemented wall, or hedge, which seems to have stood ever since the interment of the urn; for it was found at the foot of a very long and large stone inserted in the wall, which might serve as a memento, about a foot under the surface of the earth, and covered by a flat stone of granite. The soil in this enclosure being rather deep, the farmer carried off the surface, even to the substratum of clay, to manure other lands, and justly thinking that potatoes would thrive well in clay, and that the dung in which they were tilled would fertilize the mold, and prepare it for a crop of corn, a method of agriculture very prevalent in Cornwall, in digging up this clay he threw his pickaxe into the urn, and broke it into many pieces. These coins, as well as those found at Godolphin, were almost all of them copper, but a few were of the ancient lead, a coin much more rare than the former, a very perfect one of which fell into my hands. A Jew likewise got possession of those coins, and retailed them round the country for about a penny a piece, tho' mostly in a high state of preservation. If this urn had been found in Dr. Borlase's time, as it lay within three quarters of a mile of Castle Chûn, between which two spots there are many walls of a construction similar to that where the coins were dug up, it would probably have changed his opinion respecting the builders of that fortification, which he supposes to be of Danish erection; and indeed he seemed to have some doubts on this subject, for he says, page 316, "Some of our round intrenchments on the tops of round hills in Cornwall, may be Roman works, if either way pass near or through them, or coins be found in them." It is difficult to conceive why the doctor did not determine Castle Chûn to be a Roman fortification; for in his description of an intrenchment in the parish of St. Agnes, he says, page 314, that it was formed with too much art and military science for either Britons, Saxons, or Danes; and yet in speaking of Castle Chûn, which he pronounces to be Danish, he says, page 347, "The whole of this work, the neatness and regularity of the walls, providing such security for their entrance, flanking, and dividing their foss, shews a military knowledge superior to that of any other works of this kind which I have seen in Cornwall."*

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* "If this Castle Chûn (says Mr. Hitchins) was a station of the Romans, which seems extremely probable, not only from the great military skill employed in erecting it, but also from the coins lately found near it, anterior to their settlement there, it was a favourite hill of the Druids, if they were, as is generally supposed, the builders of Cromlêhs; for, about five hundred yards from the castle there is one on the north side; at little more than a mile there are two on the east side; and two more in the north-east, distant four miles and three quarters. These cromlêhs, except one of them lately found, have been well described and delineated by the learned and accurate Dr. Borlase; but the great desideratum he lived not to see, i. e. a human body inhumed under one of those erections, which has been recently discovered in the parish of Madron, and within a half mile of the famous Lanyon Cromlêh, vulgarly called the Giant's Quoit. This Cromlêh was found a few years since by the following incident. The gentleman, who is leaseholder of the estate of Lanyon, under Mr. Rashleigh, happening, in walking through his fields, to be overtaken by a shower of rain, took shelter behind a large bank of earth and stones, and observing that the earth was rich, it occurred to him that it might be useful for a compost. Accordingly he sent his servants soon after to carry it off, when, having removed a very large quantity, they discovered the supporters of a Cromlêh, from which the cover-stone was slipped off on the south-west side, but still leaning against them. These supporters include a rectangular space, open only at the north end, and their dimensions are of a very extraordinary size, viz. that forming the eastern side being about ten feet and half long; that on the west nine feet, with a small supplementary one to complete the length; and the stone shutting up the south end being about five feet wide. The cover-stone is about thirteen feet and half, by ten feet and half; but its exact length, and the height of the supporters, cannot be readily ascertained, as they are partly inserted in the ground. The present height is about five feet above the surface of the field, and the cover-stone contains many more solid feet than that of the other Cromlêh standing on this estate. Except the small Cromlêh near Castle Chûn, this is dissimilar to all others found in this county, which have small supporters, and the area under the cover-stone open on all sides; whereas this, when the cover was on, was shut up almost quite close, except at the entrance on the north side, and appears to resemble Kitt's Cotty House, in Kent, though the dimensions of that are much smaller. As soon as the gentleman;

The third Roman urn was discovered in June 1793, by some labourers, in digging a trench about a hundred yards from the sea, in the parish of Ludgvan, and little more than half a mile N. W. of St. Michael's Mount. It was buried in the sand two or three feet under the surface, and was nearly of the same size with those found at Godolphin and Morva, but the coins, owing to the dampness of the situation, were more corroded. I saw none of them, but was informed that, like those found in the two other urns, they were chiefly coins of Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus senior, &c.*

The fourth urn was found about May 1804, in the neighbourhood of Chiverton, the seat of John † Thomas, esq. about a quarter of a mile from Venton-gymys. Mr. Thomas informed me, that the persons who discovered it, were employed in digging a ditch—that they found it about two feet under the soil—that, on their striking their tools against it, and perceiving something extraordinary, they immediately broke it into pieces from the same principle of cupidity which has been noticed as actuating others in similar circumstances;—but that their exertions ended in disappointment, as it was filled with earth, and nothing else. At the bottom of the urn, the earth was black, but not unctuous. As well as he could judge from the fragments put together, this urn, Mr. Thomas supposes, was no less than five feet high—its widest part about four feet in diameter; its mouth about a foot. Its thickness was about an inch—the outside and inside, reddish; and the inner, much mixed with small blue killas. From ‡ its figured work, somewhat resembling that of the Morvah urn, (see Hist. of Cornwall, vol. I. p. 139) I place this, without much hesitation, among the urns of the Romans—not to insist on its vicinity to other remains of that people, which I have described in Piran and St. Agnes.

man observed it to be a Cromlêh, he ordered his men to dig under it, where they soon found broken pieces of an urn, with much ashes; and going deeper they took up about half of a skull, together with the thigh bones, and most of the other bones of a human body. These lay in a promiscuous state, and in such a disordered manner as fully proved that the grave had been opened before; which is also further evident, because the flat stones which formed the grave, or what Dr. Borlase calls the Kist-vaen, i. e. little chest, and a flat stone about six feet long, which probably lay at the bottom, had all been deranged and removed out of their proper places. The skull and some other bones were carried into the gentleman's house, and shewn for some time as curiosities, but were afterwards inclosed in a box and re-interred in the spot from whence they had been taken. These bones I have been assured were above the common size of the present race of men; but I was not fortunate enough to hear of this event sufficiently early to get a view of them."

* "About two miles and half N. E. of this last spot, in the same parish, is situated the Well of Collurion, very famous for time immemorial for its opthalmic virtues; and it seems a very extraordinary circumstance that it never occurred to any of the historians of Cornwall, who have recorded its wonderful efficacy, not even Dr. Borlase, who was rector of this parish, that the name of this well is pure Greek, *καλλυριον*, i. e. a medicine for the eyes. How it acquired this name is a subject of curious investigation and research. It could not be given by the Phenicians who traded here for tin; for though they had much intercourse with the Greeks, they are known to have spoken a dialect of the Hebrew, differing very little from the original. Neither is it quite certain that the Greeks had any traffic in Mount's Bay; and the great number of Greek words adopted in our language are well known to have been conveyed through indirect channels. May we not venture to conjecture that the name Collurion might be given to this celebrated well by some Greek soldiers, who might have been cured by its waters, many of whom were incorporated in the Roman armies during their possession of this island?"

† Vice-warden of the Stannaries of Cornwall.

‡ See the impression on the opposite page.

CURSORY REMARKS ON THE ROMANCE OF MORTE ARTHUR.

SUPPLEMENT to the ELEVENTH CHAPTER of the SECOND BOOK.

THE last chapter of the second book of this history, was closed with some allusions to the exploits of MERLIN: And in the romance of *Morte Arthur*, Merlin was no inconsiderable personage.

"Morte Arthur, or the lyf of Kyng Arthur, of the noble knyghtes of the round table, and in "thende the dolorous deth of them all," was translated into English from the * French, by Sir Thomas Malcory, knight, and printed by Will. Caxton, in 1484. It has been twice or thrice re-printed. The last edition is dated 1634. In this romance we are told: "There was a knight, "Meliodas; and he was lord and king of the country of Lyones; and he wedded King Macke's "sister of Cornewale." The issue of this marriage, it appears, was Sir Triftram. We have then, an account of Sir Triftram's banishment from Lyones to a distant country, by the advice and under the conduct of a wife and learned counsellor, named Governale. (Book II. chap. 1.) After Sir Triftram had become skilled in the language, the courtly behaviour, and the chivalry of France, we are informed, that, "as he growed in might and strength, he laboured ever in hunting and hawking; so that we never read of no gentleman, more, that so used himselfe therein. "And he began good measures of blowing of blasts of venery (hunting) chase, and of all manner "vermeins: And all these termes have we yet of hawking and hunting; and therefore the booke "of venery, of hawking and hunting, is called THE BOOK OF SIR TRISTRAM." (Book II. chap. 3.) In another place King Arthur thus addresses Sir Triftram. "For of all manner of "hunting thou bearest the prife; and of all measures of blowing thou art the beginner; and of "all the termes of hunting and hawking ye are the beginner." (B. II. c. 91.) I must here observe, that from "*Morte Arthur*," our Spenser has borrowed many of his names in the Faery Queen; such as Sir Triftram, Placidus, Pelleas, Pellenore, Percivall. And Spenser informs us, that Sir Triftram was born in Cornwall:

"And Triftram is my name, the only heire
Of good old Meliograss, which did raigne
In Cornewaile."—6. 2. 28.

And afterwards:

— "The countrie wherein I was bred
The which the fertile Lionesse is hight."—St. 30.

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OF

* Arthur was the theme of France and of Italy, when his native Cornwall could boast no poet to celebrate his fame. Ariosto has done credit to the subject: The XXXIII. Canto of his *Orlando Furioso*, is a very ingenious fiction. There Pharamond, king of France, resolved to conquer Italy, desires the friendship of Arthur, king of Britain. Arthur sends Merlin, the magician, to assist him with advice. Merlin, by his supernatural art, raises a sumptuous hall; on the sides of which all the future wars, unfortunate to the French in their invasions of Italy, are painted in colors exceeding the pencils of the greatest masters. A description of these pictures, is given to the heroine Bradamant, by the knight who kept the castle of Sir Triftram where the enchanted hall was placed.

Of his fondness for field sports, Sir T. says:

— “ My most delight has always beene
To hunt the savage chace among my peres
Of all that raungeth in the forest greene,
Of which none is to me unknown that e’er was seene.—St. 31.
Ne is there hawke that mantleth her on pearch,
Whether high tow’ring, or accoasting lowe,
But I the measure of her flight do search,
And all her pray, and all her dyet knowe.—St. 32.

In Tuberville’s *Treatise of Falconrie*, &c. Sir Tristram is often introduced as the patron of field-sports. A huntsman thus speaks:

Before the king I come report to make,
Then hush and peace for noble TRISTRAM’S sake.—Edit. 4to. 1611, p. 96.

And in another place:

“ Wherefore thou lyft to learn the perfect trade
Of venerie, &c.—
Let him give ear to skilfull TRISTRAM’S lore.

P. 40. See also *Mort. Artb.* b. ii. c. 138.

In the romance before us, we meet with the most extravagant ideas—among which is that of the mantle made of the beards of kings! “ Came a messenger—saying, that King Ryence had “ discomfited, and overcomen eleaven knights, and everiche of them did him homage; and that “ was this, they gave him their beards cleane flayne of as much as there was: Wherefore the “ messenger came for King Arthur’s berd: For King Ryence had had *purfeled a mantell with king’s beards*, and there lacked for one place of the mantell. Wherefore he sent for his berd; or else “ he would enter into his lands, and brenn and sley, and never leave, till he have thy head and “ beard.” B. i. c. 24.—Spencer has improved on the idea: His mantle is “ with *berds* of knights, “ and lockes of ladies lynd.” 6. 3. 15.—Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, speaks of a coat composed of the beards of kings. He is celebrating King Arthur.

“ As how great Rithout’s self, he flew in his repair,
And ravisht Howel’s niece, young Helena the fair.
And for a trophie brought the giant’s coat away,
Made of the beards of kings.”—(Song 4.)

But Drayton, in these lines, manifestly alludes to a passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth; who informs us, that a Spanish giant, named Ritho, having forcibly conveyed away from her guard, Helena the niece of Duke Hoel, possessed himself of St. Michael’s Mount in Cornwall, whence he made frequent sallies, and committed various outrages; that, at last, King Arthur conquered this giant, and took from him a certain *coat*, which he had been composing of the beards of kings, a vacant place being left for King Arthur’s beard. (*Orig. et gest. Rest. Brit.* b. x. 13.)—It appears, from a passage in *Morte Arthur*, that knights used to wear the sleeves of their mistresses upon their arms. “ When Queen Genever wist that Sir Launcelot beare the red sleeve of the “ faire maide of Astolat, she was nigh out of her minde for anger.” B. iii. c. 119.—I have elsewhere adverted to the superstitious notions of our Cornish ancestors, respecting the genii, or the spirits

spirits of fountains and rivers. "The Lady of the Lake," in *Morte Arthur*, is one of this class of beings. "The Lady of the Lake and Merlin departed: And by the way as they went, MERLIN shewed to her many wonders, and came into Cornwaile. And alwaies Merlin lay about the ladie to have her favour; and she was ever passing wery of him, and faine would have been delivered of him; for she was afraid of him, because he was a divell's son, and she could not put him away by no meanes. And so upon a time it hapned that Merlin shewed to her in a roche (rock) whereas was a great wonder, and wrought by enchainment, which went under a stone, so by her subtil craft and working she made Merlin to go under that stone, to let him wit of the marvailes there. But she wrought so there for him, that he came never out, for all the craft that he could doe." B. i. c. 60.—The Lady of the Lake was a very popular character in Elizabeth's days: she was introduced to make part of the queen's entertainment at Kenelworth. This romance seems to have extended its reputation beyond the reign of Queen Elizabeth. *Ben Jonson* alludes more than once to *Morte Arthur*. *Camden*, in his remains, speaking of the name *Tristram*, observes: "I know not whether the first of his name was christened by King Arthur's fables." He speaks, also, of *Launcelot* and of *Gawen*. Thus too *Milton*:

— "Damsels met in forests wide
By knights of Logris, or of LYONES,
Lancelot, Pelleas, or Pellenore."

Par. Reg. b. ii. v. 359.

— "What refounds
In fable or romance, of Uther's son,
Begirt with British or Armoric knights."

Par. Lost, b. i. v. 579.*

This much for *Morte Arthur*: which, we have seen, was translated from the French into English, in the fifteenth century. But of what date is the French original? or, whence was it derived?

* Milton's fondness for the old British story, is no where more pleasingly displayed than in his Latin poems. Thus, in his "*Liber Sylvarum*:"

"Ipse ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes *
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,
Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;†
Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iogernen,‡
Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
Merlini dolus. O mihi tum si vita superfit,§
Tu procul annosa pendebis fistula pinu,
Multum oblita mihi; aut patriis mutata Camœnis
Britonicum strides, quid enim? omnia non licet uni
Non sperasse uni licet omnia, mi fatis ampla

Merces.

* *Ipse ego Dardaniæ, &c.*] The landing of the Trojans in England under Brutus. Rhotupium is a part of the Kentish coast. Brutus married Inogen, the eldest daughter of Pandrasus a Grecian king; from whose bondage Brutus had delivered his countrymen the Trojans. Brennus and Belinus were the sons of Molutius Dunwallo, by some writers called the first king of Britain. The two sons carried their victorious arms into Gaul and Italy. Arviragus, or Arvirage, the son of Cunobelin, conquered the Roman general Claudius. He is said to have founded Dover-castle.

† *Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos.*] Armorica, or Britany, peopled, according to the poet, by the Britons when they fled from the Saxons.

‡ *Tum gravidam Arturo, &c.*] Iogerne was the wife of Gorlois, Prince of Cornwall. Merlin transformed Uther Pendragon into Gorlois; by which artifice Uther had access to the bed of Iogerne, and begat King Arthur. This was in Tintagel-castle in Cornwall. See *Geffr. Monm.* viii. 19. The story is told by Selden on the *POLYOLBION*, S. i. vol. ii. 674.—But see *HIST. OF CORNW.* book ii. chap. 1.

§ "And O, if I should have long life to execute these designs, you, my rural pipe, shall be hung up forgotten on yonder ancient pine: you are now employed in Latin strains, but you shall soon be exchanged for English poetry. Will you then sound in rude British tones?—Yes—We cannot excell in all things. I shall be sufficiently contented to be celebrated at home for English verse." Milton says in the Preface to *CH. GOV.* b. ii. "Not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that: but content with these British islands as my world." *PROSE-WORKS*, vol. i. 60.

derived? In these questions I feel peculiarly interested; as *Morte Arthur*, in some shape or other, seems to have been perverted into an instrument of scandal against the ancient Cornish.

I now approach the object which I have, all along, had in view; while I proceed to state, that of the *Morte Arthur*, Gibbon has made a very curious use. The historian insinuates, from some expressions, it seems, in the romance, that the Cornish were cowards!!! “Cornwall (says he in a note) was finally subdued by Athelstan, (A. D. 927, 941,) who planted an English colony at Exeter, and confined the Britons beyond the river Tamar. See *Malmesbury*, l. ii. in the *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 50. The spirit of the Cornish knights was degraded by servitude: “And it should seem, from the *Romance of Sir Tristram*, that their cowardice was almost proverbial.” (Vol. iii. p. 617, quarto). Gibbon is doubtless right in his notice of the final reduction of Cornwall by Athelstan. But in this circumstance I perceive not the slightest shadow of cowardice. Gibbon was a mere coxcomb in history. He read much; he fancied more: And he erred splendidly in both. What an historian must that be, who founds a censure of cowardice against a whole nation, upon *what he thinks* a feeble resistance, without once weighing the comparative strength of the assailants and the assailed? In a fair estimate of the comparative strength of a county against a kingdom, Cornwall behaved with exemplary courage in opposing Athelstan at first, and in not yielding at last without another battle. It is true, the historian, to enforce his censure, refers us to the authority of *Morte Arthur*. But can a sarcasm in a mere romance be admitted as sufficient evidence in the case before us?—The wish to see the origin of the French Romance in some measure illustrated, must be natural to every true Cornishman of liberal education. §

Merces, et mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in ævum
Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi)
Si me flava comas legat Ufa, et potor Alauni,*
Vorticibusque frequens Abra,† et nemus omne Treantæ,
Et Themefis meus ante omnes, et fusca metallis ‡
Tamara, et extremis me discant Orcades undis.”

§ I have little doubt that the French Romance was borrowed from the *Sir Tristram* of Scotland; a poem, of which, till this very hour, I never heard; and which, by as remarkable a coincidence as ever happened in literature, was announced to me, as I was writing the above paragraph, in a letter from a friend at Edinburgh. This letter is dated Sept. 1st, 1803:

“Mr. Scott, of Edinburgh, (says my friend) is preparing to republish an old metrical romance, entitled *Sir Tristram*. The edition in question will be made from an unique copy in the advocate’s library in Edinburgh, not for the intrinsic merit of the romance as a poetical production, which certainly would never have caused its being rescued from confinement, but as a genuine record too valuable to remain hanging by a single thread. This sole relic of Thomas, the rhymers’ muse, is the oldest

* Alaunus is Alain in Dorsetshire, Alonde in Northumberland, and Camlan in Cornwall; and is also a Latin name for other rivers.

† *Vorticibusque frequens Abra*.—] So Ovid, of the river Evenus. *METAM.* ix. 106.

VORTICIBUSQUE frequens erat, atque impervius amnis.

And Tyber is “*densus vorticibus*,” *FAST.* vi. 502.—*ABRA* has been used as a Latin name for the Tweed, the Humber, and the Severn, from the British *Abren*, or *Aber*, a river’s-mouth. Of the three, I think the Humber, *vorticibus frequens*, is intended. Leland proves from some old monkish lines, that the Severn was originally called *Abren*; a name, which afterwards the Welsh bards pretended to be derived from King Loecine’s daughter *Abrene*, not *Sabrina*, drowned in that river. *COMM. CYGN. CANT.* vol. ix. p. 67. edit. 1744. In the tragedy of *LOCRINE*, written about 1594, this lady is called *Sabren*. *SUPPL. SHAKESP.* vol. ii. p. 262. A. iv. S. v.

Yes, damsels, yes, *Sabren* shall surely die, &c.

And it is added, that the river (Severn) into which she is thrown, was thence called *Sabren*. *Sabren*, through *Safren*, easily comes to *Severn*. See *COMUS*, v. 826, seq. In the same play, Humber the Scythian king exclaims, p. 246. A. iv. S. iv.

And gentle *Aby* take my troubled corse.

That is, the river *Aby*, which just before is called *Abis*. Ptolemy, enumerating our rivers that fall into the eastern sea, mentions *Abi*; but probably the true reading is *Abri*, which came from *Aber*. *Aber* might soon be corrupted into *Humber*. The derivation of the Humber from Humber, king of the Huns, is as fabulous, as that the name Severn was from *Abrene* or *Sabrina*. But if Humber, a king of the Huns, has any concern in this name, the best way is to reconcile matters, and associate both etymologies in *Hun-Aber*, or *HUMBER*.

‡ —*Fusca metallis*—*Tamara*.] The river Tamar in Cornwall, tinged with tin-mines.

oldest specimen we possess of compositions of the kind, and one of the few that can be proved decidedly of British origin. It is referred to by Robert de Brune in his metrical annals of England, (published by Hearne), and was translated into French verse early in the 13th century, after which probably it was dilated into a prose romance, in French, of considerable length, in which Sir Tristram figures as a knight of the round table; whereas no mention is made of King Arthur, either by Thomas of Erceldowne, or his French translator. The principal dramatis personæ are Mark, king of Cornwall, Yfonde his queen, and his nephew Sir Tristram. Of course the story abounds in wondrous exploits, but from the frequent references that have been made to it, and the veneration that attaches still to the memory of the author, the fiction perhaps is more closely interwoven with truth than usually happens. The topography may for the most part be ascertained at the present day, and the few exceptions, fairly referable to the stroke of time, may consequently be looked upon as no inaccurate guide towards ascertaining the former existence of places now withdrawn from view. Mention is more than once made of a Cornish port of the name of Carlioun. If the circumstance of the existence of the romance interest you at all in the development of your history, it will sufficiently gratify me; I need hardly add, that I shall readily prosecute any enquiries respecting it, that may suggest themselves to you as of any importance; and I am happy in my friend Mr. Scott's permission to say, that the respect which he entertains for you as an historian, and the sympathies by which the muses have in a peculiar degree connected you, make him anxious to assist you, should it lie in his power, in your literary pursuits. If his "*Minstrelsy of the Borders*" has fallen into your hands, of which I can hardly allow myself to doubt, 'tis superfluous for me to say more of him; if otherwise, I certainly do not incur the risk of future apologies, in pointing out to you a very elegant and interesting specimen of the fruits of "*LOCAL ATTACHMENT*."—Mr. S. is desirous that our worthy historian of Manchester should be acquainted likewise with the high esteem in which he is held on this side of the Tweed; nor does any one, I am sensible, esteem him more highly than Mr. Scott himself, which I should have been less forward in adding, had he been less capable of appreciating Mr. Whitaker's merit.—As my sheet admits of it, I shall subjoin the first stanza of the romance—the rest are equally devoid of poetical merit:

I was at Erceldoune
With Tomas spak y thare;
Thir Lord y rede in rounce,
Who Tristrem gat & bare,
Who was king with crown;
And who him foster'd yare;
And who was bold baroun,
As thir elders ware,
Bi yere;
Tomas telles in town,
This aventours as thai ware."

Jan. 16, 1804. My curiosity rests not here. I have this day written to Mr. Scott, and will report his answer.

I am favoured with Mr. Scott's answer, dated Castle-street, Edinburgh, 27th Jan. 1804. It is as follows:

"SIR,—I am honored with your letter of the 16th January, and lose no time in communicating such information about Sir Tristrem as I think may interest you.

Tristrem (of whose real existence I cannot persuade myself to doubt) was nephew to Mark, king of Cornwall. He is said to have slain in single combat Morough of Ireland, and by his success in that duel, to have delivered Cornwall from a tribute which that kingdom paid to Angus, king of Leinster. Tristrem was desperately wounded by the Irish warrior's poisoned sword, and was obliged to go to Dublin to be cured, in the country where the venom had been contracted. Yfonde or Yfendi, daughter of Angus, accomplished his cure, but had nearly put him to death upon discovering that he was the person who had slain her uncle. Tristrem returned to Cornwall, and spoke so highly in praise of the beautiful Yfonde, that Mark sent him to demand her in marriage. This was a perilous adventure for Sir Tristrem, but by conquering a dragon, or, as other authorities bear, by assisting King Angus in battle, his embassy became successful, and Yfonde was delivered into his hands to be conveyed to Cornwall. But the Queen of Ireland had given an attendant damsel a philtre or a phrodissiac to be presented to Mark and Yfonde on their bridal night. Unfortunately the young couple while at sea, drank this beverage without being aware of its effects. The consequence was the intrigue betwixt Tristrem and Yfonde, which was very famous in the middle ages. The romance is occupied in describing the artifices of the lovers to escape the observation of Mark, the counter-plots of the courtier's jealousy of Tristrem's favour, and the uxorious credulity of the King of Cornwall, who is always imposed upon, and always fluctuating betwixt doubt and confidence. At length he banishes Tristrem from his court, who retires to Britanny (Bretagne), where he marries another Yfonde, daughter to the duke of that British settlement. From a vivid recollection of his first attachment, he neglects his bride, and returning to Cornwall in various disguises, renews his intrigue with the wife of his uncle. At length, while in Britanny, he is engaged in a perilous adventure, in which he receives an arrow in his old wound. No one can cure the gangrene but the Queen of Cornwall, and Tristrem dispatches a messenger, entreating her to come to his relief. The confidant of his passion is directed, if his embassy be successful, to hoist a white sail upon his return, and if otherwise, a black one. Yfonde, of Britanny, the wife of Tristrem, overhears these instructions, and on the return of the vessel, with her rival on board, fired with jealousy, she tells her husband falsely, that the sails are black. Tristrem concluding himself abandoned by Yfonde, of Cornwall, throws himself back and dies. Meantime the queen lands and hastens to the succour of her lover—finding him dead, she throws herself on the body and dies also.

This is the outline of the story of Tristrem, so much celebrated in ancient times. As early as the eleventh century his famous sword is said to have been found in the grave of a king of the Lombards. The loves of Tristrem and Yfonde are alluded to in the songs of the king of Navarre, who flourished about 1226, and also in Chretien de Troyes, who died about 1200. During the 13th century, Tomas of Erceldowne, Earlstown in Berwickshire, called the Rhymmer, composed a metrical history of their amours. He certainly died previous to 1299. His work is quoted by Robert de Brunne, with very high encomium. For some account of this extraordinary personage, I venture to refer you to a compilation of ballads, entitled the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, v. 2d, p. 262, where I have endeavoured to trace his history. It is his metrical romance

mance which I am publishing, not from a Scottish MS. of coeval date, but from an English MS. apparently written during the minority of Edward 3d. The transcriber quotes Tomas as his authority and professes to tell the tale of Sir Tristrem, as it was told to him by the author. The stanza is very peculiar, and the language concise to obscurity, in short, what Robert de Brunne called, in speaking of Sir Tristrem "queinte Inglis" not to be generally understood even at the time when it was written. The names are all of British, or if you please, Cornish derivation, as Morgan Riis, Brengwain, Urgan Meriadoc, &c.

It happens by a most fortunate coincidence, that Mr. Douce, with whose literary fame and antiquarian researches you are probably acquainted, possesses two fragments of a metrical history of Sir Tristrem, in the French, or I should rather say, in the romance language. One of them refers expressly to Tomas, as the best authority upon the history of Tristrem, though he informs us, that other minstrels told the story somewhat differently. All the incidents of these fragments occur in my MS. though much more concisely narrated in the latter. The language resembles that of Mad. Marie. Tintagel-castle is mentioned as Mark's residence, a fairy castle which was not always visible. In Tomas's romance the capital of Cornwall is called *Caerlioun*, as I apprehend *Castrum Leonense*, the chief town of the inundated district of Lioneffe, from which Sir Tristrem took his surname. The English and French poems throw great light upon each other.

When the art of reading became more common, the books of chivalry were reduced into prose, the art of the minstrel being less frequently exercised. Tristrem shared this fate, and his short story was swelled into a large folio now before me, beautifully printed at Paris in 1514. In this work the story of Tristrem is engrafted upon that of King Arthur, the romance of the Round Table being then at the height of popularity. Many circumstances are added which do not occur in the metrical copies. It is here that the heresy concerning the cowardice of the Cornish nation first appears: there is not the least allusion to it in the ancient poems, and it is merely introduced to give effect to some comic adventures, in which Mark (*le roy coux*) is very roughly handled; and to others, in which certain knights presuming upon the universal poltrony of the Cornish, attack Tristrem, and according to the vulgar phrase, "catch a tartar." This volume is stated to be compiled by Luce, lord of the castle of Galt, near Salisbury, a name perhaps fictitious. But Luce, if that was his real name, is not singular in choosing the history of Tristrem for the ground-work of his folio. There are two immense MSS. on the same subject in the Duke of Roxburgh's Library, and one in the National Library at Paris, and probably many others. The *Morte Arthur* which you mention is a book of still less authority than the Paris folio. It is not a history of the Cornish hero in particular, but a bundle of extracts made by Sir T. Mallory from the French romances of the Table Round, as Sir Lancelot du Lac and the other folios printed on that subject at Paris, in the beginning of the 16th century. It is therefore of no authority whatever, being merely the shadow of a shade, an awkward abridgment of prose romances, themselves founded on the more ancient metrical *lais* and *gests*; I suppose, however, Gibbon had not Mallory's authority for his observation, which he probably derived from the elegant abridgment of Sir Tristrem (I mean of the prose folio) published by Treffan, in *Extraits des Romans de la Chevalerie*.

I would willingly add to this scrambling letter, a specimen of the romance of Tomas of Erçeldoune, but for the hope of soon having it in my power to send the book itself, which is in the press.

I fear that in wishing fully to gratify your curiosity, I have been guilty of conferring much tediousness upon you; but as it is possible I may have omitted some of the very particulars you wished to know, I have only to add, that it will give me the highest pleasure to satisfy, as far as I am able, any of Mr. Polwhele's enquiries, to whose literary and poetical fame our northern capital is no stranger. On my part I am curious to know if any recollection of Sir Tristrem (so memorable elsewhere) subsists in his native country, whether by tradition, or in the names of places. Also, whether tradition or history points at the existence of such a place as * *Carlioun*, which Tomas thus describes:

Tristrem's schep was yare
He asked his benefoun
The haven he gan out furr
It hight Carlioun
Nujen woukes & marr
He hobbled up & down
A winde to wil him barr
To a slide ther him was boun
Neighe hand
Deivelin hight the toun
An haven in Ireland.

I may just add, that Tristrem is described as a celebrated musician and chess player, and as the first who laid down regular rules for hunting. I beg to be kindly remembered to Mr. C. to whom I am much obliged for giving me an opportunity to subscribe myself,

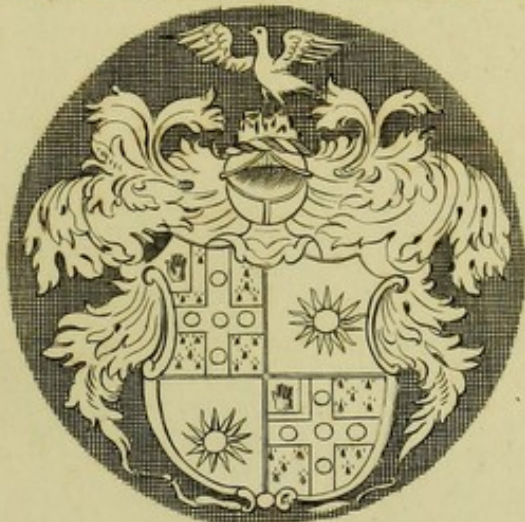
SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WALTER SCOTT."

Mr. Scott calls this "a scrambling letter." But, in my opinion, it is an admirable specimen of the true epistolary style; equal, in point of composition, to Pope's Letters, though they were written for the public; and infinitely superior to those LETTERS OF POPE to Fortescue, which are now first published, (from the original MSS.) in the first volume of the History of Devonshire.

* Hence, probably, *Carlyon*, the name of a very respectable Cornish family.

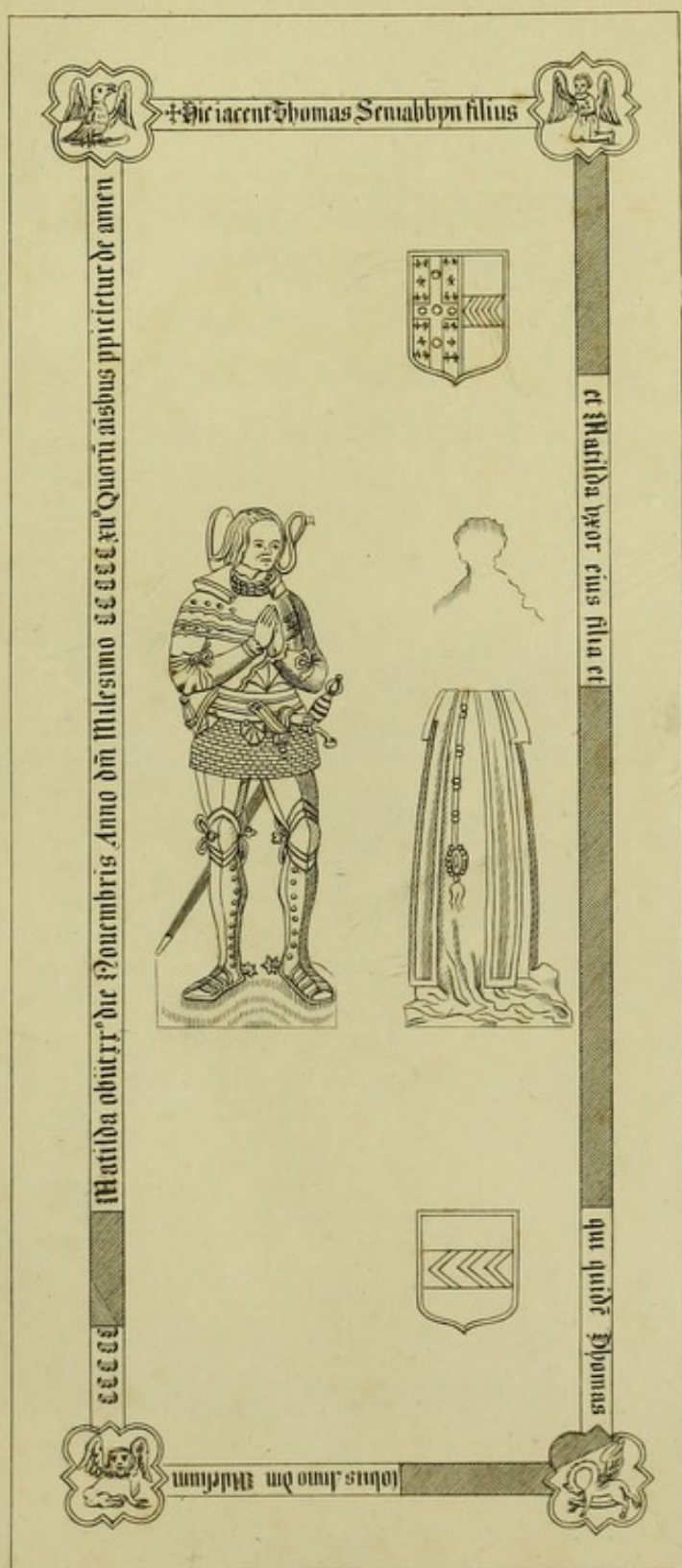


Here lyeth the Body of
 S^R JOHN S^T AUBYN
 of Clowance in the
 County of Cornwall Bar^t
 who departed this Life
 the 20th day of June
 Anno Dni 1714. in y^e 45th
 year of his Age

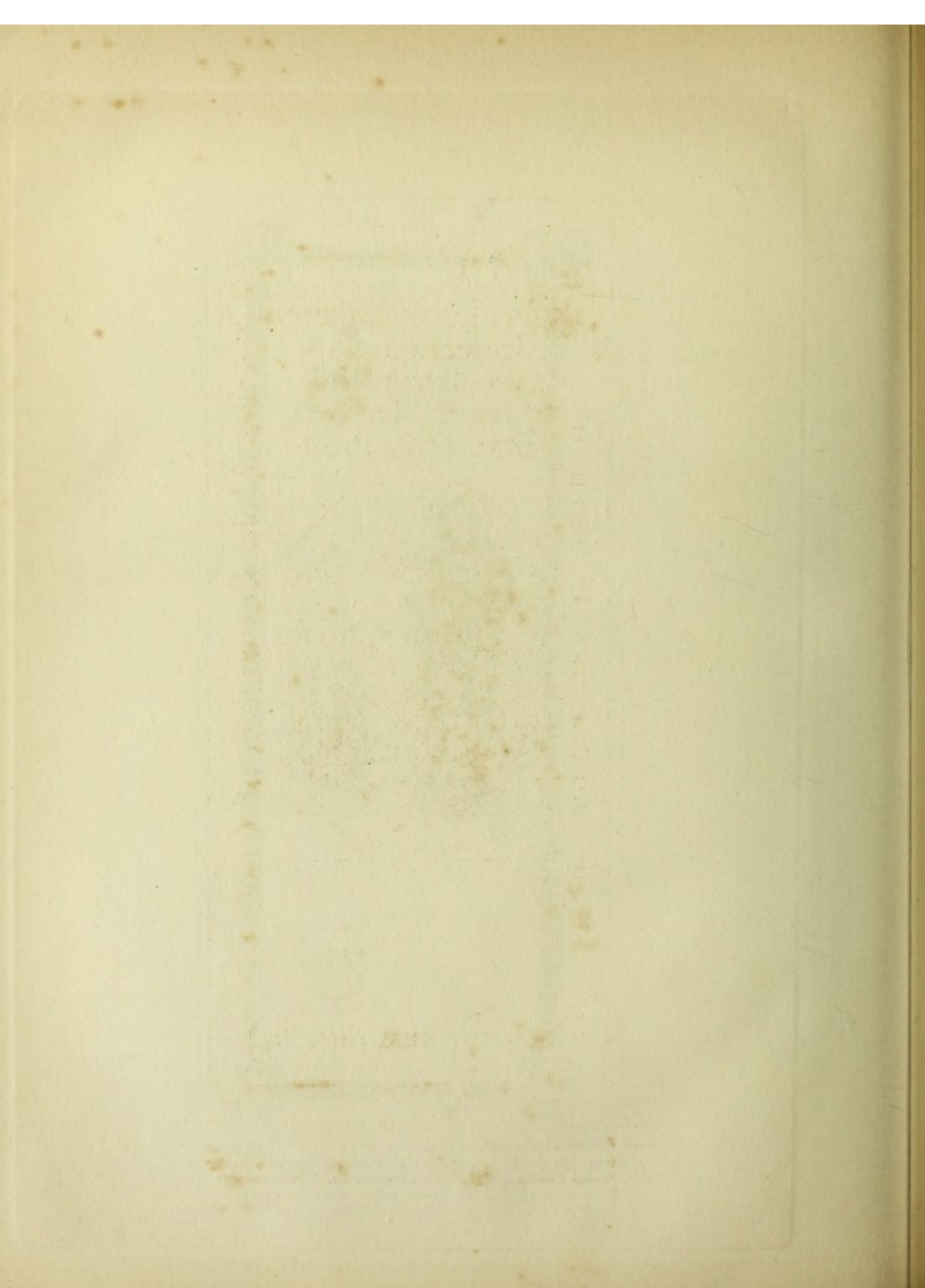
S. J. Taylor del. W. J. Smith sculp.

*Sir John St. Aubyn of Clowance and of St. Michaels
 Mount Bar^t from a Monument in the Parish
 Church of Crowan in the County of Cornwall.*

The First Baronet

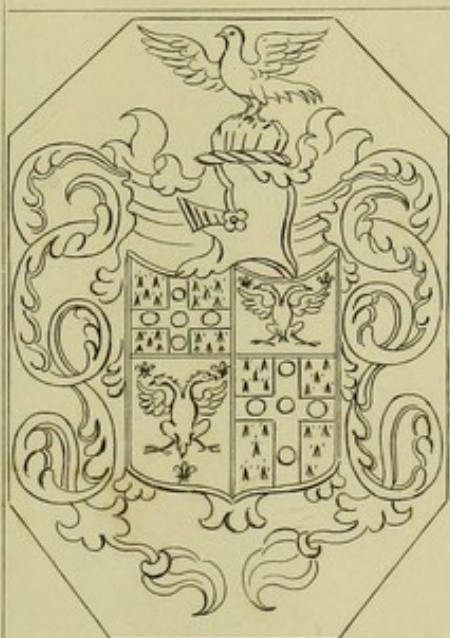


*Thomas Senniabyn of Clowance Esq. and his Wife, Matilda
second Daughter & Coheir of John Trenowith of
Santongoloth in Cornwall Esq. from a Monument in
the Parish Church of Crowan in the County of Cornwall.*



Here Lyeth Katheren
Treveneage Esq
& was buried the
13th day of March
ANNO DOM 1662

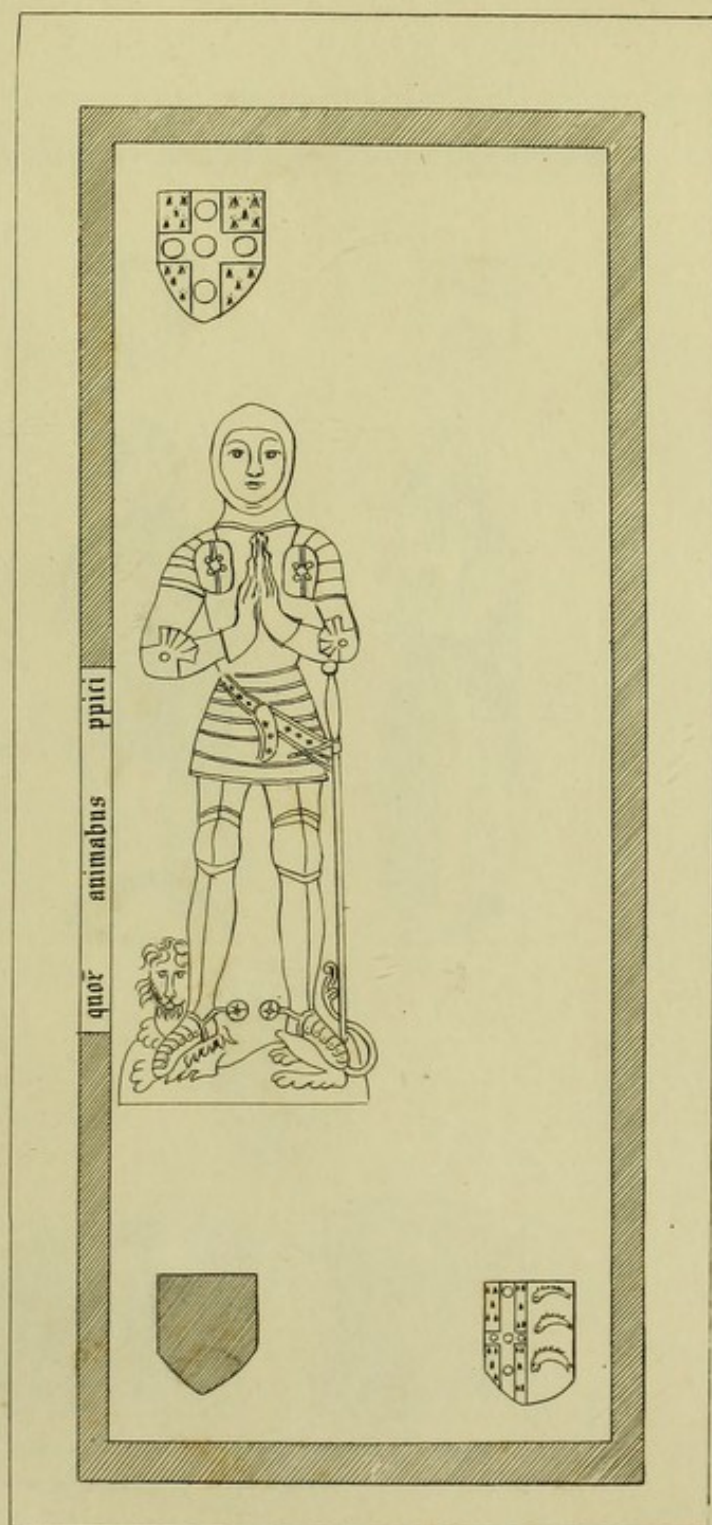
ter & Heireffe vnto Francis Godolphin of



the wife of John Seyntaubyn of Clowance

Esq who was Daugh

*John St. Aubyn of Clowance and of St. Michael's Mount Esq^r
and Catharine his Wife Daughter & Heireffe of Francis Godolphin
of Treveneage in the County of Cornwall from a Monument in
the Parish Church of Crowan in the County of Cornwall.*



J. E. Webb sc. 37. Strand.

Giffry d. Stutyn and Elizabeth his Wife, Daughter and Heiress of Sir Wymyel of Clowance, from a Monument in the Parish Church of Crowan in the County of Cornwall. Obit 1400.

HERE LYETH THO SEYNTAVBYN OF CLOWANCE ESQ THE SONNE OF

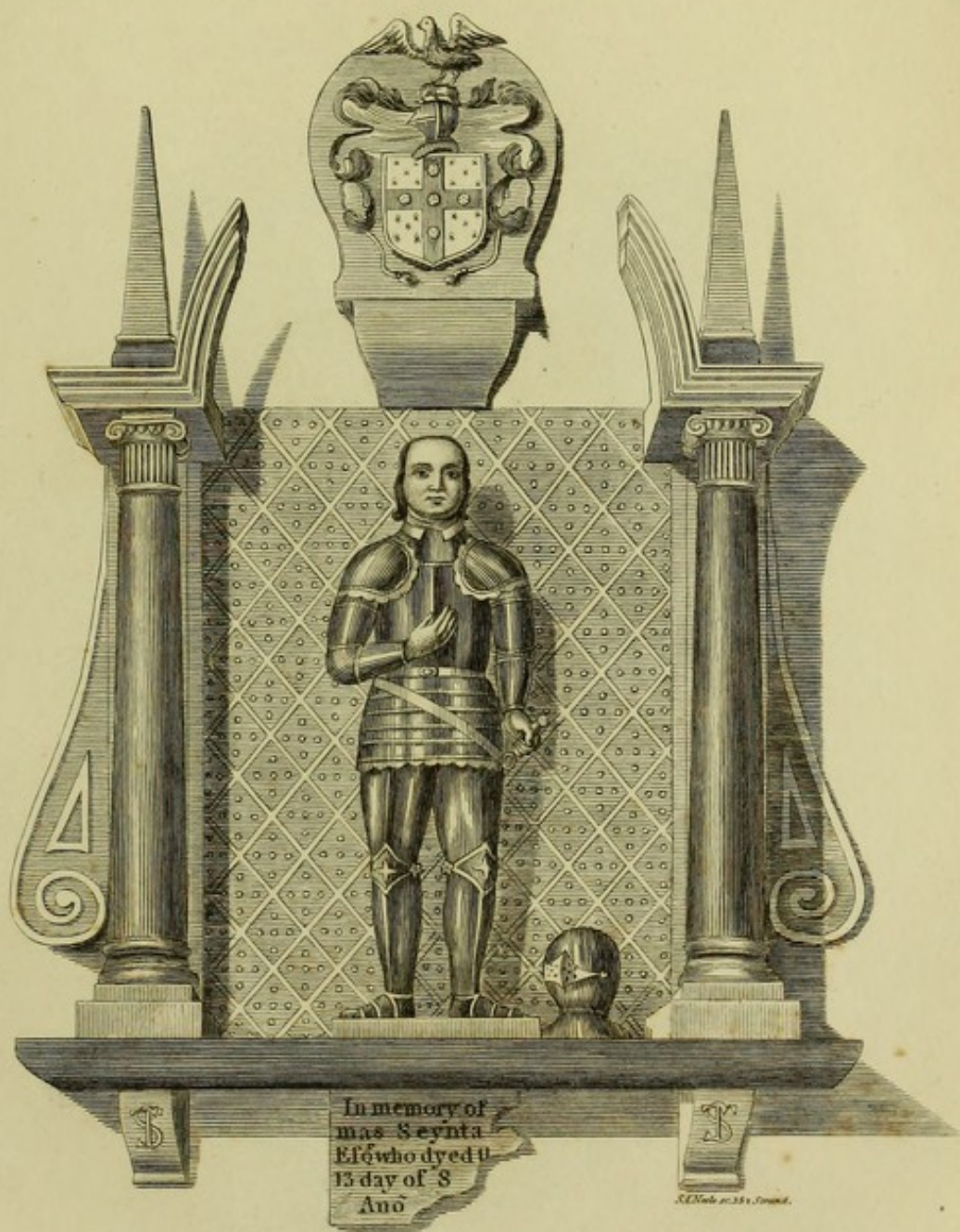
JOHN SEYNTAVBYN ESQ WHOE DEPARTED THIS WORLD ON THE XXVII DAY OF MARCH ANNO DNI 1626 WHOE MARRIED

6 SOWNES & 5 DAUGHTERS WHICH ZENOBIA ALSO DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON THE FIRST DAY OF JANVARY ANNO DNI 1599

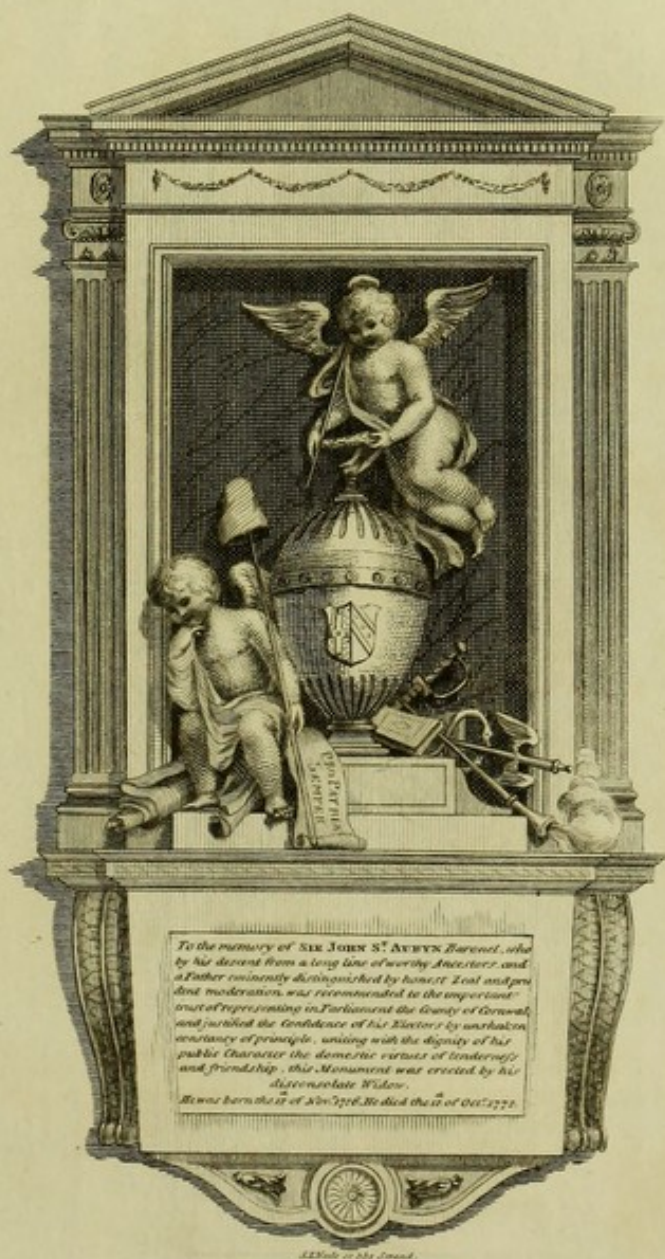


328 1/2 in. x 25 1/2 in. wood.

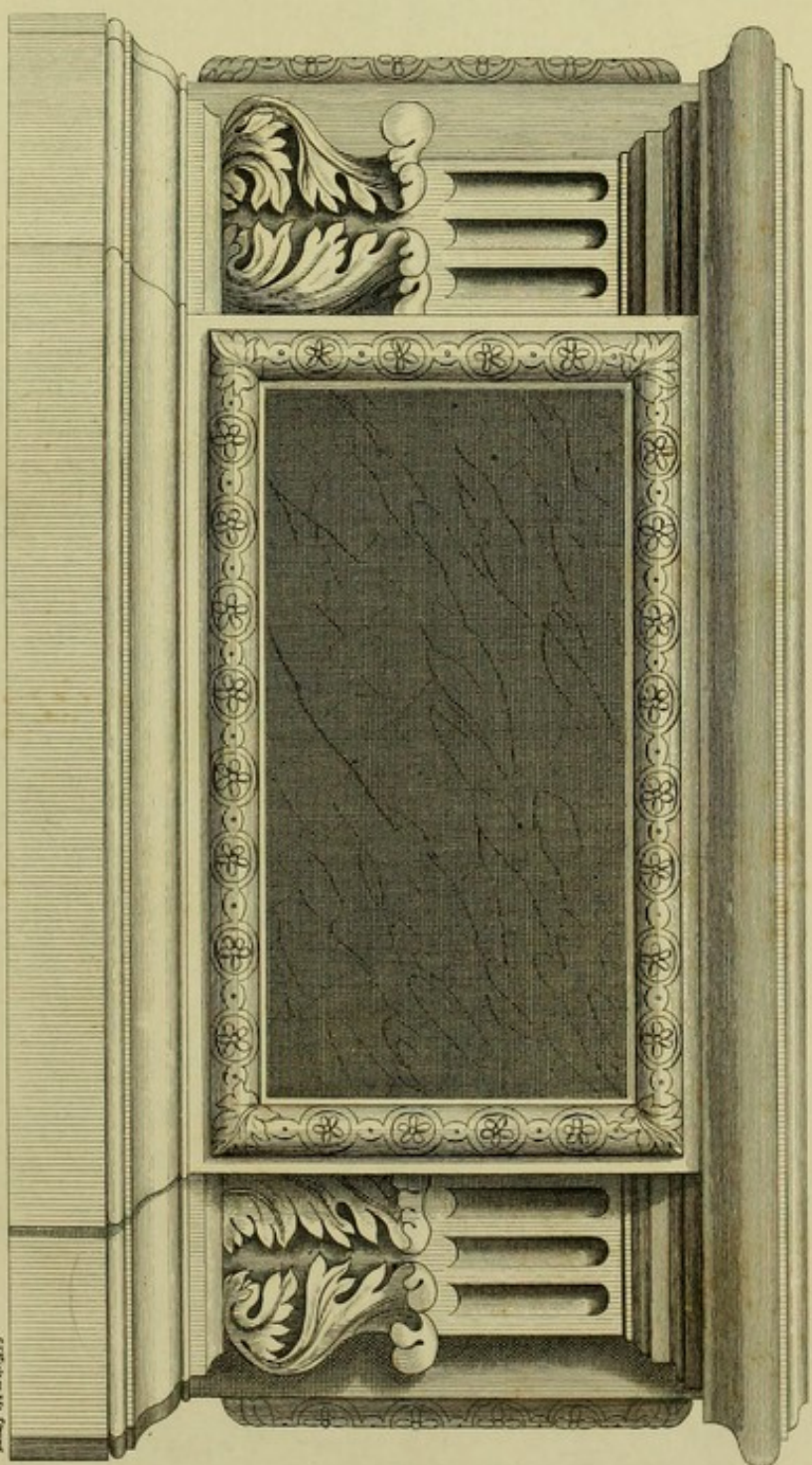
*Thomas Seyntavbyn of Clowance Esq. and His Wife Zenobia
Daughter of John Mallet of Wootley in Devonshire Esq.
from a Monument in the Parish Church of Crowan in
the County of Cornwall.*



*Thomas St. Aubyn. 2^d Son of John St. Aubyn of Clowance Esq.
a Colonel for the King in the Civil Wars. from a Monument
in the Parish Church of Crowan in the County of Cornwall.*



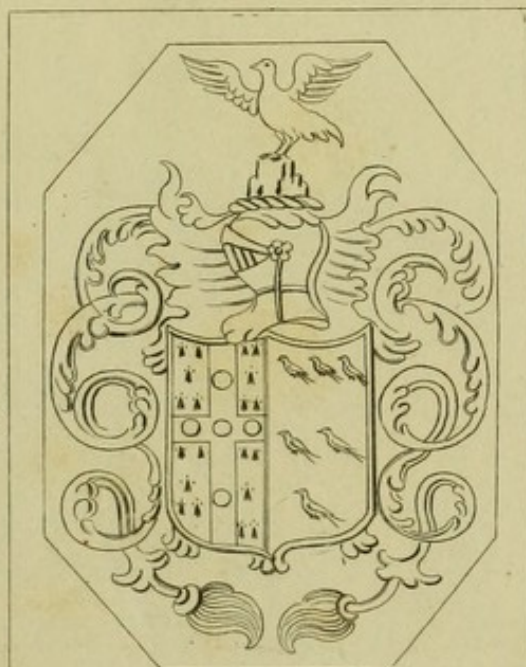
Sir John St. Aubyn of Clowance and of St. Michaels Mount Bar: from a Monument in the Parish Church of Crowan in the County of Cornwall.
The 4th Baronet.



Mr John J. Shubyn of "Ereance" and of "Michael's Mount Bar"
from a Monument in the Parish Church of Erenan in the County
of Cork.

Here Lyeth Iohn Seynt
the Daughter of Iohn
Arrundell of Trerise in
Cornwall Esq by
whom he had yssue five
Sonnes and 7 Daughters

the 15 day of Septem: 1639 who married Katheren

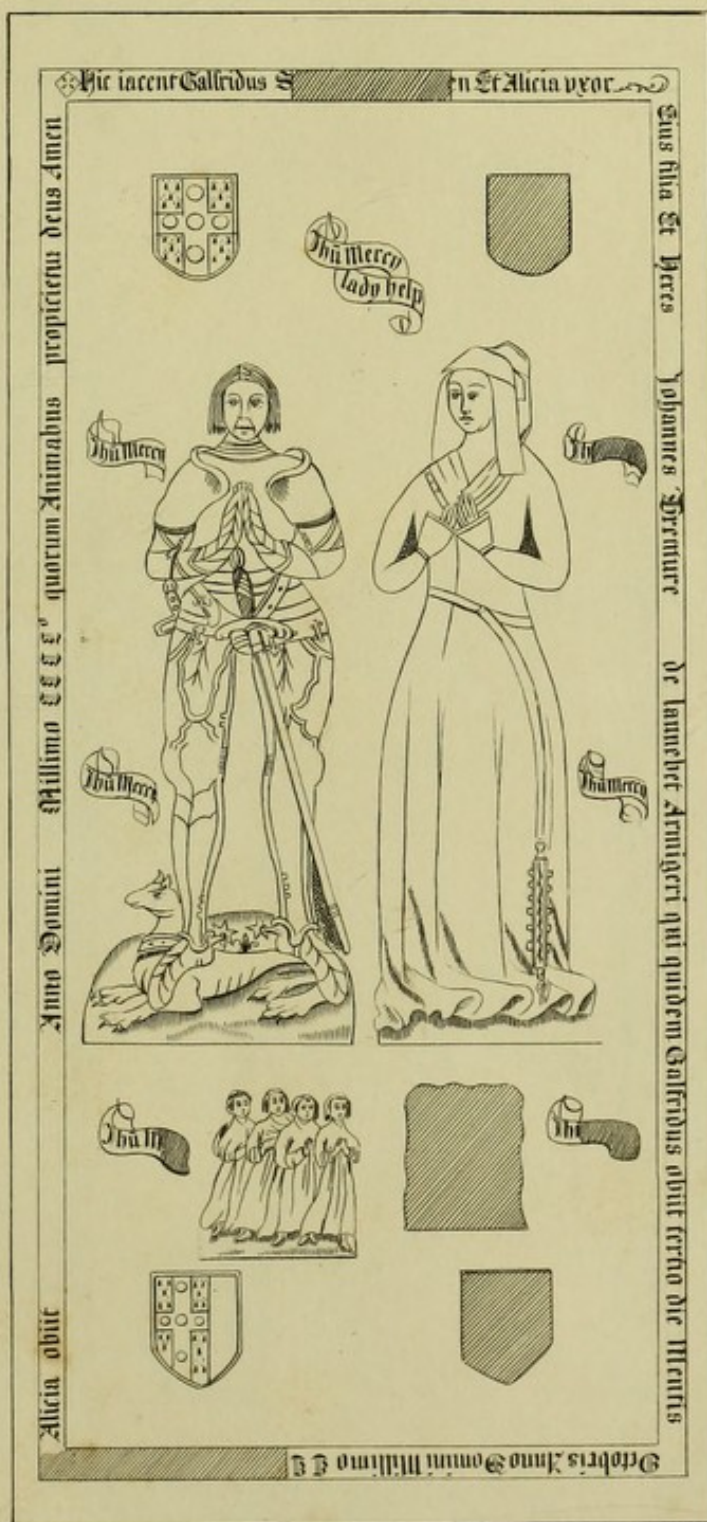


which Katheren Also
was Buried the 17 Day
of December
ANNO DOMINI 1629

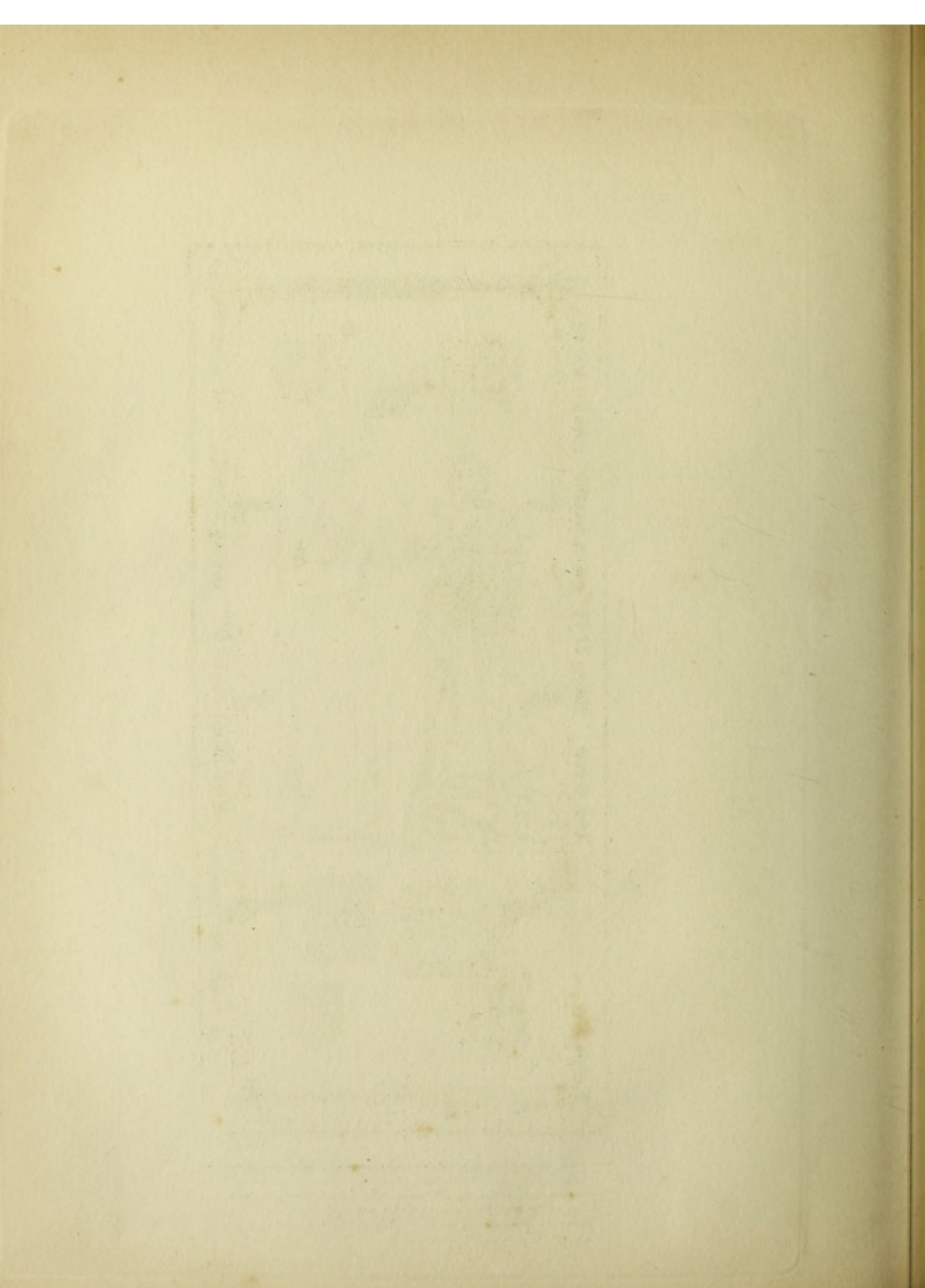
Esq who was buried

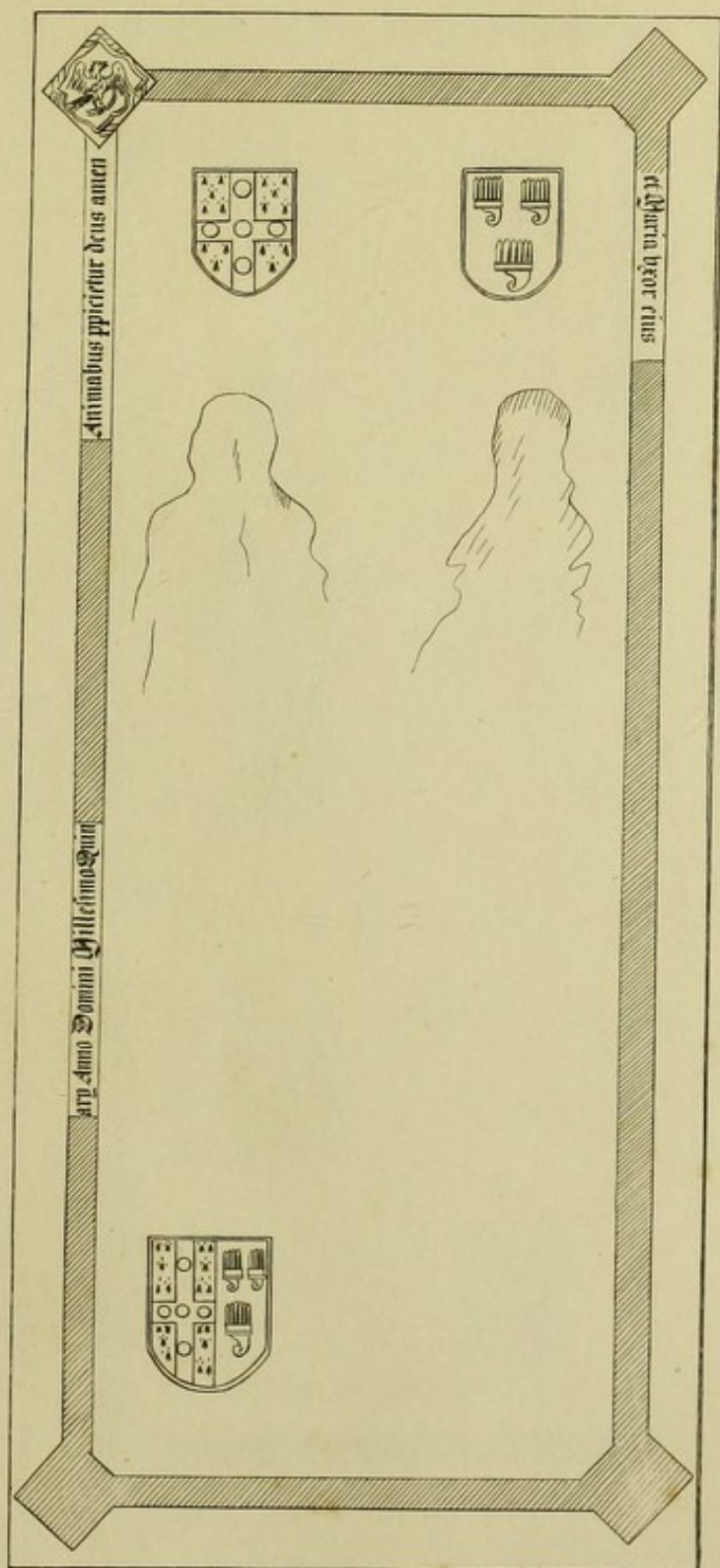
auby of Clowance Esq Some of Thomas Seyntauby

*John S^t. Aubyn of Clowance Esq. & Catharine his Wife,
Daughter of Sir John Arundell of Trerice, in the County of
Cornwall K^t from a Monument in the Parish Church of
Crowan, in the County of Cornwall.*



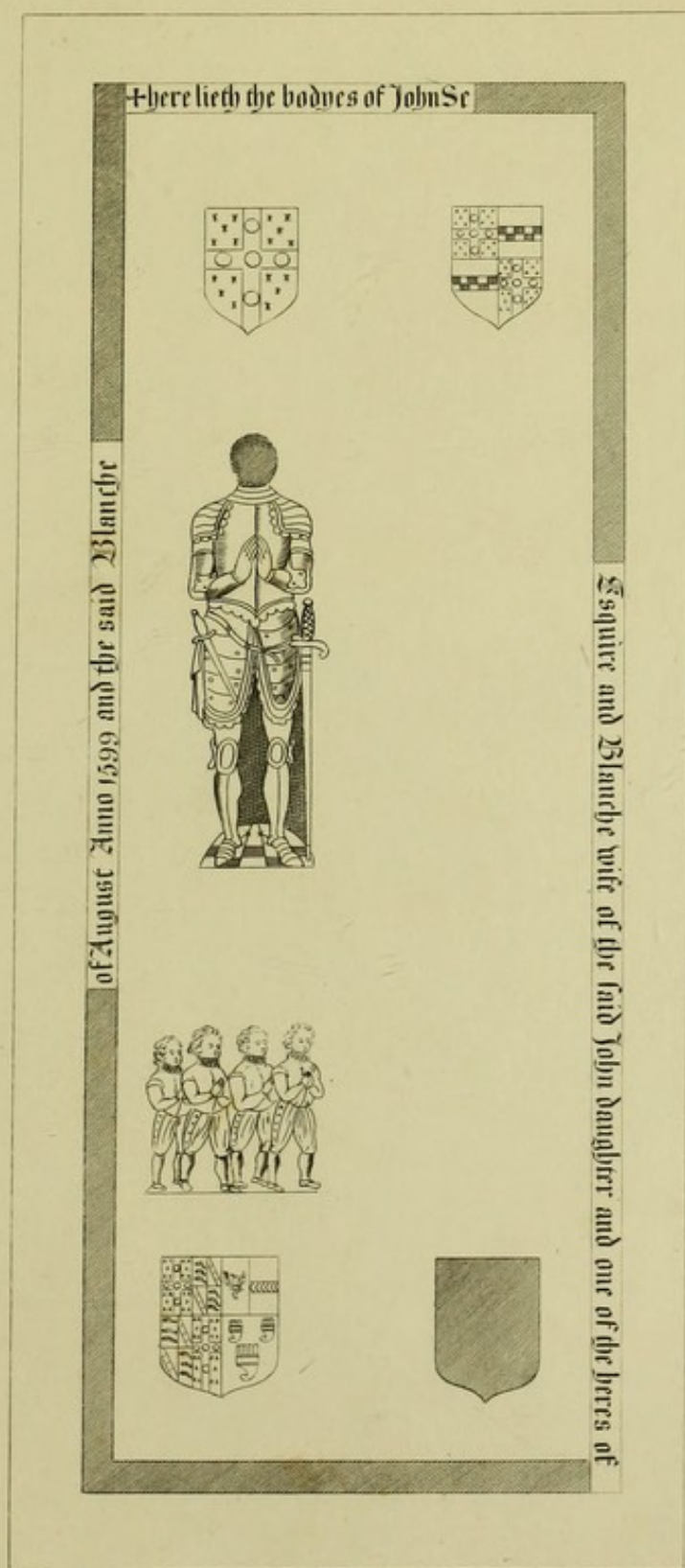
2. Jeffry A. Subyn of Clowanee and his Wife Alice
 Daughter and Coheirefs of John Fremere from a
 Monument in the Parish Church of Crowan in
 the County of Cornwall.





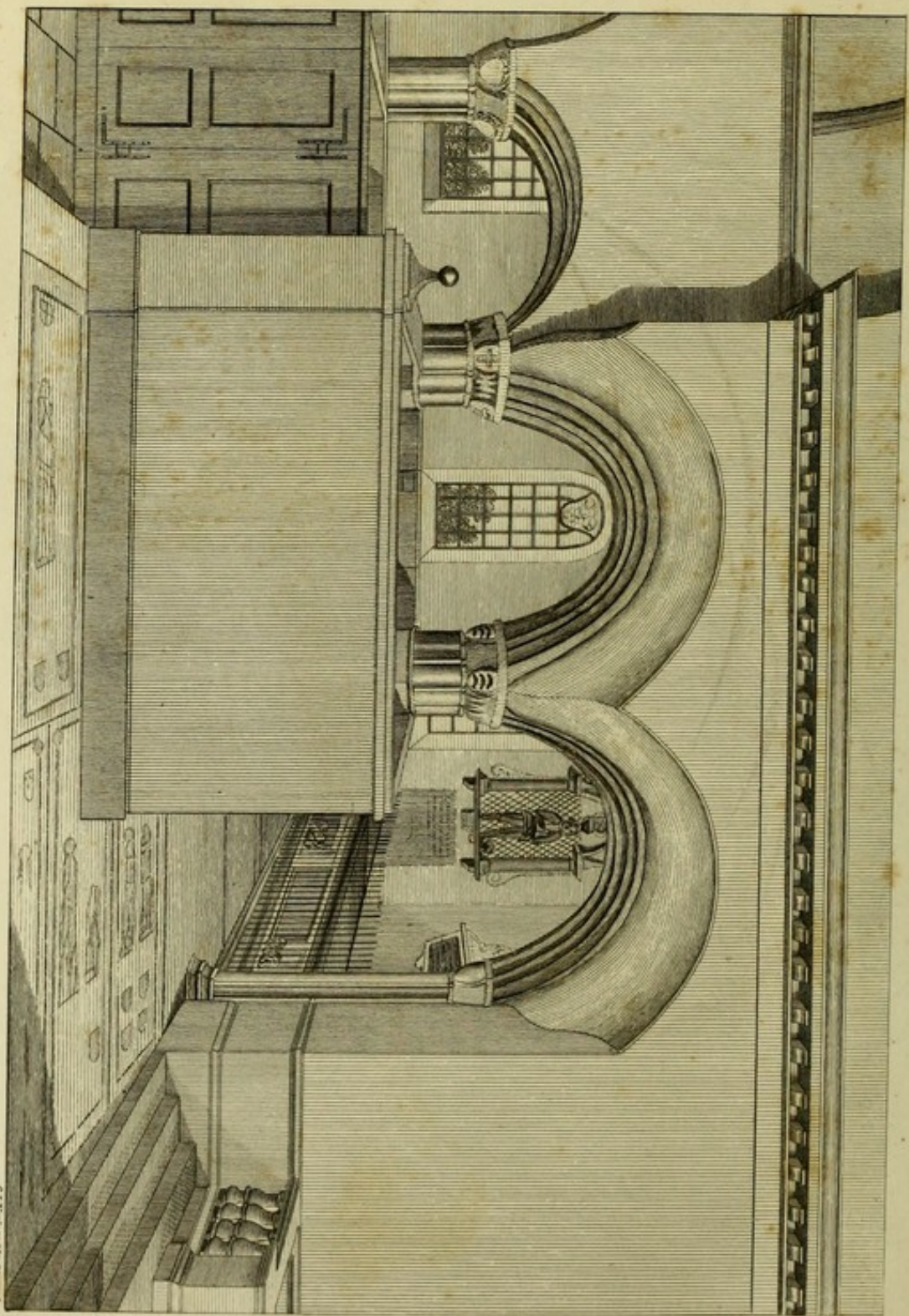
See Note on p. 11, Stone 1.

*Thomas Aubyn of Clowance Esq. and his Wife, Mary
Daughter of Sir Thomas Grenville of Stow, Kn^t.
from a Monument in the Parish Church of Crowan
in the County of Cornwall.*



J. Sturt & Co. Sculpsit.

*John St. Aubyn of Clowance Esq. and Blanche his Wife
Daughter and Heiress of Thomas Whittington. from a
Monument in the Parish Church of Crowan in the
County of Cornwall.*



W. Kenton del. J. Smith sculp.

A View of the Chancel of the Parish Church of St. Martin in the City of London.



The Portcage

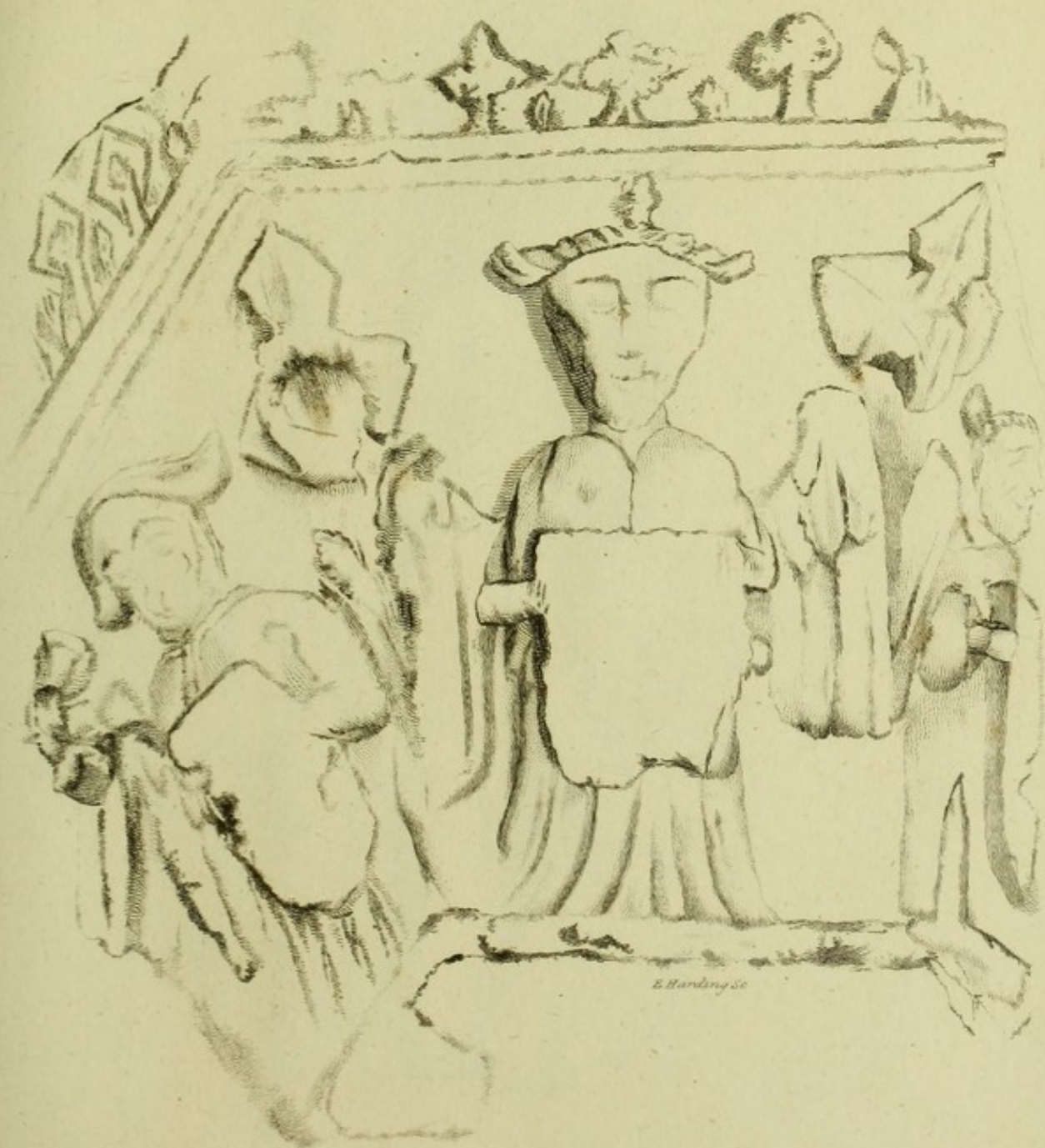
Length 32¹/₂ in Depth 8 in

Preserved and directed by G. P. B. B. B.



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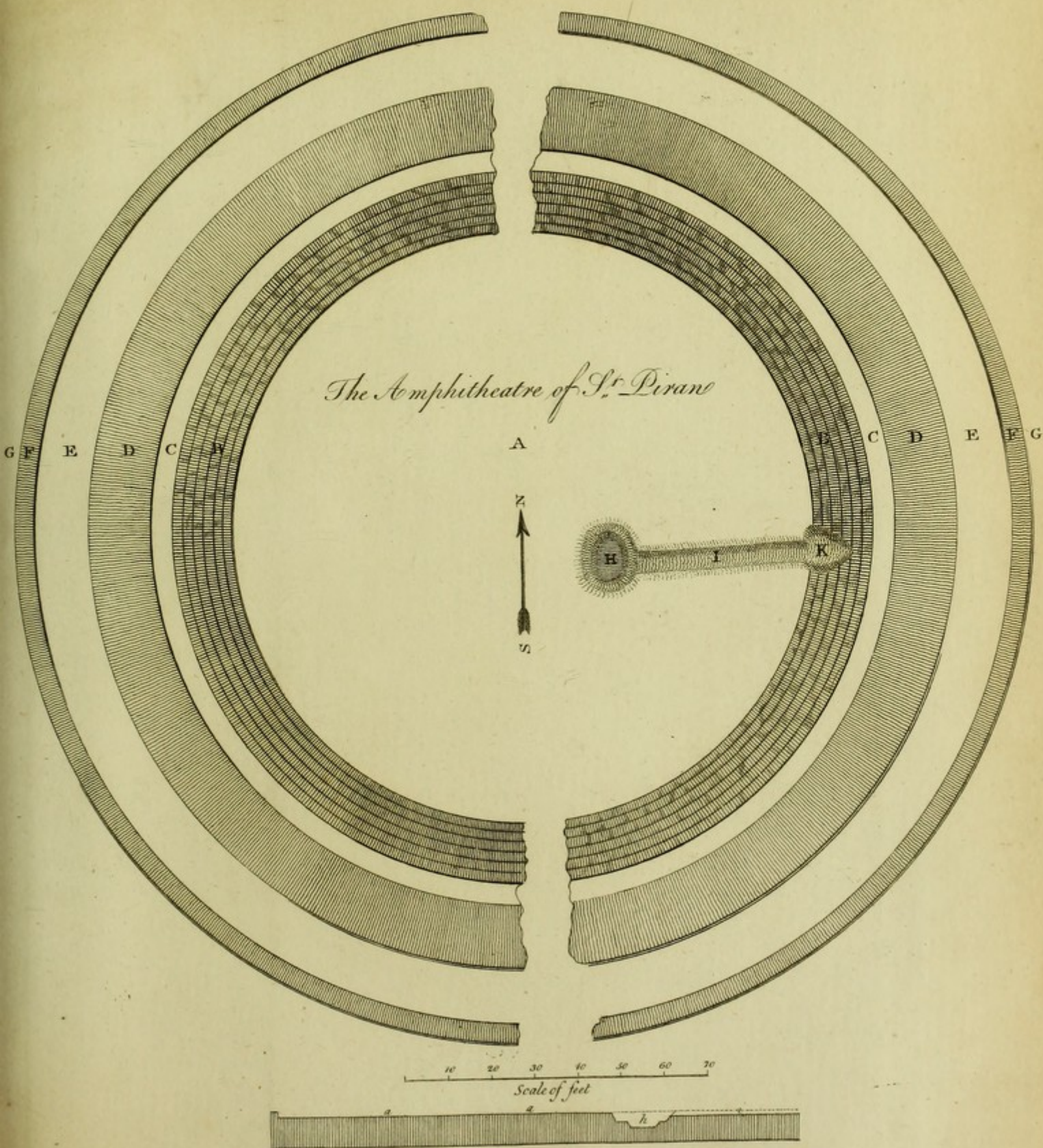
Ancient Capital at St. Michael's Mount

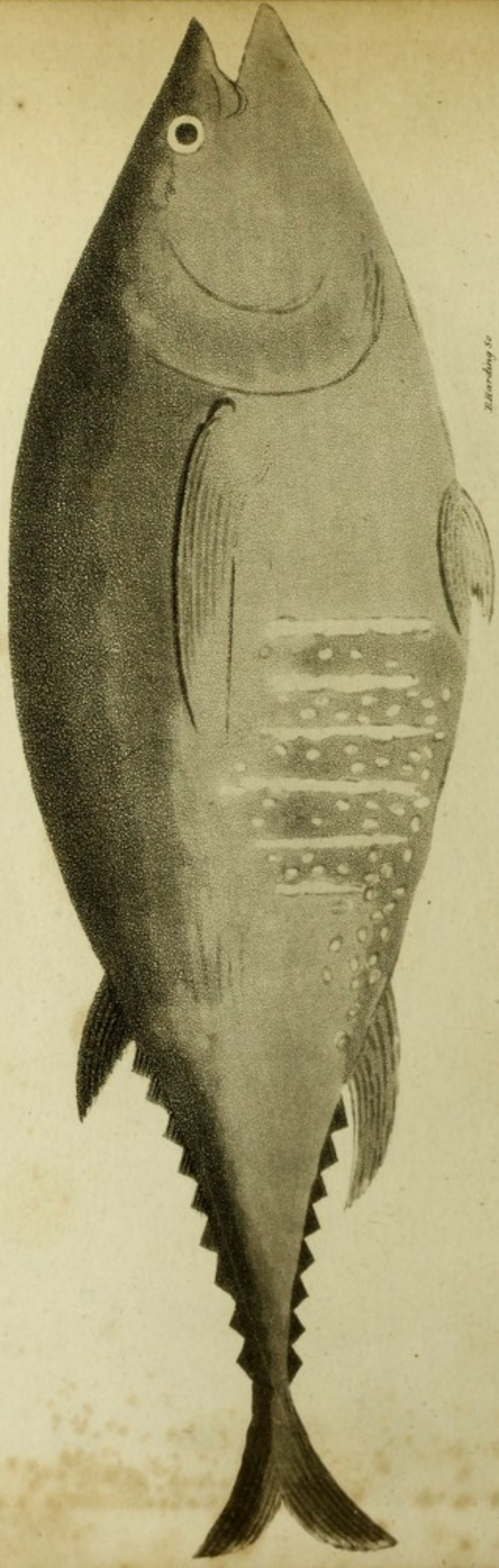
Pubd. as the act direct by GRPolshele



Manuscript received of the Secretary of the Northampton in the Church at Freetown
 Feb. 18, 1842, as the act directed by C. R. T. Parker

Pub^l as the Act directs by G R Trollope





Richardson Sc

Spanish Mackerel

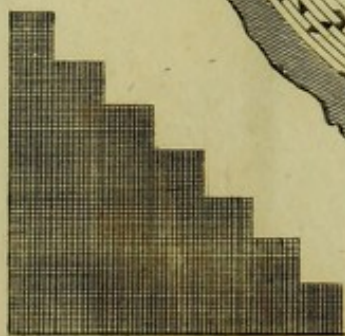
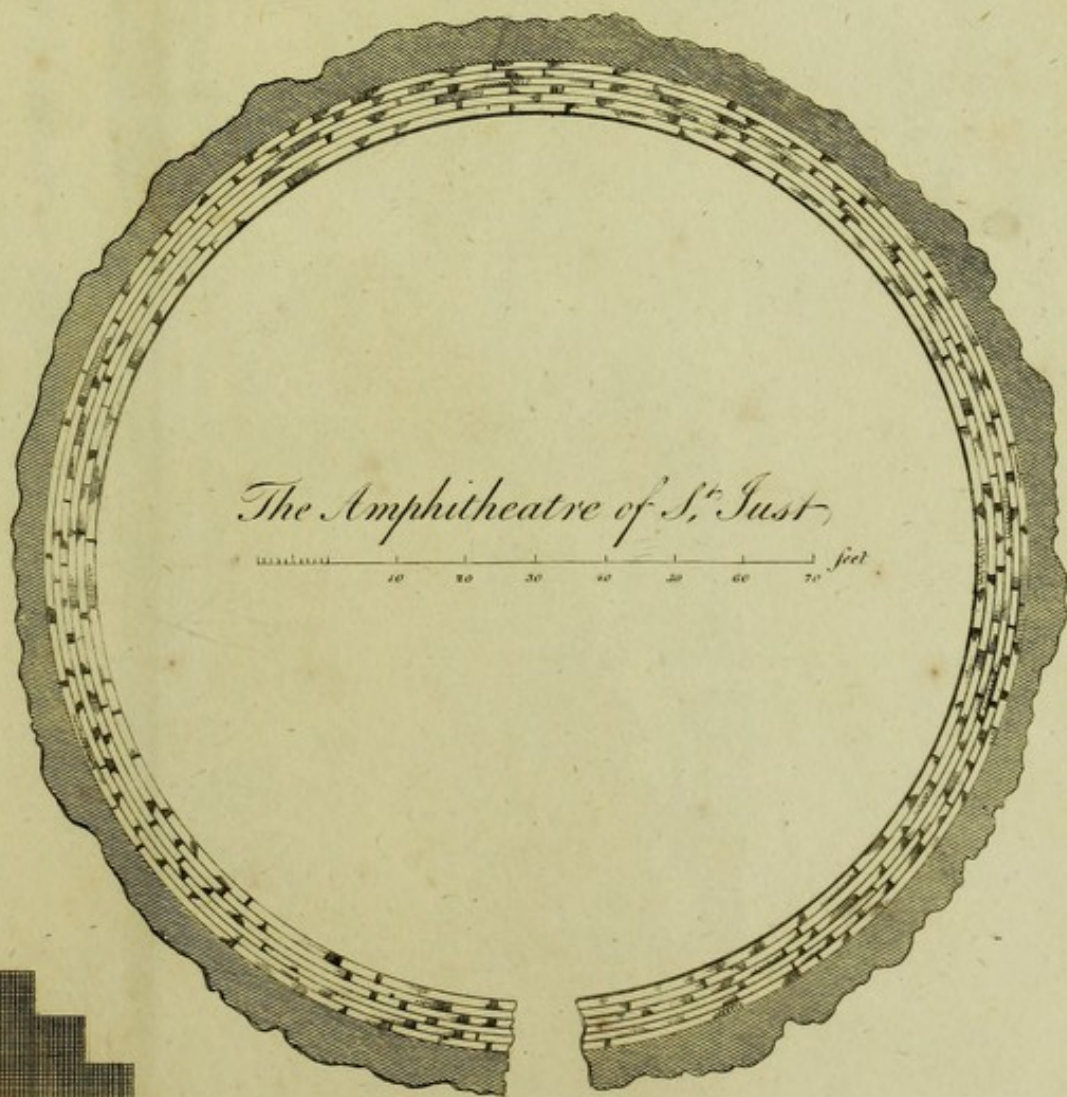
Pub^d as the Act directs by G. R. P. & Co.



The Sands End

Pub'd as the Author's by C.R. Pichard

Harding St



VIEW OF HELSTON CHURCH, FROM LOE POOL.

Pub'd as the author's by G. R. B. H. H. H.





Elevation of the Facade of Westport Castle fronting the Entrance.

Pub'd as directed by the Committee.



Drawn by W. Tremanhouse.

MOUNT'S BAY.

Engraved at the expense of John Rogers of Penrice, Esq. to whom it is inscribed by his obliged Servant

London Published by R. Pellschke, August 1st 1803.



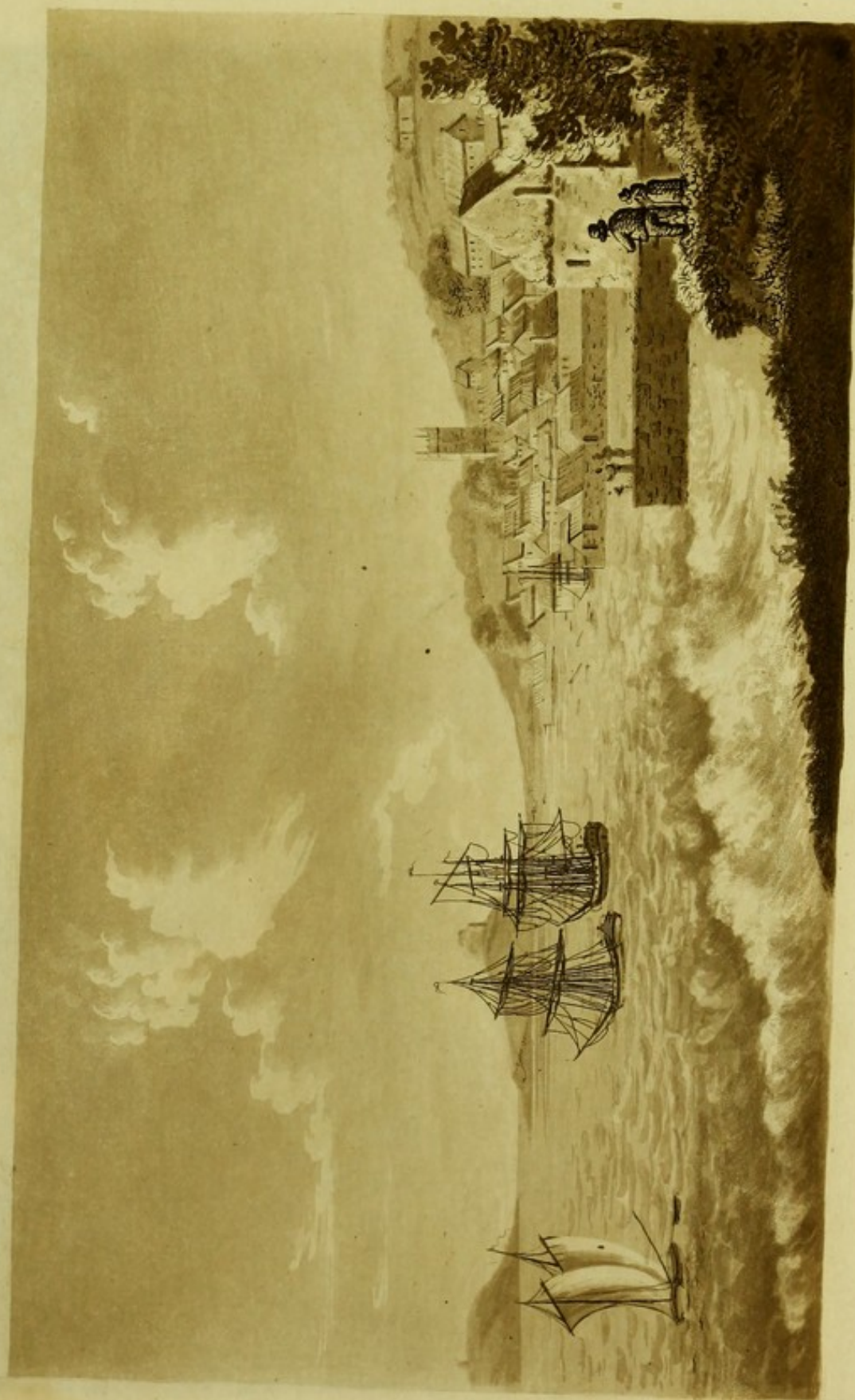
E. Harding Es.

S BAY.

to whom it is inscribed, by his obliged Servant, R. Polnhelm.

Printed August 1st 1803.

LDOUT BLANK



FALMOUTH.

Published by R. Popham, March 25th 1803.

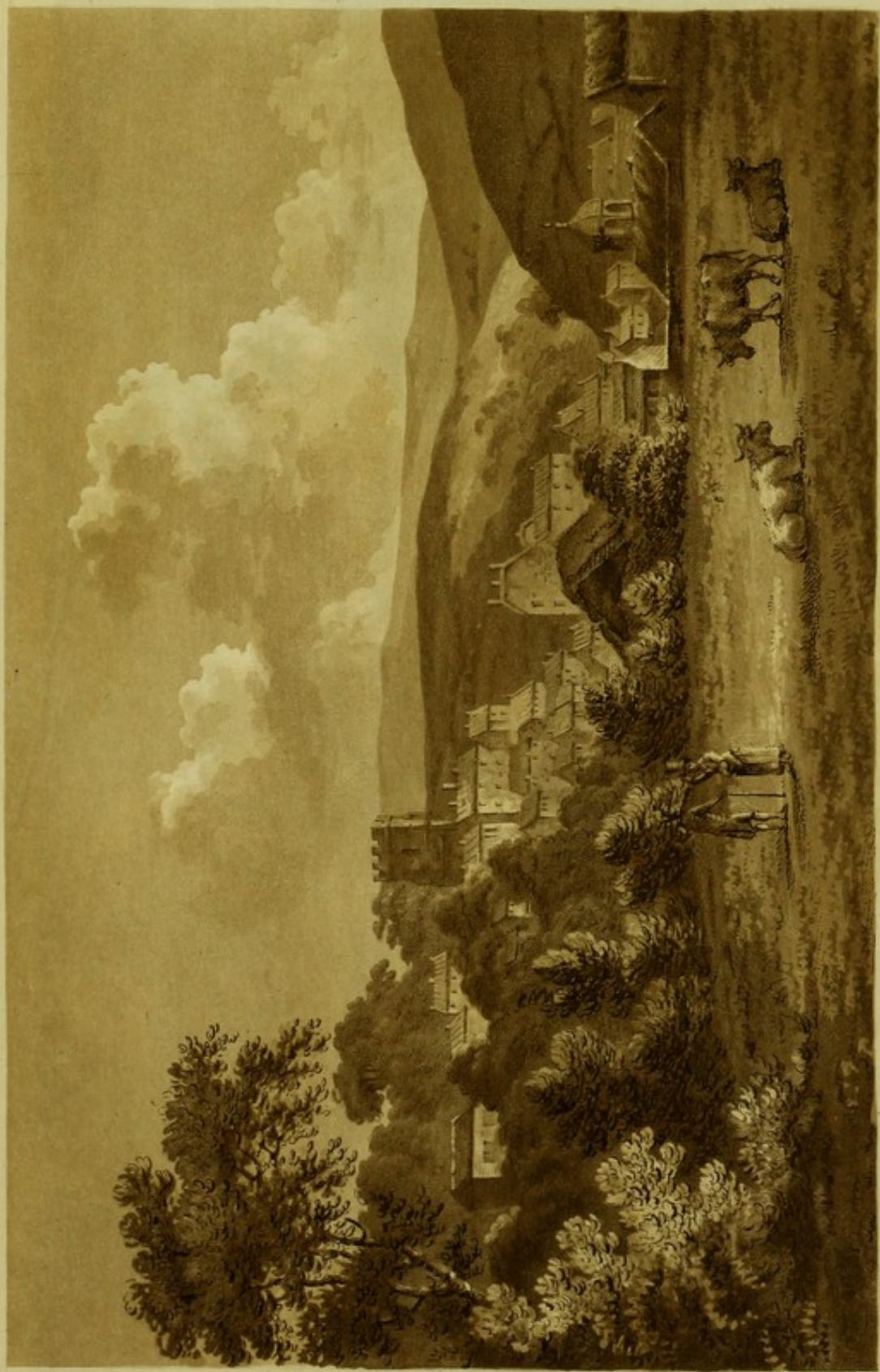


P. Bourne del.

J. Walker sc.

STAUSTEL.

Published by R. Pelschelt March 26. 1803.

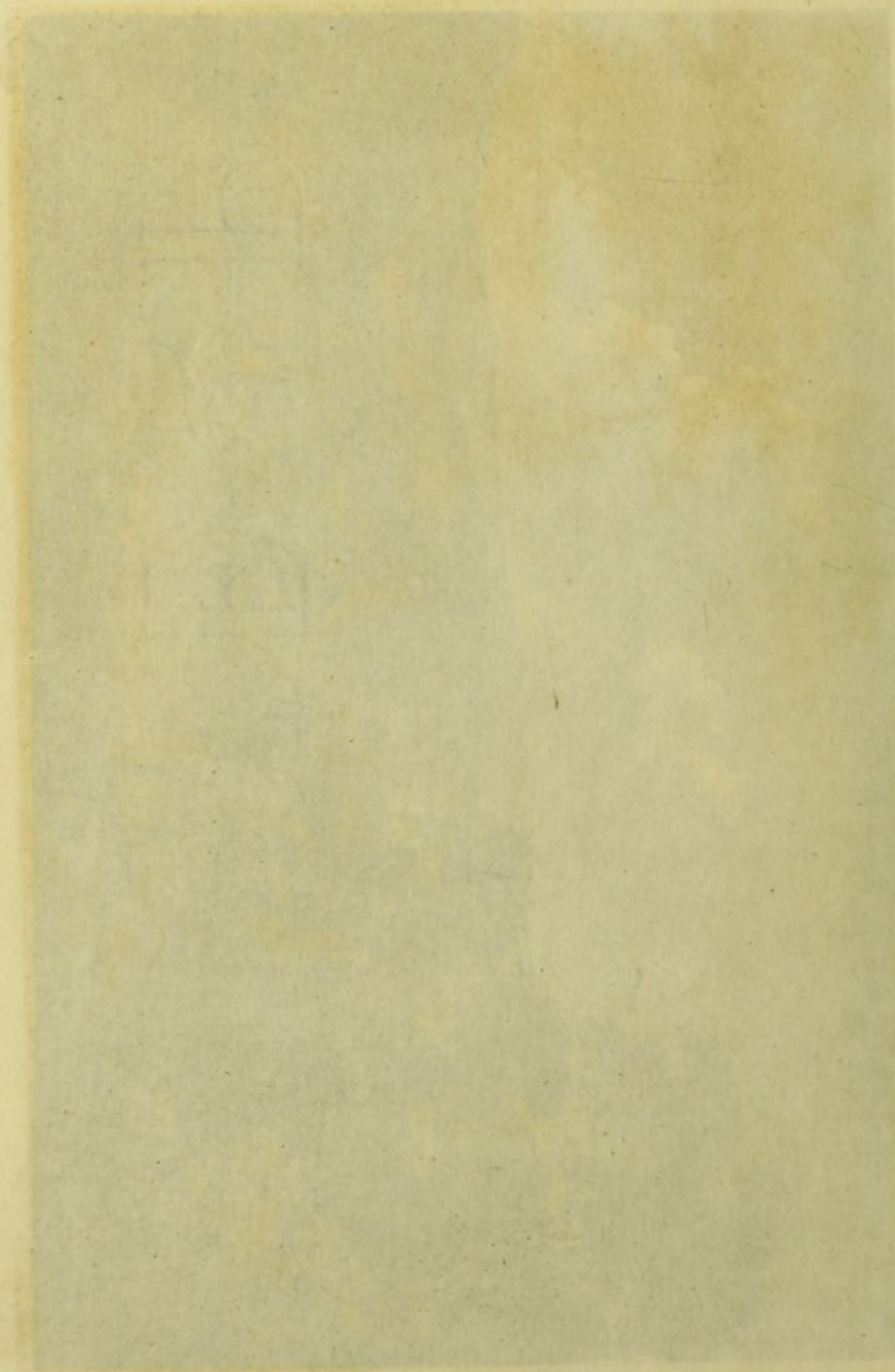


J. Bourne del.

LESKEARD.

Published by R. Polohde, March 25th 1803.

J. Walker sc.



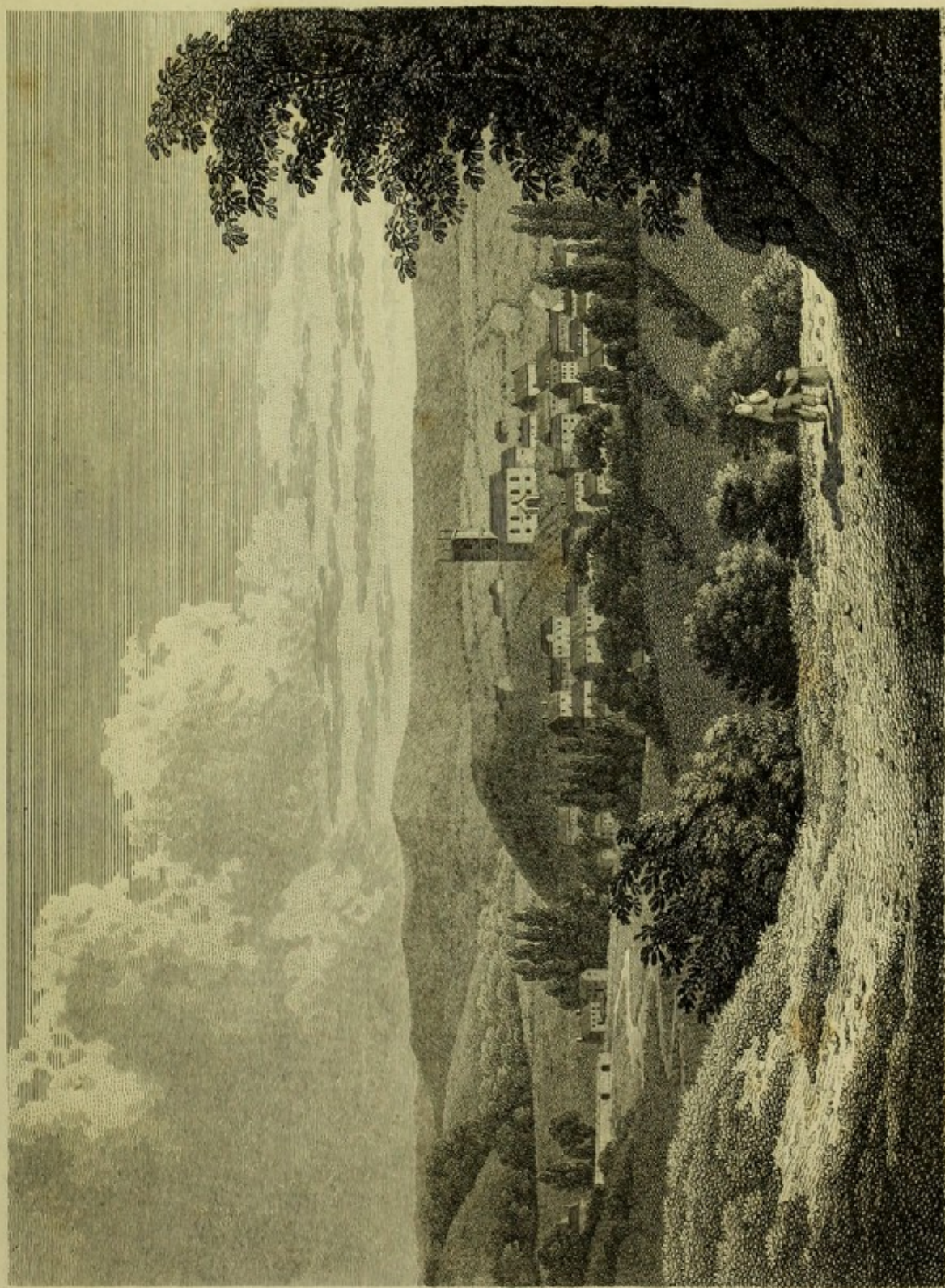


J. Walker sc.

TRURO.

Published by R. P. White, March 25th 1853.

J. Bourne del.



Harding Sc.

HELSTON.

Engraved at the expense of the Corporation, to whom it is inscribed
by their obliged Servant R. Polwhele.



The Lizard, from Kinans Cove.

Etched by Combs.

Drawn by Cap. Trompeter.



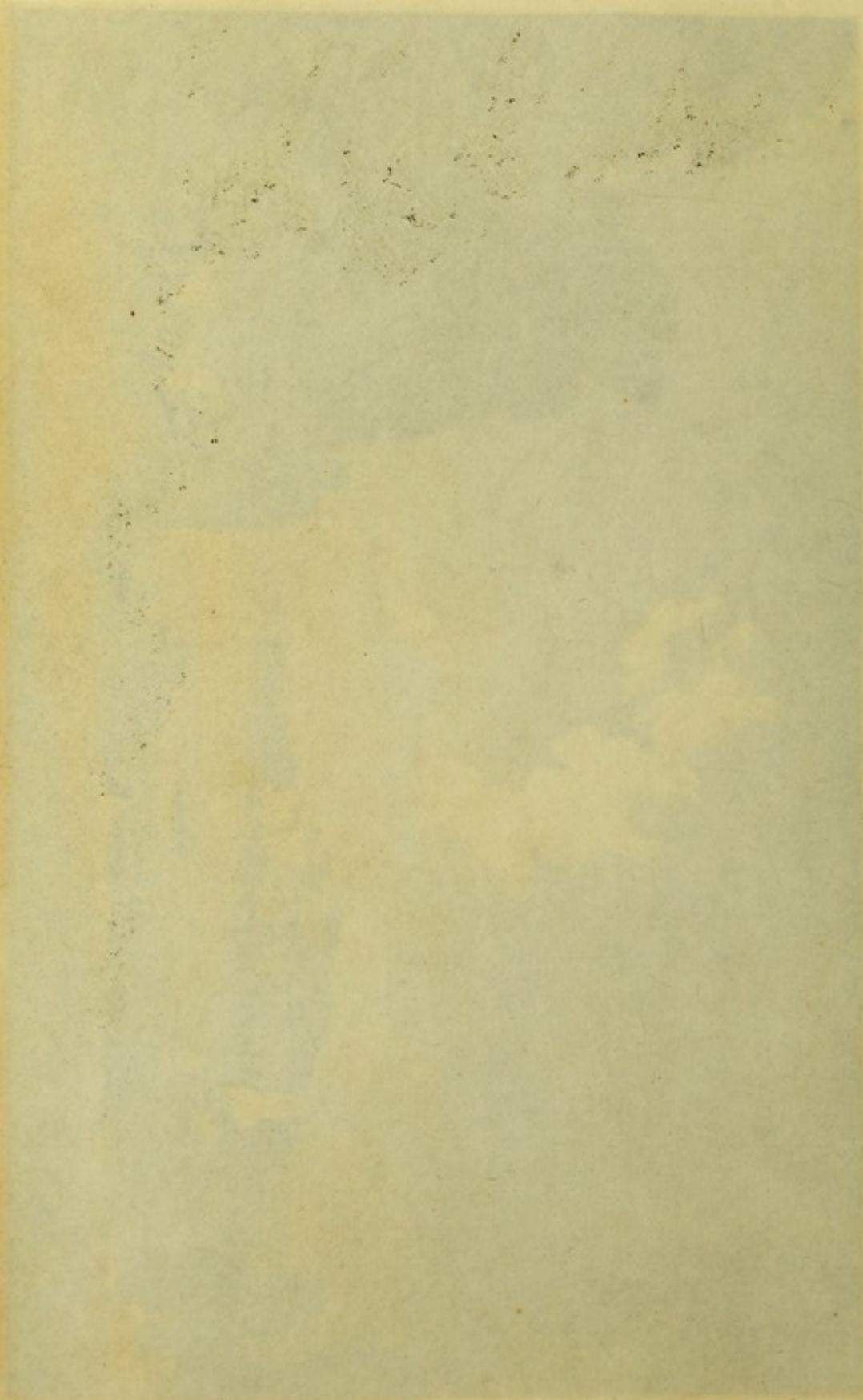
S. ANTHONY'S TOWER with a distant VIEW of the CASTLES of PENDENNIS & S. MAWES .

Published by R. Peckwold March 25th 1863.



MULLION ISLAND.

Published by R. Poldywhole March 25th 1863.





KINANS.

Published by R. Polwhele March 25th 1803



Etched by Combs.

Drawn by Cap. Tinsworth.

Tolcarn, near Penzance.



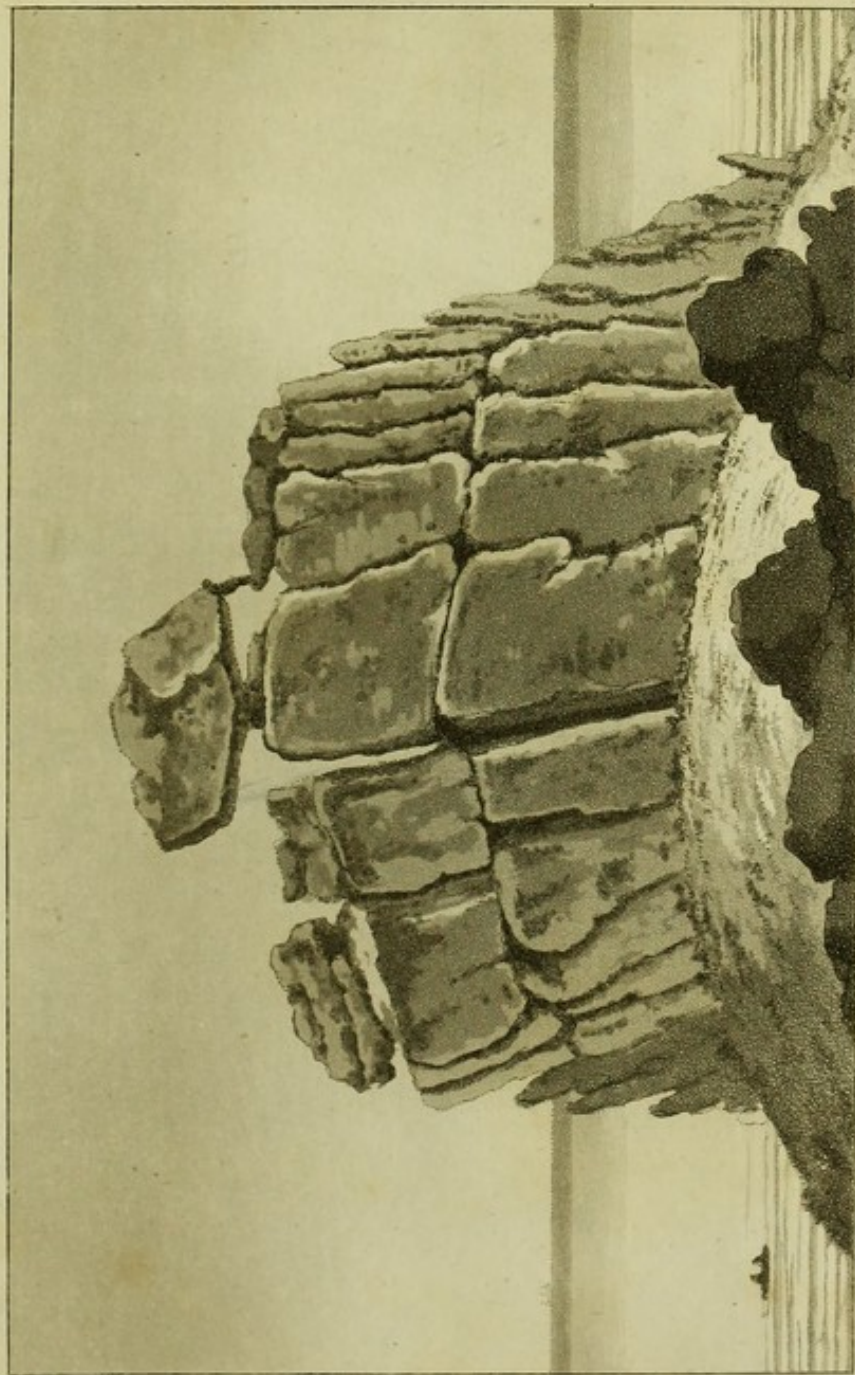
TRELOWARREN.

*The Seat of Sir Carew Vyvyan, Bart. Engraved at the expense of Vicl Vyvyan Esq.
 to whom it is inscribed, by his obedient servant R. P. Pollock.*

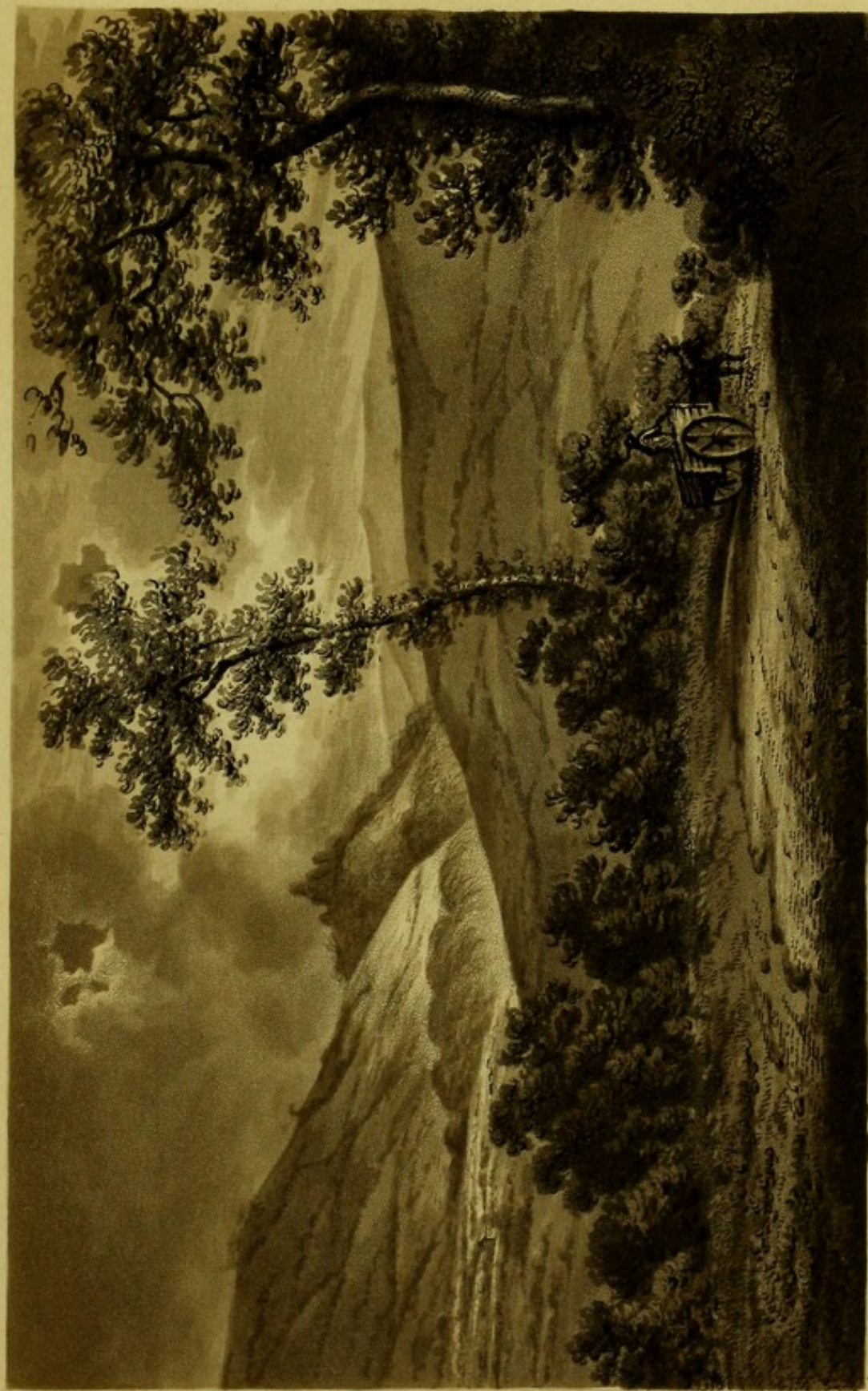


Drawn by Cap. Timmerhere.

Monschhole, in Mounts Bay, from the Island.



The Logan or Rocking Stone, near the Lands End.



LAUNCESTON.

Published by R. Polwhele March 25th 1803.



ST GERMAN'S CHURCH and part of PORT ELIOT.

Published by R. Polwhele, March 25th 1803.

