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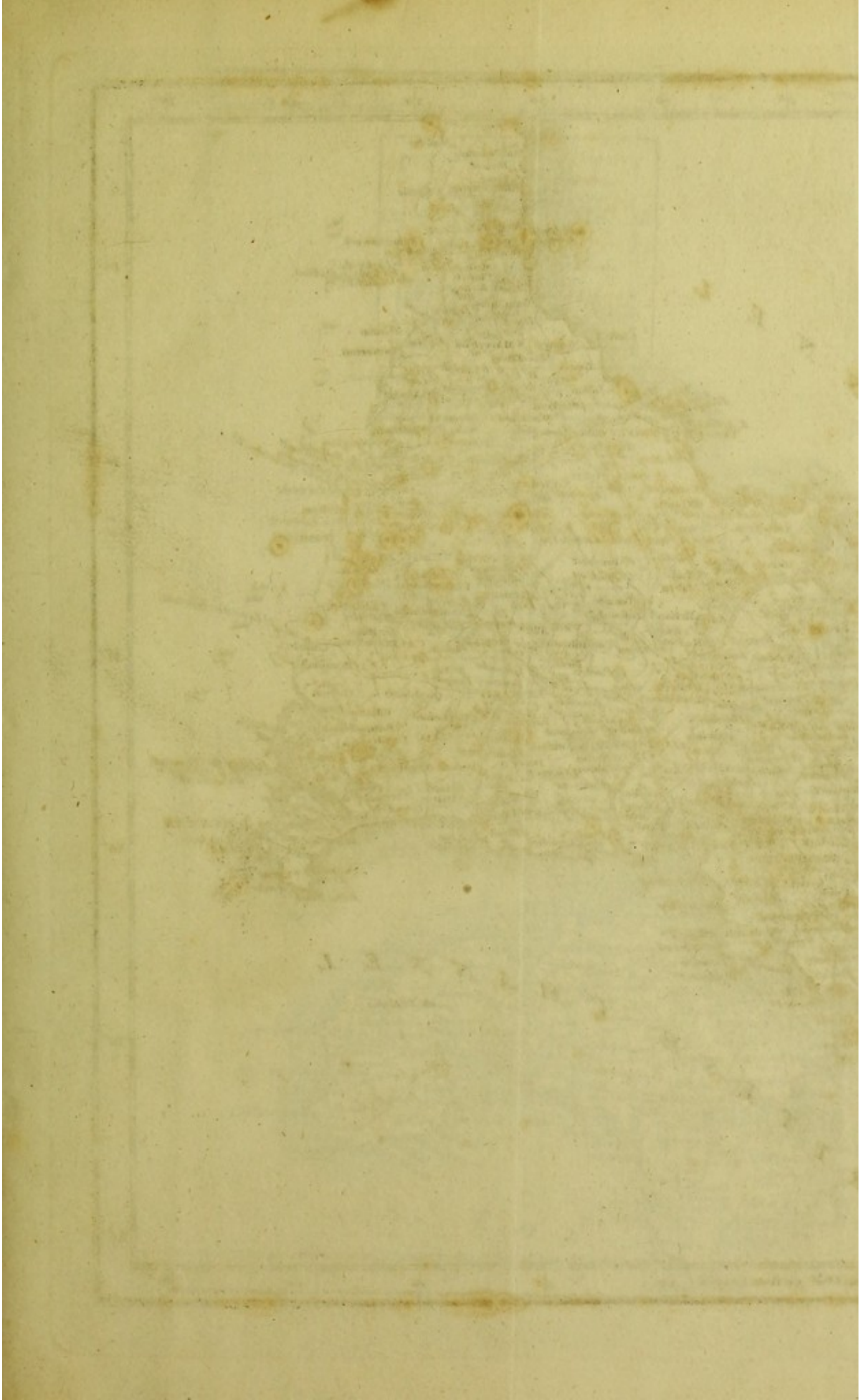
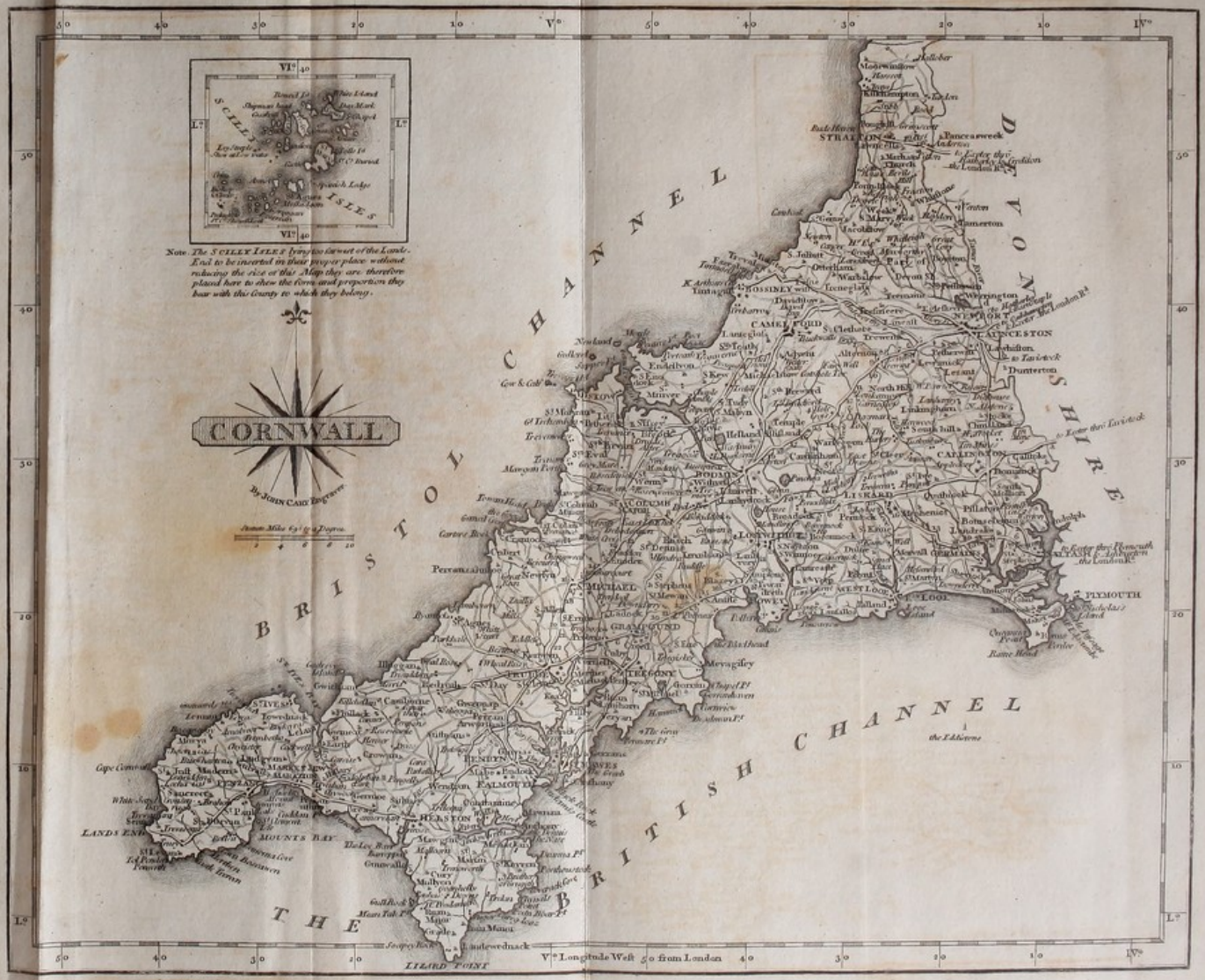
1739/C

Map, 39 plates, 13 genealogical tables

Mounts Bay probably belongs to Suppl.
and presumably Mousehole and/or Land's End
(cf Upcott)




CORNWALL
By John Cary Engraver
Note. The SCILLY ISLES lying too far west of the Lands-End to be inserted in their proper place without reducing the size of this Map they are therefore placed here to shew the form and proportion they bear with this County to which they belong.
BRISTOL CHANNEL
DEVONSHIRE
THE BRITISH CHANNEL
LANDS END
MOUNTS BAY
LIZARD POINT
Longitude West from London
STRATTON
LAUNCESTON
CAMELFORD
BODMIN
LISKEARD
CALLINGTON
LOSTWITHIEL
FOWEY
PLYMOUTH
TRURO
PENRYN
FALMOUTH
HELSTON
PENZANCE
ST IVES
REDRUTH
TEGONY
GRAMPOUND
ST MICHAEL
ST COLUMB
NEWLYN
MARAZION

THE

HISTORY

OF

CORNWALL:

CIVIL, MILITARY, RELIGIOUS, ARCHITECTURAL, AGRICULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

BY THE REVEREND R. POLWHELE,

Of Polwhele, and Vicar of Manaccan.

" Jam nunc cogita, quæ potissimum tempora aggrediamur. Vetera et scripta aliis? Parata inquisitio; sed onerosa collatio. Intacta et nova? Graves offensæ; levis gratia. Si laudaveris, parcus: Si culpaveris, nimius fuisse dicaris; quamvis illud plenissime, hoc restrictissime feceris. Sed hæc me non retardant."

" Ad quæ noscenda iter ingredi, transmittere mare solemus; ea sub oculis posita negligimus: Seu quia ita natura comparatum, ut proximorum incuriosi, longinqua sectemur; seu quod omnium rerum cupido langueseit, quum facilis occasio est: seu quod differimus, tanquam sæpe visuri quod datur videre, quoties velis cernere. Quacunque de causa, permulta in provincia nostra, non oculis modo, sed ne auribus quidem novimus; quæ si tulisset Achaia, Egyptus, aliave quælibet miraculorum ferax commendatrixque terra, audita, perlecta, lustrataque haberemus." *Plin. Epist.*

VOL. I.

FALMOUTH:

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FOR CADELL AND DAVIES IN THE STRAND, LONDON.

1803.

ERRATA.——VOL. I.

Page 11.....	*for*	Danmonii	*read*	the Danmonii
20.....	—	Temolum	——	Termolum
ib.....	—	exigence	——	emergence
24.....	—	dicta	——	dictæ
32.....	—	Rhutapœ	——	Rhutupæ
135.....	—	very discernible	——	a striking object
150.....	—	and marle	——	and argillaceous marle
151.....	—	rich marle	——	rich argillaceous marle
156, 157..	—	some attention	——	more attentive
161.....	—	appear	——	appears
172.....	—	serrice	——	service
199.....	—	British language ..	——	British.
207.....	—	Chapter	——	Book

WELLCOME HISTORICAL MEDICAL LIBRARY

TO HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS, GEORGE PRINCE OF WALES,

AND

DUKE OF CORNWALL.

Sir,

THE HISTORY OF DEVONSHIRE was dedicated to the King, by his Majesty's permission. And, in this Dedication, there was some propriety: Devonshire has been honoured, beyond most counties, by the visits, and the favor of Kings. But Cornwall was once the Nurse of Princes: and she still boasts their Protection; though she no longer enjoys their presence.

That your Royal Highness has given us the best assurances of that Guardian Care, will be easily credited, if manners the most conciliating, and attentions truly benevolent, be any ground for confidence. Even now, we acknowlege with pleasure a new promise of safety, in those virtues which prompt you to decline, at this moment of anxiety, the luxuries of opulence, and the splendors of state.

With such liberality and ingenuousness, an esteem for polite Literature hath, surely, a close alliance.----- Yet, I am but too sensible, if THE HISTORY OF CORNWALL *attract your notice, it will owe more to its Subject so peculiarly interesting to your Royal Highness, than to its own intrinsic Merit.----- In the execution of its extensive Plan, I am conscious, there are great Defects. But, as this Plan is Chronological, it may be justly deemed, an outline to be improved hereafter, as opportunity may offer, and to be continued through future times.---- And if at the termination of my labours I descend to the present Race, may I be allowed to anticipate in fancy, Period after Period; whilst* "the Cornwall Library," *still accumulating its stores of Learning, shall enable my successors to add volume to volume, for generations yet unborn?*

I remain,

Your Royal Highness's

Most respectful Servant,

R. POLWHELE.

Manaccan-Vicarage, near
Helston, April 1803.

THE
HISTORY OF CORNWALL.

BOOK THE FIRST.
FROM CÆSAR TO VORTIGERN.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.
CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

I. WHETHER the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain, came hither immediately by sea, or progressively advanced towards this island over the north of Europe, it may be difficult to determine.* According to Pinkerton,† the Scythians, the Getæ, and the Goths, were all one people; the grand Scythian empire was in present Persia; the Scythians came from Persia into Europe, by a north-west progress; and a tribe of these *Scythian emigrators* were the *first colonists* of Britain. That these first colonists were the *Danmonii*, who occupied a part of present Devonshire, and present Cornwall, is a probable supposition. Who were the *Cimbri* and *Carnabii*, whom Richard places also in Devonshire and Cornwall, is uncertain. That the *Belgæ* made their expedition into this country from Gaul, three centuries and a half before Christ, is the first exact statement of the population of this island‡.

* See *Historical Views of Devonshire*, passim.

† "It is historic truth, that the Scythians came from present Persia into Europe, by a north-west progress - - - - - - all the ancients state the Scythians to have proceeded from the east to the west: and the whole tenour of that progress is marked and distinct, from Persia to Britain." See *Pinkerton's Dissertation on the Scythians*, pp. 30, 31 - - - - - - - - 130.

‡ See *Richard*, pp. 20, 21, 50.

II. After this outline of our British progenitors, it is natural to enquire, who were their kings; and more particularly, who were the princes of Cornwall? In this enquiry, we should meet with even satisfactory information, if disposed to give full credit to the stories of Geoffry of Monmouth, Giraldus Cambrensis, or Ponticus Virunnius. But, though much truth may be extracted from these writers, (especially when compared with the Roman historians) we cannot refer to their annals as to authentic narratives, or trust to their sole authority, in matters so remote and dubious. That Corineus * came into Britain with Brute, and chose Cornwall for his share of the kingdom †---that Guendolen, the daughter of Corineus, reigned in Cornwall, fifteen years ‡---that Cunedagius succeeded his father Heninus in the dukedom of Cornwall, about the time of the building of Rome §---that Cloteius was a Cornish duke ‖---that Belinus and Brennus were the sons of Dunwallo Mulmutius ¶; the former possessing

* A. M. 2859.

† (Unde Corineia, and populus Corineiensis, *G. M.* ix. b. and *Gir. Camb.* p. 241.)

‡ A. M. 2894. She was the daughter of Corineus, married to Locrinus, by whom being divorced after the death of Corineus, she retired into Cornwall, temp. Sam. Prophetæ (*Pont. Vir.* p. 6.) raised an army, routed and killed Locrinus, got the kingdom, and when her son Madan was fit to rule, resigned and retired into Cornwall, which, as her paternal inheritance, she had reserved for herself. *P. Vir.* ibid.

§ A. M. 3170. Cunedagius (alias Condage) reigned with his kinsman Morgan, and alone 33 years. Cunedagius succeeded his father Heninus in the Dutchy of Cornwall and Cambre. He took Cordeilla prisoner, and she killing herself in prison, he and his cousin-german Morgan divided Britain betwixt them. Morgan had all north of the Humber, Cunedagius the rest; but a quarrel ensuing, and Morgan being slain, Cunedagius became sole Monarch of Britain. This happened at the time of the building of Rome. *G. M.* xvi.

‖ A. M. 3418. At this time the kingdom was divided into five parts, betwixt Rudac king of Wales.—Clotenus king of Cornwall—Pinnor king of Loegria—Staterus king of Albany—Ywen or Owen king of Bernicia;—but Clotane dying after a reign (reckoned by Harding) of ten years, Mulmutius his son overcame the rest, and became sole king of Britain. *Not. in Powel.*

¶ 'If with Camden (says *Hals*) I might be admitted to conjecture, I would say from the sympathy or agreement of 'names, that the parish church-town of Gunwallo was either denominated from Mulmutius Dunwallo, son to Clotenes, 'King of Cornwall, Anno Mundi 3476, as the place of his birth and residence, or he from it; for all our chronologers 'tell us that after this island was long distressed with civil wars and petty kings, this Mulmutius Dunwallo, or 'Gunwallo, after many battles, wherein he had the victory, reduced the same again to one peaceable and entire 'Monarchy. And that from thence this parish hath its terminative appellation Gunwallo-winn-ton. Afterwards 'he built within London a famous structure called the Temple of Peace, in memory of the peace and tranquillity 'he had established in the land, supposed to be the same place now called Blackwell Hall. He instituted many 'good and wholesome laws, and gave great privileges towards the maintenance of temples, cities, ploughs, &c. 'and began the four highways in Britain finished by his son. He was the first that made himself a diadem of gold, with 'which he was crowned in great solemnity; insomuch that some writers call him the first king of Britain; stiling all his 'predecessors only dukes, rulers, and governors. After forty years reign he died and was buried in the aforesaid Temple 'of Peace, in London; leaving to succeed him two sons, Belinus and Brennus. After the Death of Mulmutius 'Dunwallo, the Britons again reverted to their former government of aristocracy, or a dominion of several of the 'nobility. So that there arose many dukes and rulers in this island. And in such posture of gubernation Julius Cæsar 'found it when first he landed here; and to this purpose he himself and Tacitus speak, "Britain heretofore was

Loegria, Cambria, and Cornwall---the latter, all from the river Humber to Caithness in Scotland; * and that Theomantius,† the second son of the British king Cassibelinus, was duke of Cornwall, at the invasion of Julius Cæsar ‡---are the most striking

" governed by kings, now they are drawn by petty practices into partialities and factions. And that is the greatest " help we have against those puissant nations, that they have no common council together. Seldom it chanceth " that two or three states meet and concur to repulse the common enemy; so whilst one by one fighteth all " are subdued." *Hals's Paroch. Hist. of Cornwall*, pp. 148, 149.

* A. M. 3574. Belinus and Brennus, sons of Dunwallo Mulmutius, reigned according to Harding 41, to Powel 26 years. To these two Princes it was proposed that Belinus, the eldest, should have Loegria, Cambria, and Cornwall, and Brennus, the second son, all from the river Humber to Caithness in Scotland. The brothers agreed, afterwards fell out, and Brennus is forced out of all. Belinus, at peace, makes a great way, the whole length of the island, and establishes laws, which Gildas the historian and poet turned into Latin, king Alfred into English. *Pont. Vir.* p. 10.——*Harding*, p. 26. G. M. 18. These were the two brothers, who after their quarrel (agreeing at the intreaty of their mother Cornuenna) went afterwards, subdued great part of Gaul, and sacked Rome. *P. Vir.* p. 11.— Betwixt this British chronology, as to the sacking of Rome, and that of the Roman Fasti, there is only about twenty years difference.

† A. M. 3921. Tenantius, or Theomantius, son of Lud, reigned according to Harding 17; to Powel 22 years. Theomantius was duke of Cornwall when Cæsar came, (*Pont. Vir.* 17.) " but Powel says, (ibid.) that he was son of Lud;" and Cæsar says, Imanuentius, king of the Trinobantes, was killed by Cassibelan; and his son Mandubratius came over to Cæsar's party, and was by him made king of the Trinobantes in opposition to Cassibelan. *De Bell. Gall. lib.* 5.

‡ Cassibelan, (or Cassivellaunus Ludi frater) reigned according to Harding 33, to Powel, 15 years. In this reign, Jul. Cæsar invading Britain, made it tributary to the Roman Empire. Here let us pause a little, and weigh the imperfections of this British Chronology; and, perhaps, we may find it come nearer to the computations of the modern Chronologers (who, learned as they are, all differ from each other) than is generally imagined. The destruction of Troy, according to Marshall's Tables, was before Christ, 1184, out of which take 69 years, at which time Brutus great grandson to Eneas, came into Britain, 1115 years before Christ; Eli had been judge of Israel then 18 years; for Eli was born A. M. (according to Archbishop Usher's Annals, p. 45,) 2790, and judged Israel 40 years, dying at the age of 98; consequently he was 58 years old when his magistracy began, and the 18th year thereof must have been the 76th year of his age, which added to 2790, (the year of his birth) makes 2866. Now according to Abp Usher (Annals p. 1) the vulgar Christian era is A. M. 4004, out of which deduct 2866, and Brute will have come into Britain 1138 years before the birth of Christ. Let us see how the Chronicles of these British kings agree with this computation.

From Brutus's first year of reigning in Britain to the 33d year of Cassibelan, Harding's Chronicle makes it in all,	1003
To this add 20 years for the reign of Mempricius, omitted by Harding, but by G. M. said to be torn in pieces by wolves, in the 20th year of his reign	20
To this add what Leir the 2d, Maglan, Heninus and Arthegal reigned, not mentioned by Harding, but by Powel reckoned 37 years	37
Julius Cæsar came into Britain 50 years before the birth of Christ.—Suppose this to be in the latter end of the reign of Cassibelan, for he had made his two sons one king of Cornwall, the other King of Kent before Cæsar's coming, and must therefore have been advanced in years; place this therefore in the 25th year of Cassibelan, for about seven years after he died, says *Pont. Vir.* (p. 26.) from which time there being 50 years to the birth of our Saviour, and eight of them reckoned above in the 33 years, there remains according to Harding 42 years	42
According to H. Chron. from Brute's coming into Britain to the birth of Christ	1102
According to the vulgar Computation from the 18th year of Eli's rule, in which Brute came in, to the birth of Christ	1138

Difference 36 years according to Harding: Difference 38 years according to Powel.

points in the British chronicles, till this memorable æra of our history. From the arrival of Cæsar, to the time of Vortigern, we are presented with the names of Cunobelinus(1), successor of Theomantius, Guiderius(2), the eldest son of Cunobelinus, the celebrated Arviragus(3), Marius(4), Coylus(5), Lucius(6), Bassianus Caracalla(7) Carausius(8),* Alector(9), Constantius Chlorus Cæsar(10), Octavius(11), Solomon(12), Caradocus(13), Maximus(14), Dionotus(15), Constantine(16), and Constans(17).

" Cassibelan had two sons, to the first called Androgeus he gave Kent, and the province of the Trinobantes; to the " second called Theomantius, he gave the dukedom of Cornwall, reserving the imperial diadem to himself."

(1) Cymbeline (or Cunobelin) reigned according to Harding and Geoffry of Monmouth 10, to Powel, 29 years.

(2) A. D. 7. Guiderius, eldest son of Cunobelin, made great resistance against the invasion of Claudius Cæsar, but was treacherously slain by Hammo. *Pont. V.* p. 26. He reigned according to Hard. 44, to Powel 28.

(3) A. D. 45. Agresies, (the Arviragus of Geoffry of Monmouth, and Powel, supposed the Prasutagus of Tacitus, or Caractacus, the Cateracus, or Caradocus of Hum. Lhuyd) reigned according to H. 64, to P. 28 years.

(4) A. D. 73. Marius, or Maurius, or Mavus, Manius and Mayricus, reigned according to Hard. 63, to Powel 52. This King Marius is said by Harding, p. 42, to have been somewhat informed of the faith of Christ.

(5) A. D. 125. Coylus, (Coillus, or Coelus) the son of the foregoing king, succeeded and reigned according to Hard. 13, to Powel 40 years. He was instructed in the Christian faith, but not fully, says Hard. p. 43

(6) A. D. 165. Lucius, son of Coelus, reigned according to Hard. 54, to Powel, 43. He first of all the kings of Britain embraced the Christian religion, according to Powel, A. D. 177, but according to the Savilian Fasti, betwixt the years 173, and 176. He was baptized A. M. 190, 1° Eleuth. Papæ; founded archbishopricks and bishopricks, in the room of three archflamens, and 28 flamens, H. 43, *Pont. Vir.* 31. The archbishop of York in his province had all north of Humber. Archbishop of London had Loegria, and Cornubia; Archbishop of Caerleon, Wales. *Ibid.*

(7) A. D. 211. Bassianus Caracalla, called also Antonius, reigned according to H. 7, to P. 6 years.

(8) A. D. 218. Carence, or Carausius, reigned according to H. 4, to P. 7 years.

* " Carassius was a Briton, and obtained from the senate of Rome the authority of keeping the coasts and frontiers of this land, and to oppose the invasion of strangers. Under which circumstance he grew so topping and formidable, after sundry victories obtained against his enemies, and for that Bassianus, son of the emperor Severus, who was king of Britain, was after his father's death made emperor of Rome, he prevailed with the legionary soldiers and Britons in his absence, on promise of boons and rewards, to proclaim him their king, and so give him quiet possession of this island, *Anno Dom.* 218. On notice of whose usurpation, Bassianus came again into Britain, and moved a sharp war against him and his rebels; but, in fine, was slain in battle by Caurassius. But as soon as the senate of Rome heard of the death of their emperor Bassianus, they sent into Britain a great soldier named Alectus, with three fresh legions, to punish the pride and rebellion of Caurassius, who was so successful therein, that in fine he slew Caurassius in battle, after eighteen years reign, and so became sole governor of this land. Who being too severe in punishing those who took part with Caurassius, and other his tyranies, he grew into such hatred and contempt of the people, that they excited one Asclepiodotus, duke of Cornwall, to revenge their injuries offered by the Romans, raised a great army of Britons, and slew Alectus in battle, at the siege of London, after six years he had governed this land; as he did his successor Livius Gallus, near unto a brook or riveret of water that runneth through part of that city, to this day called in memory of him Gallus, or Wallus-brook, and the street Wallbrook." *Hals*, pp. 149.

(9) A. D. 225. Alector, or Alectus, reigned according to Hard. 3, to Powel, 7 years. About this time one Lyr was a great lord, or duke in Cornwall, and the Britons enraged at the death of Carausius, slain by Alectus, made Asclepiodotus duke of Cornwall, (perhaps the son of Lyr) their king; (*Pont. Vir.* p. 34.) and he reigned according to H. 10, to P. 30 years, and was killed by Coelus duke of Colchester, who succeeded him in the throne A. D. 262, and reigned according to H. 11, to P. 27 years. Carausius was not killed by Alectus till the

III. To detail in historical order, the civil and military transactions of Cornwall, would be more ostentatious than useful. After having cursorily noticed, therefore, the movements of the western Britons, I shall endeavour to fix the attention of my readers to the Cornish, connecting a few scattered facts by the links of probability. Of the Phenician and Greek merchants who traded with the Cornish, before the existence of the Belgæ in this country, I shall speak in another place. The principal incident after the settlement of the Belgæ, was the arrival of their prince Divitiacus from Gaul, and his conquest of a great part of the British kingdom; in consequence of which, numbers of the aboriginal Britons migrated into Ireland*. The Britons of

year 293-4. (see *Speed* 151, &c.) and Asclepiodotus served under Constantius Chlorus, who came into Britain on that occasion, so that Asclepiodotus could not begin his reign over the Britons till 293, and he is therefore placed much too early by the British historians.

(10) A. D. 289. Constantius Chlorus Cæsar, reigned according to Harding, 15, to Powel, 17 years. He is sent into Britain to reduce the rebels there; upon Coelus's submission takes hostages, names the tribute to be paid by the Britons, and marries Helena daughter of Coelus, by whom he had Constantine the great; "who being but about 16 years when his father died in Britain, succeeded him, and reigned here, till being solicited to set up for Roman Emperor, he assumed the purple, conquered the tyrant Maxentius, and fixed himself in the imperial throne."

(11) A. D. 330. When Constantine left Britain, Octavius king of north Wales, (called duke of Cornwall in Heylyn's help to history, p. 15, and by Rowland reckoned so, A. D. 330) rebelled against the Roman proconsuls appointed by Constantine, and having slain them, made himself king of Britain; is dispossessed by Trahern brother of Coelus above-mentioned, sent for that purpose into Britain; but Trahern being treacherously murdered, Octavius regained the throne.

(12) A. D. 350. Solomon, (perhaps the son of Asclepiodotus abovementioned) was duke of Cornwall about the year 350. He was father of St. Kebius, who died in Anglesea, A. D. 369. *Usher's Prim.* p. 786. and *ibid*, 1086, 1087.

(13) A. D. 360. About this time Caradocus, son of Lewellyn (who was uncle to Helena the mother of the Emperor Constantine, and by him advanced in the rank of a Roman Senator) was king of Cornwall; and Octavius king of Britain, having only one daughter, Helen, Caradocus advised the nation to send to Rome, and invite one of the most noble Romans to come and marry her, and succeed her father. Conan Meriadoc then king of south Wales, nephew of Octavius, thinking to succeed his uncle, opposes this motion, but Caradoc sending his son Mauritius to Rome to propose it to Maximus, or Maximian, son of Trahern, (*Hard.* p. 51.) he accepts the terms. *Pont. Vir.* 36, and *Powel's* note *ibid.* It is said, that Conan Meriadoc was appointed Vicar of Britain by Constantine.

(14) A. D. 383. Maximian, or Maximus Tyrannus, reigned according to H. 34, to Powel 5 years. Maximus being reconciled to Conan Meriadoc, conquers great part of Gaul, plants 30000 British soldiers in Armorica, and makes Conan king of them; from whom Armorica, (as *Pont. Vir.* p. 39,) received the name of Little Britain. This Maximus is said to have depopulated Britain, and left it exposed to the incursions of the Picts. (*Ibid.* 41.

(15) Dionotus succeeded his brother Caradoc, and was duke of Cornwall, A. D. 383. (*Matt. Westm.*—*Carew*, p. 77.) He is said fabulously to have sent 11000 noble virgins (at the instance of Conan Meriadoc) and 60000 of inferior rank to people Maximus's new colony of Britons in Armorica, but all were dispersed, drowned, or taken prisoners by the Barbarians. *Pont. Vir.* 40, 41. *Hard.* 143. The 11000 virgins was the virgin Undecimilla.

(16) A. D. 433. Constantine, son of Solomon, king of Armorica, according to Rowland, and brother of Aldroen, afterwards king of the same country, reigned ten years.

(17) A. D. 443. Constans, eldest son of Constantine, reigned according to *Hard.* one, to *Powel*, three years.

* See Richard p. 50.

the coasts, however, soon combined to oppose the Belgæ; and prosecuted the war with this people under the conduct of Cassibelinus. And if Exeter, the capital of the Cornu-Britons, had ever been occupied by the Belgæ, it was recovered to Cornwall, by the prowess of Cassibelinus, before the arrival of Cæsar.

In viewing the transactions of the Romans, in Cornwall,* we may trace out *three separate scenes* of action,---the *first scene* opening with the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and closing with the conquests of Vespasian---the *second*, though comparatively quiescent, yet disturbed by hostilities from the coasts of Ireland---the *third*, greatly agitated, from the appearance of Saxon pirates, to the departure of the Romans.

That the Cornish were little affected by the military movements of Julius Cæsar,† I can readily conceive; but that they remained unsubdued, till the time of Agricola, is a position which, though maintained by so learned and ingenious a writer as Dr. Borlase, is to me wholly incredible‡. From passages in various authors, particularly Richard, a

* Ancient Cornwall included a great part of Devon, if not all.

† Yet "Strabo writeth, that *the Westerne Britons* gave ayde unto the Armorici of Fraunce against Cæsar, which hee pretended for one of the causes, why he invaded this island." *Carew's Survey of Cornwall*, edit. 1769. p. 96.

‡ Dr. Borlase's opinion is thus stated: "Mr. Edward Lhuyd, whose authority in British history, will have great 'weight with the judicious, tells us, *(Archæol. p. 32. col. 3.)* that "the Dunmonian, and other southern Britons, "being on account of their situations earlier conquered, were consequently more conversant with the Romans than "the people of Wales." Now the Welsh were conquered partly before Agricola's coming, and in his first summer; 'therefore according to Mr. Lhuyd, the Dunmonians must have been conquered before Agricola. But I will not 'place it so early, but proceed to enter into particulars, and see what may be collected from the ancients on this 'point. In the first summer of Agricola's command here in Britain, he destroyed the *Ordovices*, i. e. the Britons of 'north Wales, and reduced Anglesea(1). In his second campaign he made a great progress, conquering from 'Anglesea to Edinburgh(2), or according to Horsley, Cumberland, and Northumberland, in which however it must 'be implied, that the intermediate nations were before subdued, if not then, for Agricola would not leave an enemy 'at his back. In the third summer he advanced as far in Scotland as the river Tay, building several forts. "The "fourth summer, Tacitus says, was spent in erecting forts upon the Isthmus, betwixt the Clyde and the Frith of "Edinburgh(3);" and doubtless, to pen up the Scots in the northern part of Scotland, that he might be at liberty to 'turn his arms another way; for, in the fifth year Agricola took shipping, and conquered nations before unknown 'to the Roman Eagles, and garrisoned that part of the country which lies over against Ireland(4). The words of 'Tacitus run thus: "*Quinto Expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus* (scil Agricola) *Ignotas ad in tempus* "*gentes crebris simul ac prosperis prœliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniæ quæ Hiberniam aspicit copiis* "*instruxit in spem, magis quam ob formidinem.*" Tacit. vit. Agr. c. xxiv. And according to their Geography, 'nothing could be better situated for carrying on their purposes against Ireland, than *Dunmonia*. "*Siquidem* "*Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque Mari opportuna, valentissimam* "*Imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit.*" Ibid. The Romans thought Ireland to have lain midway

(1) From Tacitus. Horsley, p. 42. (2) Gordon's Itin. p. 15. ib. (3) Horsley, p. 43.

(4) This expedition was in the 5th of Agricola's propretorship in Britain, which was the first of Domitian. Domitian and Flavius Sabinus being Consuls A. D. 83, according to the Savilian Fasti.

most admirable guide in all antiquarian researches, (though, unfortunately, my Cornish predecessor was little acquainted with him) we have good reason to think, that

'betwixt Spain, and Britain, and to have extended itself a great deal farther to the south than it really does; to 'promote the conquest therefore of an island, supposed to be placed so aptly for the connection of Spain, Gaul, and 'Britain, nothing, he thought, could be more proper than conquering first *Dunmonia*, the most southern and 'western part of Britain. The question is, who were these unknown nations subdued by Agricola in his ships this 'fifth year? the Brigantes, who extended as far north as the river Tine, were subdued by Petilius Cerealis(5). 'The Welsh were already subdued; (south Wales by Julius Frontinus, and the men of north Wales by Agricola in 'his first year); so that they could not be the Welsh; nor indeed their neighbours the Cangi, or those nations 'stretching from Chester to Bristol, (as the late learned Dr Musgrave imagines) for they, lying in the way to South 'and North Wales, could not be unknown to the Roman generals, whose forces had made several campaigns (before 'the coming of Agricola) on those borders in Shropshire, Staffordshire, Hereford, and Monmouthshire, as they 'warred against the hardy Britons of Wales. Let it be considered in the next place, that there was no reason for 'Agricola to go into his ships to conquer those inland countries.—Mr. Horsley seems to me no happier in his 'conjecture than Dr. Musgrave, for he supposes these unknown nations were the people of Galloway, or the 'maritime parts of Cantyre, and Argyleshire(6): but is it likely that these nations should be unknown to Agricola, 'when they lay so near him in his marches the second, third, and fourth summers? is it likely that Agricola, so 'knowing in matters of war, would make his ships to sail so long and dangerous a voyage on purpose to conquer, or 'attend the conquest of, what was so near at hand, and as it were contiguous to the Roman garrisons, which he had 'placed on the *Isthmus* in his third and fourth summers? it is certain, says Horsley, (ibid.) that the Roman ships 'were in Clyde this (i. e. the 5th) summer. I would ask how they should get there? they could not sail round 'Cathness without discovering the Orkneys, and the Orkneys were not discovered till the seventh year of Agricola(6); 'so that plain it is, the Roman fleet which had its winter station at Portus Rhutupiensis near Dover, must have gone 'round the Land's-End, and up the Irish ocean to the Frith of Clyde(7). Is it probable, then, that the fleet of one 'so curious, and equally intent upon conquest, and new discoveries, should pass idly by the many promontories, and 'harbours of the western coast, in a climate much more tempting than the north, with the General and soldiers on 'board, without the least attempt on so great a scope of shores, till they arrived at the Frith of Clyde? No surely, '--- in the west, therefore, were the *ignotæ gentes*. The Romans had possessed the middle and principal parts of 'England in the time of Claudius; his Lieutenants, and those of the subsequent Emperours, carried on the conquests, '(as we find by their history) against all the nations from the *Belgæ*, and the Britons in Wales, as far north as the 'river Tay in Scotland. All the several nations of England, and the south of Scotland, were so intermixed, that upon 'any new insurrection or fresh enterprize to employ the soldiery they must at one time or other have fallen under the 'notice, and power of the Romans. The *Belgæ* were probably subdued by Vespasian, of whom Suetonius saith '(in Vespas. c. iv.) "That he fought thirty battles, conquered here two powerful nations, above twenty "towns, and the Isle of Wight" "By which we find his employment was westward, and the *Belgæ* and *Dunmonii* "were the two powerful nations that way(8)." But with submission, the *Dunmonii* are not mentioned as conquered 'by Vespasian; and as the wars of that General reached from Wales, southward, to the Isle of Wight, the two 'powerful nations seem to have been the *Belgæ*, and the *Durotriges*, which both lay contiguous to his other con-'quests, but the *Dunmonii* farther to the west. All this while we find no mention of the *Dunmonii*, they alone 'lying hid hitherto in a narrow angle of Britain, which was neither a thoroughfare to other nations, nor had of 'it's self provoked the Roman power. If we consider the theatre of the Roman wars to this time with a little 'attention, and how many battles were fought by Vespasian, and how the Roman armies were disposed of at different 'times in all the other parts of the kingdom; we must conclude, that the *Dunmonii* were the only nations' 'that could be unknown to the Roman people. This part of Tacitus's history, is, therefore, not intelligible, much

(5) Stillingfleet's Or. Brit. p. 243. Tacit. Agric. c. xvii. xviii. (6) Ibid. p. 43. (7) Horsley, p. 44.

(8) Bp. Stillingfleet treating of this summer's expedition, (244.) omits the principal point; "nave prima "transgressus;" and therefore takes the Ignotæ gentes to lye beyond the Bodotrian Frith.

(9) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 31.

Vespasian was the conqueror of Cornwall*. In what manner, this great general pursued his conquests in the west, we shall now proceed to enquire. The prevailing idea is, that Danmonium fell before its Roman victors, almost without a struggle. This opinion seems chiefly to arise from the supposition, that if the Danmonians had any way resisted their invaders, the historians of Rome would have recorded the circumstance. But I shall only say, in this place, that a large and valuable part of the Roman History, has perished in the wreck of time. Others assert that the Cornish made a powerful opposition to the Roman arms, in various parts of Cornwall. And the notion receives some colour, from the following passage in Suetonius. "Tricies "cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque XX. oppida, et insulam "vectem Britanniæ proximam in deditionem redegit†." Vespasian is here represented as fighting thirty battles, and taking twenty towns. According to Richard, these battles were fought with the Danmonii, and the Belgæ. "Damnoniis Belgisque "*conjunctis* XXX prælia commisisse narratur Vespasianus.---Duas validissimas gentes "cum regibus eorum, XX. oppida et insulam Vectem imperio Romano *adjecit*‡."

But though these battles were partly fought with the Danmonii, it is by no means clear that Cornwall or Devonshire was the scene of action. They were fought (Richard tells us) with the combined forces of the Danmonii and the Belgæ: consequently, these two people had a certain place of assembly, where they formed a junction of their troops, and whence they marched to meet Vespasian's army. And this

'less reconcilable to the consummate prudence of Agricola, unless we understand him in the following manner, viz. 'That Agricola, having in his fourth year erected forts on the Bodotrian Isthmus, to secure those northern limits, and 'being now at liberty to make new discoveries, and push his conquests another way, went into his ships at Portus 'Rhutupiensis, and sailing down the English channel conquered the western parts of the Island, till then unknown to 'the Roman nation; thence passing round the Land's-End, he placed garrisons on the shores opposite to Ireland, not 'only that he might thereby better secure the conquests he had made, but intending (like a man of extensive views) 'one time or other to conquer that island also; to which great design the different harbours, and garrisons on the 'north of Cornwall and Devonshire he thought might much contribute.' *Antiquities of Cornwall*, pp. 309---312. For my objections to Borlase's hypothesis, and speculations on the subject, see History of Devonshire, Vol. I. chap. ii. section i.—In the system which I have ventured to frame, I have the honour of being supported by General Simcoe; a gentleman, whose extensive and accurate knowlege of the art of war, both ancient and modern, can only be surpassed by his high military virtues.

* A. M. 4045. Missus ab Imperatore Claudio cum II. legione in has terras *Vespasianus*, ad huc in privata vita, Belgas Damnoniosque oppugnavit; tandemque commissis prœliis XXXII. urbibus XX. expugnatis, sub obsequium Romani imperii redegit, una cum insula Vecta. *Richard* p. 51. See also pp. 21. 56.

† Sueton. lib. viii. c. 4.

‡ See Richard, pp. 21, 56. and p. 51.

confederated force, probably, proceeded to the frontiers: it is not likely that they awaited, on the spot of their junction, the enemy's arrival. The expression *conjunctis* will not admit of the supposition, that Vespasian fought the Danmonians no less than thirty times on their own ground, and in different parts of Cornwall. In this case, Vespasian's battles must have been mere skirmishes, as it will hereafter appear that we have no relics of such obstinate resistance. As to the thirty towns, it is said, that in consequence of those battles, he *added* them to the Roman empire, as well as the isle of Wight. We are not told, that he gradually took them one after another, by assault, or by any other mode of attack. If this had been the case, the capture of the isle of Wight would have been described; and some particulars of the resistance of the towns would have been recorded. Had he fought his thirty battles in Devonshire and Cornwall, the isle of Wight lying off the coast of Hampshire, at such a distance from the seat of war, would not have been introduced as falling in consequence of those battles. Many of those battles were probably fought at no great distance from the isle of Wight. And they were so decisive, that the isle itself, and all the western towns, into which the routed Belgæ and Danmonians had retreated before Vespasian's armies, yielded on the very first summons. The most probable opinion is, that after a bold resistance on the outskirts of Danmonium, the Danmonian forces were broken and scattered by Vespasian, and that the Roman general marched his conquering army immediately to the walls of Exeter,* supported by his fleet that sailed down the Totonesian shore---that he met with no contemptible opposition from the Danmonians ---but that after some ineffectual struggles, they threw open their city to the Romans, and that from this moment, all Danmonium quietly submitted to the Roman yoke.

These conjectures will not want support, if we view the *scattered fragments of history* in different lights---if we illustrate by *tradition* the obscurity of historians---if we mark the *circumstances* and *character* of the Danmonians---if we look to the *number* and *situation* of the Roman forces---and if we consider their *probable mode of proceeding*, either in a *hostile* or a *conquered* country; referring in both cases to the relics of their military works. In investigating this obscure subject, we should lay

* Nactus (Vespasianus) deinde tellurem, Caerpenhevelgoit, quæ Exonia vocatur, obsessurus tandem adivit. Lel. Col. vol. ii. p. 23. From Gef. of Monmouth.

the greater stress on what we casually meet with in the approved histories of antiquity: at the same time, our own chroniclers ought not to be rejected, where their reports are consonant with histories with which they were little, if at all, acquainted. This collateral evidence ought not to be despised; although in the Roman historians there is no extant account of the progress of the arms of Rome among the Danmonii, further than the casual expression, that all the south of Britain was formed into a province, under the title of Britannia Prima, and that slight notice in Suetonius concerning Vespasian. Yet Westcote, in his MS. history of Devonshire, asserts, from the chronicles of the Cathedral church at Exeter, that *Vespasian* came with a fleet and landed at *Totonese*, and thence marched and besieged Exeter; that after eight days siege, he was encountered by the Danmonii; that the Danmonii were headed by a general, whom the Romans called *Arviragus*, whatever his name was; and that, in this conflict, the Romans, if not worsted, did not conquer.---The words of the chronicle are as follows: "Anno Domini 49, Vespasianus cum Romano exercitu civi tatem nunc vocatam Exeter, oeto diebus obsedit, sed minime prævaluit, Arvirago rege civibus anxilium præstante." And Geoffry of Monmouth mentions the sailing of Vespasian to the Totonesian shore. These chroniclers have certainly some grounds on which to build their narration, though they were mistaken here, as in most other instances, when they entered into detail. It is our business, taking the general sense of the narrative, to reconcile them, if possible, with more legitimate historians. It is certain that *Vespasian* served with distinction under Aulus Plautius, and under the Emperor Claudius, who in person passed into Britain, and by the terror of his forces (more numerous probably than had ever before appeared in this island), seems to have received the submission of such Britons as had already been under the Roman yoke, but who in consequence of the conflicts of Aulus Plautius with the other nations of the Britons, had revolted. On the departure of Claudius, who is said to have atchieved his conquests and returned in fifteen days, his armies appear to have been divided. *Ostorius*, succeeding to Aulus Plautius, (who was honourably recalled) *with one division*, was employed in the centre of the island; and was active in forming the connection of the German Ocean with the Bristol Channel by camps, which are to be traced on the banks of the Nen from Peterborough to Daventry, and on the

Warwickshire Avon from its branches near Daventry to Gloucester on the Severn. Vespasian, with the *other division*, marched into the western counties. From the number of battles which we find Vespasian fighting with Danmonii in this expedition, it is very plain, that the western Britons did not so easily yield to the Romans, as some suppose: and our own chronicles confirm our idea of their spirit, in their account of the siege of Exeter, which was the consequence of these battles, so successful on the side of the Romans. Thus far the Roman writers and our chroniclers correspond. But when the chronicler says, that Vespasian debarked his soldiers at Totonese,† we suspect some little mistake, and can easily account for it. I have not a doubt but that the larger part of the Roman fleet co-operated with Vespasian's army. The ‡ *Totonesium littus* of the chronicle was probably the general name of the whole coast from *Portland* to the Start: and the fleet, it is likely, sailed along this coast, in concert with the land army, as it marched into the west. Between the naval and the land forces, there was doubtless a regular communication: and possibly a reinforcement of soldiers from the fleet might have joined the main body of Vespasian's army, during his progress towards Exeter. Of this, the chronicle possessing some indistinct memorials, made Vespasian debark with his troops at Totnes, or some other place on the south coast; without considering the general movements of the Roman leader, and the improbability of his having ever embarked his army. This fleet was doubtless useful to him on a secondary view; but nothing is more unlikely, than that, after having gained so many battles over the Britons, he should have had recourse to his ships, and not have pursued his victorious route by land. Had he been defeated by the Britons, we should not be surprized at such a manœuvre: but, in the present case,

† See the History of Dover Castle, by the Rev. W Darell, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, illustrated with ten views, and a plan of the castle; printed in 1786. The MS. from which this Work was printed, was transcribed from the original, in the Library of the College of Arms, under the inspection of the late Wm. Oldys, Esq. then Norroy King of Arms. It was translated by Mr Alexander Campbell; and the views taken by Grose. "The Romans finding it impracticable to enter the Rutupine port, in consequence of the measures taken by "the active and vigilant Arviragus, after being tossed about some time by contrary winds, landed at last in the "isle of Wight, or, as I find it in some authors, in the harbour of Totness." p. 8.

‡ It is plain, from William of Worcester, that the Totonesian shore was not confined to the neighbourhood of Totnes, but meant all the south coast---as he says, "Anglia insularum maxima habet in longitudine 800 miliaria, "hoc est *a Totonesio in Cornubia* usque ad Catenesiam in Scotia." William of Worcester seems to consider Cornwall and Devon as one county---in *comitatu Cornubiæ* et *Devoniæ*.

nothing would be more impolitic. Vespasian had routed the combined armies of the Britons, and assisted by recruits from his fleet, was marching towards Exeter. We see all the towns, in the east of Danmonium, from its frontiers to the capital, receiving the Roman forces with little or no resistance: and we see Vespasian before the walls of the city. In the mean time, Arviragus, a British king, and probably Prince of Danmonium, was rallying his scattered forces, that had been routed on the frontiers. It is said that Arviragus was then in the east of Britain. And he marched towards Exeter with a formidable army. The chronicle tells us, that Arviragus raised the siege. I can easily imagine that the conflict between the Romans and Britons under the command of this chief, was desperate. That there was such a chief as Arviragus, we certainly cannot doubt; when we recollect the words of Juvenal: "Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno Excidet Arviragus." From a MS. chronicle in the Abbey of Glastonbury, (as we find in Warner's Eccles. History) it appears, that the name of the king who made the first present to Joseph of Arimathea, was Arviragus: and Joseph is said to have come into Britain in 63. It is in the time of Domitian, that Juvenal speaks of Arviragus: and an old MS. says, that Arviragus was dead, at the time when the poet wrote. This British chief, therefore, might have been alive in 49. And so far Geoffry may be right, as well as the monks of Glastonbury. If Arviragus, then, be not a legendary hero; if the moment of his existence, as stated by Geoffry, so exactly correspond with the allusion of the Roman poet, and indeed with verisimilitude on every view of the case, why should we discredit Geoffry of Monmouth in his account of this transaction in general? There is no reason, surely, for rejecting his authority, whilst in the main points he is supported by authentic history. But the line I have just quoted from the Roman poet seems to prove more than the existence of Arviragus, at the period of Vespasian's conquests. It seems to imply, that this chief was a distinguished warrior in his conflicts with the Romans, but that he was at last defeated. And there is no doubt, that at this critical conjuncture, the Romans were victors. The honors conferred on Vespasian, after his return to Rome, would sufficiently prove the complete success of his campaign. And from Geoffry's mention of Exeter, as besieged by Vespasian, I should conceive,

that all the British and Roman warfare terminated here; since it will hereafter appear, that we have no traces of Vespasian's battles beyond Exeter. §---In the mean time, *tradition* will throw great light on the obscurity of history. Tradition, with no presumptive proofs from history to precede it, is little to be regarded. If we allow it to lead the way, it is ever a fallacious guide. But when we can introduce it as an auxiliary, its claims are certainly to be heard. We have intimated, that Devonshire and Cornwall were by no means the scene of Vespasian's thirty battles with the Danmonians and western nations; that these conflicts were in the neighbouring provinces; and that probably the last battle of any consequence (except that before the walls of Exeter) was fought on the confines of Danmonium. Agreeably to this idea, there is a strong tradition in the parish of *Bishop's Lydiard*, that lies under the Quantock-hills, relating to a Roman battle. On a farm in this parish, (say the country people) was fought the last battle between the western Britons and their enemies of Rome. The former were totally defeated; and the farm has ever since been called *Conquest Farm*. The tenant is ready to point out to enquirers the very situation of the armies: and near the fatal spot is a circular camp of about twenty acres. This, surely, is remarkable: and here I can readily see the spot, where Vespasian routed the Britons before he proceeded in his march towards Exeter.---That the last violent effort of the *Danmonians* to preserve their liberty, was on the frontiers, and probably on the traditional spot in the neighbourhood of the Quantock-hills, may further appear from a view of their *circumstances* and *character*. The western Britons, whether they had before submitted to the Romans or not, were, doubtless, at this moment free. At the same time they saw all their neighbours crouching to the Roman eagle, and abandoning in despair every claim to independence. Thus circumstanced, they would naturally collect all their forces and

§ "Whether the Emperor Claudius subdued the islands of SYLLEH, is uncertain: but he is said to have made "use of Arviragus (son of Cunobelin, a grandson of Theomantius Duke of Cornwall), afterwards king of Britain, "to conquer the Orcades and the provincial isles. (*Pont. Virun.* p. 28.) Whether Sylleh was ranked "among the latter, is doubtful, but not unlikely, considering its ancient fame for tin. However that be, Sylleh is "only noted for two or three banishments of disgraced Romans during the empire of that people in Britain." *Borlase's Obser. on the Islands of Sylleh.* p. 99.

march to the frontiers to prevent the inroads of the enemy, and, if sufficiently strong, to give them battle. But, if this struggle for liberty proved ineffectual---if, after their defeat, the enemy were able to advance into the heart of their country, and to possess themselves of every town and fortress, the Danmonians, with the example of their subjugated neighbours before them, would rather concert measures for the termination of the war, than rally their scattered troops at every interval, to annoy and irritate the Romans, instead of opposing with effect the progress of the conquerors. Their *character*, as a *warlike* and as a *mercantile* people, would naturally occasion such a conduct. The Danmonians, the historian says, were *gens validissima*. Is it likely, therefore, that they should repose in stupid inactivity, or remain in their several stations with trembling apprehensions, whilst the Roman armies were marching down upon them, and every where laying waste their territories? But their character as merchants would prevent them from protracting a fruitless opposition. It would obviously suggest to them conciliatory measures, lest the repositories of their merchandize should be converted into magazines of arms, and Danmonium, the flourishing seat of peace and opulence, should become a waste of famine and confusion. Besides, the politeness and courtesy attached to the mercantile character, would interpose to prevent any further contest, with a people whose generous disposition was not unknown to the Danmonians. Nor were they incapable, from their modes of life, of penetrating into the views of the enemy. They were full of expedients, and were able to seize the best opportunities for an accommodation: and they saw, that it was more politic to secure a part of their property, than to risque the loss of the whole. If, in the midst of Danmonium, any resolute opposition was made to the Roman arms, it is probable that the last stand was before the walls of the capital. Here was the palladium of their merchandize: here history has led us to trace their last struggles: and here their character as warriors and merchants would equally induce us to mark expiring liberty. There are some who take their religious character, also, into the question, and conceive the fanaticism of the Druids to have been the principal support of the resistance made against the Romans; whose arms, it is conjectured, would be principally turned against those seats of superstition, whilst those seats would be as obstinately defended.

But, after the capital was gone, all resistance on the side of the Druids would be in vain. || At this conjuncture, then, I believe the Danmonii to have totally submitted, as their commercial interests and consequent civilization would naturally induce them; and that they never rebelled against their conquerors.-----If we consider the probable *number* and *situation* of the Roman forces, we shall find, I think, a new argument to strengthen our theory. Gordon, in his Itinerary, suggests a method of marking out the number of the Roman forces, by comparing their numbers with the size of their camps. And this method is excellent, where the dimensions of the camp, and the number of the legions can be fixed with some degree of accuracy; which is actually the case in Scotland. General Roy has written a noble treatise on the campaigns of Agricola, there. Tacitus supplies him with the number of the troops, and Polybius with the form of the camp: and they perfectly agree and illustrate each other. But we have no such data in the campaigns of Vespasian. We are ignorant of his forces. We have no camps of sufficient magnitude and of the Polybian proportion to contain a consular army; at least none which have been hitherto discovered. They are to be sought for in our cities. Vespasian's army could not consist of less *than two legions*, probably of more. And it is reasonable to presume, that there might be periods, in which he assembled the whole of the legionary forces; such excepted as were necessary to guard the line of Ostorius. *The Legio secunda Augusta* was certainly under Vespasian's command. It appears to have been quartered at Caerleon; and by Richard of Cirencester, afterwards at Canterbury. To this legion, by the way, I attribute the *Romanizing* of Exeter, if I may so express myself. The ninth legion, the fourteenth, and the twentieth, were also in Britain, in the reign of Claudius. Supposing the *division* I have already mentioned to have taken place in the Roman army, I should be inclined to add the *fourteenth legion* to the *Secunda Augusta*, under

|| Before the celebrated invasion of Mona, the Romans had probably experienced this spirit. Hence we are to date the origin of those numerous camps in the vicinity of Stonehenge, the chief temple of the Druids. The *two rallying points* of religion in Danmonium (if I may so express myself) would have been REDRUTH and DRUISTEIGNTON. And, indeed, it must be confessed, that several remains of the Romans have been discovered in the neighbourhood of the former place. With respect to the latter, the camps of *Cranbrook* and of *Prestonbury* may possibly be referred to this crisis.

Vespasian's command, merely because he recalled this legion, when Emperor, probably as a mark of his esteem. We may presume that Vespasian had a more considerable army than this before he had subjugated the western Britons, and before he marched into Danmonium. But we certainly cannot discover a vestige of an army in very great force on this side of the frontiers of Devon. At *Hampden-hill*, however, near Ilchester, there is an immense Roman camp. It embraces the whole hill, of an irregular figure. Its western front is 5000 feet in length; and if a line were drawn through all its irregularities, it would be in breadth near 4000 feet. The area, (or superficial feet are) 7,575,850, and contains 174 acres, a rood, and 5720 feet. General Roy estimates 73,027 superficial feet for the space occupied by 1000 men. On this calculation, *Hampden-hill* would contain 103,738 men! No camp that I have seen, bears any proportion to this of Hampden; nor any one of Agricola's camps; nor that at Frocester, probably of Frontinus; nor, as I apprehend, that at Oyster-hill, supposed to be Ostorius. There exist many Roman coins found at Hampden, prior to Vespasian. This camp, then, I presume, was Vespasian's; a camp sufficiently capacious for the whole Roman army and their followers. This, I conceive, at some period of the war, was his point of assembly: and here, probably, is the last strong vestige of Vespasian's army. Beyond the camp of *Hampden-hill*, we have no entrenchment that will authorize the idea of a Roman army in great force, or of a long and formidable resistance. Under the *Quantock-hills*, the struggle of the Britons, however violent, was evidently short. There we have a camp of only twenty acres. But, on a supposition that he was still making his progress through a country, where he had reason to expect every species of hostility, *in what manner* would Vespasian *have probably* conducted his army? Would he not have formed at least one entrenchment of some capacity, between the Quantock-hills and Exeter? But we discover not a single encampment in the east of Devon, to contain a tenth part of such a force as would have marched into a hostile country. If the Romans had met with opposition after the passage of the Exe, it would have been marked on the almost inaccessible summits of Dartmoor. Those heights the Britons

would have occupied. There they would have formed their encampment. And thither the Romans, pursuing them, would have thrown up the strongest entrenchments. And to this day, we should have seen the forest covered with opposite and extensive camps. But, I apprehend, there is no such vestige on Dartmoor; though there are many smaller camps on the roads that pass by the moor through Okehamton, Tavistock, Ashburton, and Totnes, towards Plymouth and Cornwall. In short, we have no Roman fortresses in Devonshire and Cornwall, that indicate a hostile or a disaffected country. The great entrenchment at Hampden would contain as many men as all the Roman forts in these two counties.---But if, on the other hand, as we have all along maintained, Danmonium was vanquished on the frontiers, and all the western territories had submitted to the Romans, in what manner would Vespasian have disposed of his troops, or what, most *probably, would have been his military operations in Devonshire and Cornwall?*---I conceive it probable, that immediately after the route of the Britons on the confines, Vespasian would have marched his army to Axminster, thence to Seaton, and thence to *Hembury Ford*, a town of some consequence, which he had previously occupied, perhaps by a detachment from his fleet that were lying at Seaton or Moridunum. Here, before he proceeded to *Exeter*, he would naturally communicate with his shipping, and give them instructions relating to their future movements. It appears to me highly probable, that in the progress of Vespasian's conquests, the port of Moridunum was the receptacle of his shipping. Several Roman roads point out *Seaton*, at the mouth of the Axe, to have been a place of great importance. Not that these roads existed as Roman at the time of Vespasian's shipping, and I believe it to have been Moridunum. I cannot believe Moridunum to have been either Honiton or Hembury Ford, as some conjecture. The communication between Seaton and Hembury Ford was easy and commodious. After having settled, therefore, the destination of his shipping, it is likely that Vespasian proceeded to the British capital. The British town occupied, probably, its present space; and we may suppose the Roman army encamped on the eastern hills that overlooked it. The camps at Duryard are curious objects of investigation: they were large, and have

since been contracted. And it is not an improbable conjecture, that from these heights the Romans might have descended on the subjacent hills, comparatively a plain, on which Exeter stood and now stands, and there have formed their hibernacula. But we are not to suppose Vespasian resting here. In taking possession of a conquered country, it was his custom frequently to divide his army, and to canton his forces into a variety of *smaller* posts. Hence we may possibly date our smaller *fortified posts*, or *castles*, in *towns* which existed prior to the Roman conquests, or sprung up at its completion. We may imagine, therefore, Vespasian turning his immediate attention to these operations. In the east Vespasian had employed his men in romanizing the British roads, in fortifying the different towns he had taken, whether maritime or inland, and in forming communications between these different posts. In the same manner, he was to proceed through the rest of Danmonium. His fleet, probably moored at Exeter or Exmouth, (the *Ostium Iscæ fluvii*) to wait his orders, were now about to circumnavigate Danmonium, and act in concert with the land forces; the first object of which would be to occupy all the maritime towns, to the south-west as well as those that were situated on the great Icenian-street---at this time, I conceive, a British road. During this conjunct progress, he would possess himself, perhaps of *Topsham* and *Exmouth* on the coast, on the great road, of *Newton-Bushel*, and of *Torbay*, *Totnes*, and *Dartmouth* on the coast again. And *Modbury*, *Plymton*, *Saltash*, *Lesheard*, *Lestwithiel*, *St. Austell*, *Grampound*, *Truro*, *Penryn*, and *Falmouth*, all situated on the great Icenian-street, or in its vicinity, would in course yield to the arms of the conqueror.---The *next route*, was probably that of the land forces, from the camps above Exeter to *Okehamton*; from *Okehamton* to *Lidford* and *Lifton*, and from *Lifton* to *Launceston*. After having erected his castles in these several towns, it is likely that he fortified in a similar manner, *Bamton*, *Chulmleigh*, *Torrington*, *Holsworthy*, and *Stratton*.---But the more northern parts of Danmonium required also fortresses: and *Dulverton*, *Molland*, *North Molton*, *Barnstaple*, *Bideford*, and *Hertland*, could not have been neglected at this juncture; whilst the Bristol Channel, and the fine navigable rivers of the Taw and Torridge, enabled the shipping to correspond with the land forces, in all their movements.

Such, then, were the probable operations of Vespasian. And if, on viewing the relics of the Romans* as existing at this moment, in Cornwall minutely, (and cursorily in Devon) we trace their footsteps in such a manner as to form a scheme of military architecture consistent with these ideas, we shall have reason to think our hypothesis greatly strengthened, perhaps confirmed. In addition to Vespasian's fortresses and castles in towns, perhaps some forts might have been erected to keep possession of fords and narrow passages: and some vicinal roads might have been formed, and a few cross communications to connect these fortified posts. But Vespasian had no need of numerous outposts, or viæ diverticulæ, in so peaceful a country. In short, there is nothing more probable, than that the Danmonians quietly submitted to Vespasian---that they never rebelled against the Romans---but were the determined opposers of the enemies of Rome---that they were incorporated with the Romans, and became the same people; and at last, when driven into Cornwall, carried thither and still preserve more Roman blood than runs in the veins of any other people in Europe.

Having detailed my ideas relative to the Roman history of Cornwall, to its conquest by Vespasian, I proceed to the *second scene*, in which I consider it as dependent on the Roman power. And this topic, in my idea, will require very few lines, as I conceive its commercial intercourse with the Roman empire to have invited it to obedience, and its peninsular situation to have suggested the impossibility of revolt, and at the same time to have protected it from the calamities which the northern parts of the island underwent from the perpetual revolts of its most distant tribes. As to the Roman operations at this crisis, history is particularly silent. The conjunct progress of the naval and land army of Agricola, seems to have little reference to Danmonium, which was doubtless at peace with the Romans. If, however, we can discover any other cause than the revolt of the Britons, for a reinforcement from Agricola's army, or for the throwing up of posts and entrenchments in different parts of Danmonium, we may possibly find some Roman camps, corresponding with the circumstances of the case. Now, it appears from history, that the Danmonii who had fled from the

* The subject of the fourth chapter.

Roman power into Ireland, made inroads on our coasts. In this case, a reinforcement was necessary to protect our shores. We are to look out, then, for entrenchments, chiefly on the sea coasts, and nearly opposite to Ireland, and for æstiva near the stationary towns. And as the original camps of the Romans, particularly those of Agricola, consisted generally of single entrenchments (which is the case with all Agricola's camps in Scotland) we shall be confirmed in our ideas on this subject, if we find any Roman works of this simple construction. If we find considerable camps in the vicinity of the principal towns in the north, from Bamton and Temolum, to Hertland or Artavia, and perhaps a line of entrenchments running up even to the north sea - - - if there are traces of some legion or other placed at the *Dichen-hills* to guard the coast, as *Bude-Haven* seems to have been the port where the fleet assembled, we shall not hesitate to attribute these military remains to the incursions of the Danmonians from Ireland.†

On the *third scene* of military action in Danmonium, the chief objects are the *Saxon fleets* passing the Straits of Dover and infesting the western coasts. Having from history the account of the Roman legions being called to defend the shores bordering on the German Ocean, against the Saxons, we may suppose by induction, that similar defences were adopted, when those enemies of the falling power of Rome had passed the Straits of Dover, and began their piratical depredations on the coast of Danmonium.‡ To this exigence I ascribe the numerous smaller camps, which are dispersed for the most part along our coasts, at no great distance from each other; and close on those rivers which might afford protection to the ships of the invader. These are often of a less simple construction than the ancient original camps. They generally consist of two or more fosses. The scite of these entrenchments will naturally be such, as to command the whole circumjacent country, so that the earliest

† With respect to the descent of the Irish on the western shore of Britain, see Whitaker's Manchester, vol. ii. p. 266, 267, 268.

‡ The south and west coasts of Britain began to be much infested by Saxon pirates in the *third century*; and was thence named *Littus Saxonicun*, or the Saxon shore. See *Strutt's Chron.* vol. i. p. 56

alarm might be communicated from post to post, on the appearance of the enemy. On the south-west shore we are to continue our investigations: and if we look for a variety of camps supporting a communication between the coasts and the interior parts of Danmonium, we shall, probably, not be disappointed.

These, then, are the *three* scenes on which the warlike energy of Rome seems to have been principally displayed, in Danmonium. And Danmonium, from the moment of her resignation to her fate, as a conquered country, was, doubtless, proud of her connexion with the Roman people. What, therefore, must have been her regret, when forced by internal disasters to withdraw their armies from the distant provinces, they abandoned her, though with generous reluctance, to the enemies that threatened her fall!

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

CIVIL AND MILITARY CONSTITUTION.

BEFORE I advert to the civil and military constitution of Danmonium under the Romans, I shall make a few observations on its geography and original government.

With respect to the geography of Danmonium, I shall quote the descriptions of Ptolemy and of Richard, as far as they relate to the western part of the island. Ptolemy of Alexandria, who flourished under the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, is one of the most ancient geographers, whose works are extant. It may be proper to premise, that there are two general errors in Ptolemy which affect the whole geography of Britain. This writer has made all England decline from the true position as to the length of it, and entirely changed the position of Scotland, representing its length from east to west, instead of from south to north. And he hath

placed the whole of South Britain too far north, by two or three degrees. I must observe, also, that Ptolemy computes the longitude from Alexandria in Ægypt, the place of his residence. In the description of the western part of the island, after the estuary Ουιξανα, we have Ηρακλεους ακρον—ιδ—νγ. Promontory of Hercules 14.00 53.00. Αντιουιςαιον ακρον και το Βολεριον—ια—νβ λ Promontory Antivestæum, sometimes called Bolerium 11.00 52.30. Δαμνονιον το και Οκρινον ακρον ιβ να λ. Promontory Danmonium, called also Ocrinum 12.00 51.30. After the promontory Ocrinum, come Κενιωνος στ. εκβολαι ιδ να λδ. Mouth of the river Cenion 40.00 51.45. Ταμαρου στ. εκβολαι ιε γο νς ς. Mouth of the river Tamarus 15.40 52.10. Ισακα στ. εκβολαι ιξ νβ γ. Mouth of the river Isaca 17.00 52.20. Αλαινου στ. εκβολαι ιξ γο νβ γο. Mouth of the river Alænus 17.40 52.40 The Danmonii are placed next to the Durotriges. Μιθ ους δυσμικωτατοι Δουμνονιοι, εν οις πολεις---Next to the Durotriges, in the most western part, are the Danmonii, among whom are these towns---Ουολιβα ιδ λδ νβ γ. Voluba 14.45 52.20. Ουξιλα ιε νβ λδ. Uxela 15.00 52.45. Ταμαρη ιε νβ δ. Tamare 15.00 52.15. Ισκα ιξ λ νβ λδ. Isca 17.30 52.45. In this geographical description, the promontory of Hercules is, confessedly, Hertland point. The promontory *Antivestæum*, or *Bolerium*, is the Land's-end---perhaps called *Antivestæum*, from the British words *An diuez Tir*, which signify the Land's-end; and *Bolerium* from *Bel e rhin*, the head of a promontory. (*a*) The Promontory *Ocrinum* is the Lizard-point, probably called *Ocrinum*, from *Och rhin*, a high promontory: and the *Lizard* is of British derivation, from *Lis-ard*, a lofty projection. (*b*) The mouth of the river *Cenion* is supposed to be Falmouth Haven, so called from the British word *Genou*, a mouth; of which there is still some vestige in the name of a neighbouring town, *Tregony*. (*c*) The river Tamarus retains its ancient name, being called Tamar, from *Tamarav, gentle river:* and its mouth is Plymouth Haven. (*d*) The Isaca, or Isca, is the Exe, which, passing Exeter, falls into the sea at Exmouth. The river Alaenus is supposed to be the Axe, and its mouth Axmouth. It was, perhaps,

(*a*) Baxter, p. 19, 36. (*b*) Baxter, p. 186. (*c*) Baxter, p. 77. Camd. Brit. p. 16. (*d*) Baxter, p. 222.

called Alaenus, from *Alaun iu*, the full river. (*e*) The towns of the Danmonii were *Voluba*, according to (*f*) Camden and (*g*) Baxter Grampound, but in (*h*) Horsley's opinion, Lestwithiel. - - - - *Uxela*, supposed by (*i*) Camden to be Lestwithiel - - - by (*k*) Baxter, Saltash - - - by (*l*) Horsley, Exeter. *Tamare* was certainly a town upon the Tamar. (*m*) Horsley thinks it was Saltash - - - but (*n*) Camden and (*o*) Baxter suppose it to be *Tamarton*, retaining its ancient name. *Isca*, or *Isca Danmoniorum*, was Exeter, the capital of Cornwall. So much for the geography of Ptolemy, as far as it relates to Cornwall. To Antoninus, the imperial Notitia, the Anonymous chorography, and the itinerary of Richard, I shall hereafter refer my readers. In the mean time, however, Richard's descriptions must not be neglected in fixing the geography of the island. Mr. Whitaker was the first person who duly appreciated the value of Richard's work. (*p*) " Richard's authorities, says Mr. Whitaker, were Ptolemy and his contemporary writers, the tradition of the Druids, ancient monuments, documents and histories. And in Richard is a map of Britain, (*q*) drawn up by himself, *secundum fidem monumentorum perveterum*." This Mr. Bertram thinks far superior to all the rest of Richard's commentary, for the curiousness and antiquity of it. And as the oldest map of the island that is now extant, and the only old one of Roman Britain, Mr. Whitaker admits it to be a great curiosity. Maps of the island, however, were not uncommon in Richard's time. He himself speaks of some, as *recentiore ævo descriptas*, and generally known. (*r*) And this is but of little value: it is frequently inaccurate: it often contradicts its own itinerary.§ The following is Richard's description of the west of Britain. (*s*) - - - " *Infra* Heduorum

(*e*) Baxter, p. 10. (*f*) p. 17. (*g*) p. 254. (*h*) p. 378. (*i*) p. 18. (*k*) p. 257. (*l*) p. 378. (*m*) p. 376. (*n*) p. 25. (*o*) p. 221. (*p*) See History of Manchester, vol. 1. p. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90. Oct. Edition. (*q*) In the 14th century. (*r*) p. 3, (*s*) p. 19, 20.

§ Hutchins speaks highly of the map; but he speaks at random. " This valuable work, and *more valuable map*, which contains the best and largest account of Britannia Romana yet extant, was discovered in Denmark by Charles James Bertram, Professor of the English Tongue in the Royal Marine Academy at Copenhagen, and printed by him, there, in 1757. It was followed by an account of the author (a monk of Westminster, who died about 1400) and his work by Dr. Stukeley, printed the same year; in which his map is copied, enlarged and placed in a truer position. This map, which is an invaluable piece of antiquity, was probably preserved in the library of some monastery in England or Italy: or the Editor, when he was on his travels, perhaps found it at Rome. The north part of this island is placed to the east: but this error is an argument of its antiquity. Both Strabo and Ptolemy did

terras siti erunt Durotriges, *qui et* Morini *alias vocantur. Metropolin habebant* Dūrinum *et promontorium* Vindeliam.

In horum finibus sensim coarctatur Britannia, et immensum efformare videtur brachium, quod irruptionem minitantem commode repellit oceanum.

In hoc brachio, quæ intermissione Uxellæ *amnis,* Heduorum *regioni protenditur, sita erat regio* Cimbrorum. *Utrumne vero modernum* Walliæ *nomen dederint, an vero antiquior sit* Cimbrorum *origo---non æque constat. Urbes illis præcipuæ* Termolus *et* Artavia. *Visuntur hic, antiquis sic dicta,* Herculis columnæ, *et non procul hinc insula* Herculea. *Sed a fluminis* Uxellæ *finibus continuum procurrit montium jugum, cui nomen* Ocrinum, *extremumque ejus ad promontorium ejusdem nominis extenditur.*

Ultra Cimbros *extremum insulæ angulum incolebant* Carnabii; *unde, forsitan, quod hodieque retinet, nomen, obtinuit* Carnubia. *Urbes habebant* Musidum *et* Halangium. *Cum vero has olim desertas propemodum et incultas Britanniæ partes Romani numquam salutaverint, minoris omnino momenti urbes eorum fuisse videntur, et Historicis propterea neglectæ, Geographis tamen memorantur promuntoria* Bolerium *et* Antivestæum. ‖

the same: and were followed by Mercator and Ortelias. It is of great use in fixing the Roman stations, towns, &c. by the standing marks of nature, mountains, rivers, promontories and bays, which are our certain guides; and we are no longer left to etymologies, conjectures, and resemblance of names." *Hutchins's Dorset.* vol. i. *Introd.*

‖ "The utmost promontory, says *Camden,* (see *Gibson's* edit. p. 5) which lies out into the Irish ocean, is called by Ptolemy, Bolerium; by Diodorus, Belorium; possibly from the British *Pell,* signifying *a thing most remote.* Ptolemy calls it, also, Αντιβεσταιον or *Antivestæum,* and the Britons *Penrhinguoed,* i. e. *the Promontory of Blood.* But these are only the bards or poets: for the British historians call it *Penwith,* i. e. *a promontory to the left.* Hence, the whole hundred is called *Penwith,* and by the inhabitants, in their language, *Pen von las,* i. e. the end of the earth---in which sense the English term it the Land's-end, as being the farthest part of the island westward.---If this promontory was ever called *Helinum,* (as Volateranus and the more modern writers have it) it was not so named from Helenus son of Priam, but from *Pen Elin,* which in British (as *ancon* among the Greeks) signifies an *elbow.* As to the name *Antivestæum,* I have often suspected that it was of Greek original. Observing it very common with the Greeks to call places from the names of those that were opposite to them, I set myself to search, whether there was any place opposite to our *Antivestæum,* that went under the name of *Vestæum*: but to no purpose. Yet that this promontory once reached farther to the west, the miners have no doubt from the rubbish they draw up. According to tradition, the land here drowned by the incursions of the sea, was called *Lionesse.*---In the utmost rocks of this promontory, when they are bare at low water, appear veins of white lead and brass. And the inhabitants say, there was formerly set a watch-tower, with lights for the direction of mariners."---"About the middle way (says Gibson on Camden, p. 21) between Land's-end and Scilly, there are rocks called in Cornish *Lethas,* by the English *Seven-Stones*: and the Cornish call the place within the stones *Tregas,* a *dwelling*; where, according to reports, windows and such other stuff have been taken up with hooks.---It is said, also, that from the Land's-end to Scilly is an equal depth of water---that St. Michael's Mount is called in Cornish *Careg*

Memoratis modo populis in littore oceani austrum versus affines ad Belgas-Allobroges, sedem habebant Damnonii, GENS OMNIUM VALIDISSIMA; *quæ ratio movisse videtur Ptolemæum, ut totum hunc terræ tractum qui in mare brachii instar prætenditur, illis adscripserit. Urbes habebant* Uxellam, Tamaram, Volubam, Ceniam, *omniumque matrem* Iscam, *fluvio cognomini imminentem. Fluvii apud ipsos præcipui memorati modo* Isca, Durius, Tamarus *atque* Cenius. *Ora eorum maritima promuntoria exhibet tria, de quibus mox paulo dicemus. Hanc regionem, utpote* METALLIS ABUNDANTEM *Phœnicibus Græcis et Gallis mercatoribus probe notam fuisse constat. Hi enim ob magnam, quam terra ferebat, stanni copiam eo sua frequenter extendebant negotia; cujus rei præcipua sunt documenta supra nominata tria promuntoria---*Helenis *scilicet,* Ocrinum *et* Κριου μέτωπον, *ut et nomina civitatum,* GRÆCAM PHENICIAM QUE ORIGINEM *redolentia.* (*a*)

Ultra brachium in oceano sitæ sunt insulæ Sygdiles, *quæ etiam* Oestrominides *et* Cassiterides *vocabantur, dictæ.*" (*b*)

Cowse in clowse, i. e. *the hoary rock in the wood*---that large trees, with roots and body, have been, of late years, driven in by the sea between St. Michael's Mount and Penzance. To these add the tradition, that at the time of the inundation, *Trevilian* swam from thence, and in memory thereof bears *Gules an Horse argent issuing out of the sea.*" See *Carew*, pp. 2, 3.

(*a*) *Herculis prom.* Hertland Point. *Antivestæum prom.* Land's-End. *Ocrinum prom.* Lizard Point. *Cenion. fluv. ostia.* Valle River. *Tamari fluv. ostia.* Tamar River. *Isacæ fluv. ostia.* Exe River. *Rich.* not. p. 175.

(*b*) with respect to the west of the island, Mr. Whitaker says: "The *Durotriges* or *Morini*, lived in Dorsetshire, and had *Durinum, Durnovaria* or Dorchester for their capital. And the *Hædui* filled all Somersetshire to the *estuary Uxella*, Bridgewater Bay, or the river of Ivel, on the south; the south-west of Gloucestershire, to the hills of Wotton-Under-Edge, or its vicinity; and the north-west of Wiltshire, to the Avon and Cricklade. (1) These, however, appear from Ptolemy, to have been subdued by the Belgæ; their country being expressly ascribed by him to that people. (2) The Cimbri extended over the rest of Somersetshire, except a small part to the east of the Thone, (3) and along the north of Cornwall, as far as the river Cambala, the Camel, or Padstow Harbour. (4) The Carnabii spread over the remainder of the north of Cornwall, and over all the south-west, as far as Falmouth Haven. (5) And the Danmonii possessed, originally, the rest of Somersetshire, (6) the rest of Cornwall, and all

(1) Richard, p. 20 and 24.

(2) Ischalis and Aquæ Calidæ. So also Ptolemy places the Durotriges, not south-west as he is generally translated, but to the south and west of the Belgæ, απο δυσμων και μεσημβριας; the Durotriges being to the south of the Somersetshire Belgæ, and to the west of the Hampshire.

(3) Uxella urbs is given to the Danmonii by Richard, and yet is given to the Hedui by the map, in express contradiction to the account.

(4) Richard's map.

(5) Cenia Urbs & Cenius Fluvius, given to the Danmonii by Richard.

(6) Uxella Urbs. Richard.

Such are our best documents relative to the geography of Cornwall and Devon. We may conjecture, that Danmonium was at this time divided into *cantreds*. Such a division we actually find in ancient Ireland, whither the Danmonii had emigrated; and in Wales also, where, among the earliest institutes of that country, they are referred to the primitive Britons. (*a*) Formed some time before the towns were constructed, the cantreds would borrow their appellation from the most remarkable objects of nature within them.

Devonshire. But, before the coming of the Romans, the Danmonii had subdued both the Carnabii and Cimbri, and usurped their dominions. (7)" --- " Richard, (says a correspondent) after describing Hampshire, which, he says, was inhabited by the *Belgæ*, who were descended from the *Celtæ* and *Allobroges*, who fled from *Gaul* on account of the invasion of the German and Roman nations, and seated themselves in this part of Britain, whose chief towns he says were *Southampton*, *Winchester*, *Portsmouth*, and *Sarum*; observes next that the *Hedui* were seated between the *Thames* and the *Severn*; and he mentions *Aquæ Solis* (or Bath) as a principal colony, and two other towns. Below, or south of the *Hedui*, he speaks of the *Durotriges* or *Morini*, which he says were the same, and their chief town *Dorchester*, and their chief promontory *Vindelia*, which seems to be *Portland Point*; he then speaks of the *Cimbri*, as inhabiting the country next to the *Hedui* and in the neighbourhood of the river *Uxella*: this was probably Somersetshire and the north part of Devon. For the river Uxella is said to rise near the river Dorinus, which is the river that runs by *Dorchester*; so that the river *Uxella* answers to the river *Perrot*, which runs by *Bridgewater*, which certainly was a Roman station --- and the river Kennet rises near the borders of Dorset, as does the Dorchester river. The chief towns of these *Cimbri*, he describes to be *Termolus* and *Hartavia*, or *Artavia*, near the promontory where are to be seen the *Pillars of Hercules*, and not far off *the island of Hercules*. --- There can be little doubt but these towns answer to *Molland* and *Hertland*, and the island now called *Lundy*. --- He next says, that not far from the river *Uxella*, rises that great and long ridge of mountains, which run from north to south across the island, which he here describes as growing less broad. This ridge he calls *Jugum Ocrinum*, and describes it as ending in a promontory extending far out into the sea, called *Ocrinum Promontorium*. There can be very little doubt but this refers to that high tract of land called *Quantock*, which commencing a little to the west of *Bridgewater*, about *Cutherstone*, and from thence to *Durheston*, and so to *Exmoor*, holds on as it were in a high tract of land till it joins to *Dartmoor*; and is continued quite to that southermost promontory of the west, called the *Ocrinum Promontorium*. Next to the *Cimbri*, he describes the *Carnabii*, as inhabiting the extreme part of the island, whose principal towns he says were *Musidum* and *Halangium*. He then turns back and states the *Danmonii*, as being *next* to the *Belgæ*. He describes them as a brave and powerful people, and he mentions their chief towns to be *Uxella*, *Tamara*, *Voluba*, *Cenia*, and their capital *Isca Danmoniorum*. Their rivers he describes to be *Isca*, *Durius*, *Tamarus*, *and Cenius*. It remains to be considered what these towns and rivers were, as we understand them in these later times. --- The capital town of *Isca Danmoniorum*, was beyond all doubt *the city of Exeter*, as the *Ostium Iscæ fluvii*, mentioned in another place, was *Exmouth* --- *Tamara* being also called, elsewhere, *Portus Tamaræ*, and *Ostium Tamaræ*, as well as *Tamara*, was probably *Plymouth*, as being the *port* at the mouth of the *Tamar*. As to *Voluba* and *Uxella*, there were many towns so called by the Romans, in many parts of Britain and of Wales --- We have just now seen there was one in Somersetshire. --- *Cenia* is a more unusual name. It was probably a town on the river, also called *Cenius*, as the city of *Isca* was upon the river *Isca*, or *Exe*. --- Their situation will be best ascertained by referring to the *Itinerary*, which thus describes them: " Iter. xvi. a *Londinio*

(*a*) The *cantred*, though including a larger district, gave rise to the *hundred*.

(7) Ptolemy and Richard, p. 20. Danmonium Promontorium. And the Danmonii are δυσμικώτατοι, or the most westerly tribe, in the former.

(*b*) The south of Danmonium, including all that tract of land that lies south of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, from the borders of Dorset to the Lizard, or the *Ocrinum Promontorium*, was, probably, divided into four cantreds; the *first* cantred extending from Dorset to the river Isca---the *second*, from Isca to the river Durius---the *third*, from Durius to the river Tamara---the *fourth*, from Tamara to the Ocrinum Promontorium.

The north of Danmonium, including all that tract of land which lies north of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, from the Uxella to the east, to the *Antivestæum Promontorium* to the west, naturally divides itself into two cantreds---the north-east cantred, from Uxella to Cambala, inhabited by the Cimbri; and the western cantred from Cambala to the *Antivestæum Promontorium*, inhabited by the Carnabii.

Danmonium, then, was divided into six cantreds. But what communication originally subsisted between the two cantreds north of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, and the four cantreds south of this mountainous chain, or in what manner or in what period the cantreds, on either side of the hills, were so formed as to coalesce into one king-

usque ad *Ceniam*—sic: A *Londinio* ad *Venta Belgarum*, (Winchester); *Brigæ*, (Broughton); *Sorbiodunum*, (Sarum); *Ventageladia*, (Windbourn); *Durnovaria*, (Dorchester); *Moridunum*, (Seaton); *Isca Danmoniorum*, (Exeter); *Durio Amne*, (some town on the Dart); *Tamara*, (Plymouth); *Voluba*, (Qy.); *Cenia*, (Qy.)".--- In this account there are several *chasms*; the names of several posts or stations being omitted between *Isca* and *Cenia*, viz. a chasm between *Isca* and *Durio Amne*, which last being thus mentioned in the *ablative case, there was probably something between.* There is likewise a chasm between *Durio Amne* and *Tamara*---another between *Tamara* and *Voluba*---and another between *Voluba* and *Cenia*. Hence, however, it appears that *Voluba* and *Cenia* were beyond *Tamara*, and of course in present Cornwall. The distances are not marked (owing to the chasms) farther than *Exeter*, which is reckoned at 178 miles from London; precisely the distance now reckoned from the Post-office, Lombard-street---And here it is to be observed, that London was not then built beyond *Ludgate*, and that a very wide arm or branch of the river Thames, ran up at the bottom of Ludgate-hill, where is now the Fleet Market; where the Danes afterwards anchored with a fleet of 200 sail; so that the measure, as taken by the *Romans*, from *London* to *Exeter*, was perfectly just. I should guess that the chasm between *Exeter* and *Durio Amne* should be filled up by the word *Uxella*; and then if Uxella was upon the *Durium Amnem*, which answers most to the *river Dart*, it must be either *Totnes* or *Dartmouth*---probably the latter. There is no trace in this account whereby to guess at the name of the station between *Durium Amnem* and *Tamaram*---perhaps *Modbury* might be so, if there are any traces to be found of its being a Roman station, which I conceive there are. As to *Voluba* and *Cenia*, they were beyond *Tamara*, and it appears that there were stations between each of these, which are not named.---It is a mere conjecture to suppose that *Voluba* was *Looe*.---It is certain that *Valleostium* was *Falmouth*, or *Falmouth*; and I have only here further to observe, that if the country of the *Danmonii* extended so far beyond *Plymouth* as the station of *Cenia* probably did, the country of the *Carnabii*, properly so called at that time, was indeed, as the author describes it: "*Angulus terræ in quo sensim coarctatur Britannia, et immensum videtur brachium efformare, quod irruptionem minitantem commode repellit Occanum.*"

(*b*) See Richard's map.

dom, it may be difficult to conjecture. That they were all united under one kingdom, before the arrival of the Romans, is an undoubted fact. Mr. Whitaker informs us, that when the Romans invaded the island, the Danmonii had conquered the Cimbri and Carnabii, and usurped their dominions. Certain it is, that, at this crisis, the names of Cimbri and Carnabii were sunk in the name of Danmonii, and that all Devonshire and Cornwall, in fact, was denominated Danmonium.

Perhaps in the cantred of Isca, the mansion of the (*c*) *chief*, was that fastness or fortress in the woods, which gave rise to the city of Exeter. In the cantred of Durius, Totnes, possibly, had its origin---in that of Tamara, Saltash or Plymouth---in that of Cenius, Tregony. And, whilst among the Cimbri, we may observe Herton or the town of Hercules, we may trace, perhaps, Redruth, or the town of the Druids, in the country of the Carnabii.

From a combination of cantreds, a kingdom was formed. But it was not a simple monarchy. The Druids had a share both in the civil and military government. They were the principal directors of the state. They had the same influence in war as in peace; whilst, attending the military expeditions, they animated the troops to victory by their displays of future glory, or interposed between armies ready to engage, and prevented the bloody conflict by the dignity of their persons, and the sublimity of their doctrines, and by the terrors of enchantment and prophecy.

In each of the *six cantreds*, we may possibly find some vestiges of the British government. In the cantred of Isca there are several stone pillars and circles of stone, which are evidently druidical. Perhaps, in this cantred, there are few druidical stones more remarkable than two rocks in the parish of Widworthy, or that point more clearly to the judicial assemblies of the Britons. One of these stones is a large flint rock, situate at the northern extremity of the parish of Widworthy. It is known by the name of the Greystone. It is five feet in height, and four in width and depth. And, at the southern extremity of the parish, is another stone of nearly the same dimensions. In the cantred of Durius, there seem to be a much greater number of druidical remains, than in the eastern part of Danmonium. On Hameldown in par-

(*c*) This *chief*, probably, was the Danmonian sovereign---his *fortress*, a castle of great strength---and his *town*, very soon, a large city.

ticular, in the parish of Manaton, is a large circle of stone, which is called Grimspound. This circular line of stone, incloses an area of near three acres. And, on the area, are many small circles, consisting of single stones erect. That Grimspound was the seat of judicature for the cantred of Durius, is no improbable supposition. For the cantred of Tamara, we may fix, I think, the seat of judicature at Crockern-torr, on Dartmoor: here, indeed, it seems already fixed at our hands. And I have scarcely a doubt but the stannary parliaments at this place were a continuation even to our own times of the old British courts, before the time of Julius Cæsar. Those stannary parliaments were similar in every point of resemblance to the old British courts. Crockern-torr, from its situation in the middle of Dartmoor Forest, is undoubtedly a very strange place for holding a meeting of any kind. Exposed as it is to all the severities of the weather, and distant as it always hath been within our times, or within the memory of man, from every human habitation, we might well be surprised that it should have been chosen for the spot on which our laws were to be framed; unless some peculiar sanctity had been attached to it in consequence of its appropriation to legal or judicial purposes, from the earliest antiquity. Besides, there is no other instance that I recollect, within our own times, of such a court, in so exposed and so remote a place. On this Torr, not long since, was the warden's or president's chair, seats for the jurors, a high corner stone for the cryer of the court, and a table, all rudely hewn out of the rough moorstone of the Torr, together with a cavern, which for the convenience of our modern courts, was used in these latter ages as a repository for wine. Notwithstanding this provision, indeed, Crockern-torr was too wild and dreary a place, for our legislators of the last generations; who, after opening their commissions, and swearing the jurors on this spot, merely to keep up the old formalities, usually adjourned the court to one of the stannary towns. From the nature of this spot, open, wild, and remote, from the rocks that were the benches, and from the modes of proceeding, all so like the ancient courts, and so unlike the modern; I judge Crockern-torr to have been the court of a cantred, or its place of convention, for the purposes of the legislature. And this cantred, according to my division of Danmonium, must have been Tamara. For the cantred of Cenius, the

British courts might possibly have been held near that astonishing stone monument which Borlase describes in the parish of Constantine. (*a*) From its vast magnitude and position, and from the scenery around it, I should conceive it to be well calculated to impress awe upon the multitude: and its extensive shadow might have diffused a more solemn air over the chiefs assembled in council, or Druids dispensing justice. In the cantred of the Cimbri, we may fix the judgment seat, amidst that wild recess, *the Valley of stones*; where those learned antiquaries, Lyttelton and Milles, had imagined a variety of druidical monuments. (*b*) "I was pleased (says Lyttelton in a letter to Milles) with the rude romantic scenes between Comb-martin and Linton, and particularly with what you apprehend to be a druid *gorseddau*." This *gorseddau* lies opposite to a karn of rocks, which is called the *Cheese-wring*. In the cantred of the Carnabii, Karnbre-hill, will doubtless exhibit a *gorseddau:* for, on this hill, we find almost every species of druid monuments, rocks, basons, circles, stones-erect, remains of cromlechs, karns, a grove of oaks, a cave and a religious inclosure. On Karnbre-hill, Borlase has described a rock, which he supposed to be "one of the *gorseddau*, or places of elevation, whence the druids pronounced their decrees. In some places, indeed, these gorseddau were made of earth: but it was plainly unnecessary to raise hillocks of earth, where so many stately rocks might contribute full as well to give proper dignity to the seat of judgment." (*c*) "The town about half-a-mile across the brook which runs at the bottom of Karnbre-hill, was anciently called *Red-drew*, or more properly *Ryddrew*, the *Druid's-Ford*, or *Crossing of the Brook*"---says Borlase: and the doctor refers for his authority, to a grant of the fairs there, to the Bassets of Tehidy, in the time of Henry VII. (*d*) In the mean time, Pryce asserts, (*e*) that "*Redruth*---*Dredruith*---signifies *the Druid's town*." And of this he is assured, "from its vicinity to *Karn-bre*, that celebrated station of druidical

(*a*) See Borlase's Antiquities, p. 166.

(*b*) I have a few scraps in the hand-writing both of Lyttelton and Milles, relating to the Valley of Stones; but nothing satisfactory can be collected from them.

(*c*) Antiquities, p. 114.

(*d*) Antiquities, p. 116.

(*e*) Pryce's Vocabulary.

superstition; where are to be seen a multifarious collection of monumental druidism. *Redruth---Ryd-dryth,* is, also, *the Red Ford.* But that cannot be the name of the town, as there are deeds in the possession of Sir Francis Basset, Bart. where it is denominated *Dredruith.* This name is so very ancient, as to be given to the situation of the town, before this kingdom was divided into parishes; as old writings express thus: *In the parish of Uny juxta Dredruith.* In fine, though the parish is now, and has been immemorially called *Redruth,* its real dedicatory name is *St. Uny:* and, therefore, if I mistake not, the town claims an evident antiquity, prior to any other in the county." At all events, there is no doubt but *Redruth,* in the vicinity of Karnbre, was one of the chief towns of the Druids of Danmonium. And at *Plan-an-guare,* in *Redruth,* there were very lately the remains of an amphitheatre. (*f*) But the amphitheatres of St. Just and St. Piran, bear evident marks of the judicial court, in this cantred of the Carnabii. The amphitheatre of *St. Just,* (in the hundred of Penwith) situated near the church, is somewhat disfigured by the injudicious repairs of late years; but, by the remains, it seems to have been a work of more than usual labour and correctness. It was an exact circle of one hundred and twenty-six feet diameter. The perpendicular height of the bank, from the area within, is now seven feet: but the height from the bottom of the ditch without, at present ten feet, was formerly more. The seats consist of six steps, fourteen inches wide and one foot high, with one on the top of all, where the rampart is about seven feet wide.---There is a larger circular work, of a higher mound, fossed on the outside, and very regular, in the parish of *Piran-san.* The area of the amphitheatre, perfectly level, is about one hundred and thirty feet diameter. The benches, seven in number, of turf, rise eight feet from the (*g*) area. That plays were acted in these amphitheatres, I have not a doubt. But I concur with Mr. Whitaker in thinking, that these circles were originally designed for British courts of judicature. *

(*f*) This is evident, from the very name.

(*g*) For a more particular description of this curious work, I refer my readers to Borlase's Natural History. p. 298.

* See *Gibson's Camden,* p. 17.---*The great speeches (Guirimears)* of the Cornish, at these meetings or conventions, greatly contributed to the support of their language.

We now approach the Roman æra. Roman-Britain, according to Richard, was divided into six provinces; and distinguished by the six denominations of *Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, Valentia, and Vespasiana.* Under *Britannia Prima* was included all the country that lies to the south of the Thames and Severn, and of a line drawn from Cricklade or its vicinity upon the one, to Berkeley or its vicinity on the other. In this province were eleven nations of the Britons; and about thirty-six stations; subject to Rhutapæ or Richborough, the provincial capital. Of *Britannia Prima, Danmonium* formed a large portion: and the principal Roman stations in Danmonium were Isca and Moridunum. Though, upon the whole, Danmonium seems to have acquiesced in this state of subjection, and after a short time to have rendered its connexion with Rome the source of its political happiness; yet many of the natives preserved too much of their primitive character, a fondness for wandering and for change, to permit their passive resignation to the Roman government; or even their awaiting the event of the Roman conquests. Pursuing, therefore, their pristine line of conduct, the Danmonii emigrated in large bodies to the Irish coast,* just at the crisis, when Vespasian was marching into the heart of their country. About the latter end, also, of this period, there is said to have been a considerable emigration from Danmonium, in a different direction---an emigration to the coasts of Armorica. And Armorica was colonized from Danmonium---not Danmonium from Armorica.†

* On the *second scene*, therefore, of Roman Danmonium, (which I have termed, on the whole, *quiescent*) it was necessary to guard the north of Devon against Ireland. Our emigrators would naturally turn back upon Danmonium, as occasion offered; and make a descent upon our coasts, in conjunction with the Irish adventurers.

† "History (says *Hals*) informs us, that Doniert was king, governor, or duke of Cornwall, about the year of our Lord 383, the successor of Solomon, king or duke thereof, the father of St. Cuby, or Corinus, at such time as Maximian, or Maximus, a Roman, though born in Britain, rebelled against Gratian, the son of Valentinian, emperor of Rome, Anno Domini 381, and, after he had slain Gratian, became emperor of Rome himself; for that he was so proclaimed by the people and legionary soldiers that resided in Britain, who before Gratian's death had revolted from him, and assisted the said Maximus. He then with a mighty army from Britain the Great invaded Gaul, by way of Armorica, or Little Britain, which country of Gaul stood stifly for Gratian; and, proving victorious, he totally subdued that province, and razed the same to the ground by fire and sword; and because of that people's obstinacy he put the greatest number of them to the slaughter, so that the country lay waste a long time as a wilderness, as being the place of his army's rendezvous and foraging whilst he warred in Gaul, though he reigned but four years. Within which space he took into consideration the sad condition of Armorica, and how it might be

In the mean time, the Danmonians who quietly submitted to their conquerors, had no reason to complain of their Roman masters. In regard to their *property*, they

rebuilt and repeopled from Britain the Greater, by a colony of people fetched from that country, so faithful and loyal to him, his interest, and dominion in the empire; to which purpose I found it thus written in an Armorican historian, viz. 'As for the migration of those people of the British isles into Gaul Bretagne, it is sufficiently attested by several authors, that after the birth of Constantine, their three colonies of note have come over into our Bretagne; one in the reign of the said Constantine, Anno Dom. 313 (or thereabout); another with Maximus, in the year 383; and the third under Constantine the Tyrant, Anno Dom. 409, King of the Dunmonii, or Devon and Cornwall. After this colony of Maximus's arrived in Gaul Bretagne, or Armorica, (dilapidated and depopulated as aforesaid) he divided that province between them and his soldiers, on condition that they should rebuild and cultivate the lands thereof, and that they should not take wives of the old natives of that land, who were such mortal enemies to his dominions, as caused the ruin and destruction of their country. Which articles being concluded upon, and the oath of allegiance taken, he made Kyn-an, alias Con-an, synonymous words, signifying the King, viz. Conon-Meriodock, (that is to say, the King Meryodock) nephew to the Emperor Octavius, who had been made governor of this island under the Emperor Constantine, and was also King or Earl of Cornwall, but displaced by Maximus, for that at first he opposed his usurpation) Governor of Armorica, or Gaul Bretagne, lieutenant-general of his army and warden of the sea coast. Who soon after sent messengers to Doniert, (whom Matthew of Westminster calls Dionethus, or Dionotus, and in *Vitis Sanctorum*, Deonocius) for his young and beautiful daughter Ursula to make his wife. The messengers and motion were graciously accepted by him; so that in a short time he fitted and prepared all things necessary for her marriage, and her voyage into Armorica: and because Kynan Meriodock had sent also for other virgins to make wives for his soldiers and officers, Doniert, by his authority and interest, got together a great number of other virgins to be companions and fellow-travellers with his daughter Ursula into Gaul Bretagne; which in all, (as the history saith) with seamen and officers, their assistants, amounted to the number of eleven thousand persons, small and great; who being gathered together, were accordingly shipped in transport ships from Tamerworth harbour (now Saltash) or Plymouth; and under a fair gale of wind put forth to sea. But soon after a great tempest of north-west wind arose, which, by its violence for several days, drove those transport-ships quite through the British Channel betwixt England and France into the German Sea, by the islands of Zealand and Holland, into the mouth of the river Rhine; from whence also, by the great violence of the wind, those ships were driven up the country as far as that river was conveniently navigable. At which time Valentinian the younger, the emperor, in opposition to Maximus, had entertained in his service the Picts and Hunns, whose ships lay at anchor in that very river. And these, alas, understanding that the Lady Ursula and her companions were natives of Britain, and belonged to Maximus, boarded those ships, and endeavoured to ravish the virgins. Whereupon the Lady Ursula encouraged them to make resistance, and as soon to lose their lives as their chastity. So that they put themselves in a posture of defence, and accordingly with great valour and constancy for a long time opposed their enemies, till at length, being beaten down by those barbarous soldiers, and put to the sword, the 20th of October, Anno Dom. 383, they received the crown of martyrdom (as Baronius saith); and therefore St. Ursula's feast in the Christian church is kept upon that day." *Hals's Parochial Hist.* pp. 47, 48.----"The Saxons (observes Borlase) found it no hard matter to keep their footing, and about the year 460, having treacherously murdered, as it is said, three hundred of the principal British nobility, on the plains near Salisbury; the Britons (who had hitherto lived promiscuously and quietly with the Romans) found it necessary to retire before the Saxons: some fled into Scotland, others into Holland, and some into Armorica in Gaul, afterwards from them called Britain, now Bretagne: on which part of our history I must beg leave to make a remark or two before I proceed, because the date of the fact requires it in this place. Here then, that is at this flight of the Britons from the Saxons, we are to place, as I think, the first considerable settlement of Britons in Armorica, they being never mentioned in history as inhabitants in any part of Gaul before this time. (Usher's Antiq. c. xii.) Some, indeed, are of a different opinion, and think that Pliny mentions (though obscurely) the Britons in Gaul Constantine the Great, it must be allowed, and after him Maximus, car-

held it still secure. And the Danmonian chieftain, who accommodated himself to certain regulations prescribed by the new officers from Rome, might yet retain his hereditary lands, without fear of molestation, and enjoy the prospect of transmitting them to the latest posterity. ‡

For the *civil* government of Rome in Britain, it was not such as affected the succession of the *British princes*, though it lessened their authority: nor did it deprive the Britons of their *ancient laws*, in general; though, necessarily interfering with several of those laws, it precluded their operation: so that the British laws, which clashed with the Roman, were rather suspended than destroyed. The chief govern-

ried out of this island many parties of soldiers: and when they had served them faithfully, and were discharged, those emperors might, as some think, settle them in Armorica; but it is by no means likely, that the remnants of these recruits could be in number sufficient to people or subdue, or give name to all the country of Armorica; it is much more probable, and indeed agreeable to history, that when the Saxons had conquered the greatest part of the island, the Britons thronging into the sea coasts of Hampshire and the western counties, particularly Cornwall, whereto they retired, as loath to leave their native ground, as long as they could keep it, went over in such numbers, as soon made them the most considerable part of the inhabitants in that part of Gaul: and from this time that part of Gaul opposite to Cornwall, and before called Armorica, began to be called Bretagne; and has still that name; and the same language common to both people, and the friendly and frequent intercourses of trade and alliance, even to the last generation with the Cornish, shew the Armoricans and Cornish Britons to have been formerly one people. 'Cornwall (says Mr. Scawen, MS. p. 40) hath received princes from thence, (viz. Armorica) as they from us; mutual assistances given and taken in former times, mutual interchanges of private families now extinguished.' 'The Armoric Britons (says M. Lhuyd, pref. to Etymologicon, p. 267) do not pretend to be Gauls, but call the neighbouring provinces such, and their language Galek; whereas they term their own Brezonek, (that is British) as indeed it is, being yet almost as intelligible to our Cornish, as the illiterate countrymen of the west of England to those of the north.' The Britons of Armorica, therefore, fled from the Saxons into Cornwall, and thence into Armorica, in such numbers as were sufficient to possess and give name to that country; and the story, so much insisted upon by the British historians, (Pontic. Vir. p. 37 to 39) of Maximus's coming into Britain, and then carrying over Conan Meradoc and British soldiers enough to people and subdue Armorica, is a mere fable, improbable in all its circumstances, and unsupported by any history of credit." ('In all the proceedings of Maximus, I see no ground for settling colonies of Britons in Armorica.' Stillinf. Ant. Brit. p. 184.) *Borlase's Antiqu.* pp. 39, 40.----Whether Hals or Borlase be right---whether Armorica were colonized from Britain about the year 383, or about the year 460, is a point which does not affect our argument relative to the *Danmonians and Armoricans*, originally one and the same people, and ever distinct from the Gauls.

‡ A family-pedigree of a Danmonian nobleman might be esteemed a curiosity at this early period. In *Lhuyd's* tenth letter, printed at the end of Pryce's *Archæologia-Cornubritannica*, we have such a pedigree, which is carried up to the very time of Julius Cæsar.---"Ithel King of Gwent was (according to George Owen Harry) the son of Ivor, 'ab Howel, 'ab Kradock, 'ab Jestin, 'ab Gurgent, Lord of Morgannug, in the time of William Rufus. The said Gurgent (according to an old manuscript I met with at Gwidir, in North-Wales) was the son of Ithel, 'ab Kadualon, 'ab Gurgant, 'ab Artmor, 'ab Owen, 'ab Howel, 'ab Rys, 'ab Artvael, 'ab Rys, 'ab Ithel, 'ab Morgan, 'ab Artnes, 'ab Meurig, 'ab Teudrig, 'ab Peitie, 'ab Ninian, 'ab Irb, 'ab Erbig, 'ab Ninnis, 'ab Beli Maur, the father of Kassualon, or Cassibellanus, the British general against Julius Cæsar."

ment of the island, was committed to the *Proconsul*, *Legate* or *Vicar* of Rome; each province formed a distinct government, under a Roman *Prætor*; and in the *capital* of the province, was the *mansion-house* of the Prætor; and the *principal court* of justice. *Inferior courts*, in the subordinate towns, were opened under his commission: and in these courts his deputies presided. In *Britannia-Prima*, there were about forty towns; where the same number of deputy-prætors presided in the courts of justice. With respect to the changes which took place in the government of *Danmonium* (as a part of Britannia Prima), we can advance nothing with certainty. § I conceive, however, that the most striking alteration in our form of government, must have originated in the antipathy of the Romans to our Druid priesthood. For we cannot imagine, that the Romans would permit an order of men, whom they abominated on account of their religion, to interfere in civil matters; especially when we consider, that the political and religious tenets of the Druids were very intimately interwoven, and, indeed, absolutely inseparable. The power of the Druids, as legislators and judges, must, doubtless, have been early opposed. We may be assured that this power was soon wrested out of the hands of the Druids. ‖ If we look to the * military arrangements of our conquerors in this island, we shall observe that

§ It is very difficult to obtain any particular account of the progress or establishment of the Roman government in the west of England. The Roman historians are silent in general, as to any transactions in Great Britain, except what relates to the counties of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, the counties on the east coast of the kingdom, and the conquest of Wales and Scotland. Richard is rather more particular; but still his account is very loose and general.

‖ It has been conjectured that the Danmonian princes, thus freed from the restraints of the Druidical authority, rather felt their influence extended than circumscribed, in consequence of the Roman establishments in Britain.

* "The Roman form of government (says a *right honorable* correspondent) was military, and wherever they pervaded or established themselves, it was by military force and conquest; for wherever they settled themselves, they formed not a colony such as in modern times, for trade or merchandize, but a military settlement, for the purpose of defence or conquest. In consequence of this principle, all their settlements, towns, or stations, were military, and formed after the rules of military art, as practised in those times. In Great Britain the Romans, having established themselves by force, maintained themselves by the same means, and settled themselves, and kept the country in subjection, as they subdued it, by a chain of military stations, and regular military ways, or communications from one to the other.----Much has been said of those ways and stations, of the forms of them, of the use of them, and of the number of them. With regard to the form of them, whether they were round or square, has been a subject of much discussion. The truth seems to be, that they were of no particular form, but were governed, *convenientia loci*, by the nature of the post they meant to occupy, except where there were no impediments to it, and then the form of a legion certainly rendered an oblong square to be preferred. These they fortified with one, two, or three dykes, or mounds, with regular gates or

the Romans quickly disarmed the Britons---that they pressed into their service the bravest of the British youth---that, as they advanced in their conquests, they carried on chains of forts, with the most judicious designs; and that, to secure the whole, they maintained a standing army. Under Constantine the Great, two new officers were appointed, called *magistri militum*. Subordinate to these generals, the three following officers had the command of the Roman troops in this island.*---*Comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam, Comes Britanniarum,* and *Dux Britanniarum.*

openings; and the troops encamped within had each their portion assigned for the defence of each post, pretty near in the like order of battle as if well drawn up for engaging in the field, except under particular circumstances, which required a change in their position. The use of these stations being to secure themselves, or to keep the country in subjection, the number of them in Great Britain seems to be unlimited by any thing but the nature of the country, the progress they made, or the resistance they met with; till at length Great Britain was completely in *Provinciam redacta*---that is, completely secured by a chain of posts, all united together by military ways, guarded by military force. The regular forces kept in this island for that purpose seems to have been about 80,000 men, exclusive of such corps of the natives, as were formed for their service out of the number of people which gradually joined them. With this force they kept this island in subjection near five hundred years, though not without difficulty, and continual endeavours of the British to throw off the yoke.---This made the fortifying and guarding their camps and stations, and the securing them by military communications, universally necessary. There are not sufficient traces remaining at present to ascertain all the camps and stations thus occupied, but, exclusive of those which were of a temporary nature, and afterwards of course abandoned, there is reason to think all the ancient borough towns, and many other of the cities towns, and villages of this country, owe their origin to their being chosen as camps or stations by the Romans, and on their retreat were naturally preferred by the natives as places of security and convenience ready formed, and preferable to any others. Many of these must in subsequent times have been probably occupied, or perhaps destroyed, by subsequent invaders, either Danes, Saxons, or Normans, and may have undergone alterations and received additions in subsequent times: but there are still enough remaining to shew the excellent skill of the first formers of them, both in the choice of the spot, and the strength of the work.---These posts were all supported by communications, or ways, formed by the military, which penetrated through the country, and of course intersected each other in various directions. They were all paved ways, or *viæ stratæ*, or *street ways*, formed either according to the known rules of making a perfect military Roman street, as laid down in the books of antiquaries, or imperfectly formed with such materials as the country afforded, but all made with a military view for the purpose of defence, or of keeping the country in subjection, and they were of course guarded at different places, by a military force. The number of these ways cannot be ascertained. Indeed, they must be innumerable. Exclusive of the great and principal ways leading to the capital and principal towns and stations, there were cross communications, or *viæ diverticulæ*, which went from post to post, and contributed by that means to their mutual convenience and support. It is probable that, exclusive of the military employed in these works, they compelled the natives, as they conquered and enslaved them, to work on these roads, as it is well known they also compelled them to work in the mines, which they searched for, wherever they came. Possibly this might be the origin of our statute labour. There are certainly ancient statutes setting forth the hardship of being compelled to maintain such a number of roads as were then required, and it is declared what are the number of *viæ regiæ* requisite to be kept up. They were declared to be *eight*, and to run through the kingdom.---Several of those principal ways have been treated on by various writers, and ingenious conjectures formed concerning them."

* We have no account of any commander below Portsmouth, under the government of the count of the Saxon shore. See *Henry's History of Britain*, vol. i. p. 240, 241, 544, 545.

That the Romans were inclined to subject the Britons to the authority of a great number of officers, or that they were rigorous in the imposition of new laws, is a position to which I can never assent. The policy of the Romans led them to adapt all their laws, whether *civil* or *martial*, to the genius and situation of the people whom they conquered.

It is not unlikely, that there existed in Devon and Cornwall, even in these early times, some peculiar stannary regulations.------In working the rich and extensive mines of the western counties, a considerable body of men must, at this period, have been necessarily employed: and the obvious peculiarity of their circumstances, must soon have suggested some appropriate laws. To our mines, the Roman people were by no means inattentive. The hidden treasures of Danmonium were their *pretium victoriæ*. And there is little doubt but the victors, curious as they were, enquired into the regulation of the mines, supplied deficiencies, and suggested improvements; yet without losing sight of the habits and usages of the miners.†

If we descend from the Roman government of Danmonium in general, to that of our particular towns, we shall find little or nothing in ancient history to direct us, in the consideration of this topic. Richard, indeed, has noticed Exeter and Moridunum as *stipendiary* towns: in Exeter and Moridunum, therefore, (as in other stipendiary towns of Britain) the chief Roman magistrate must have been a deputy-prætor.‡

† Our *lead* (according to Pliny) was to be found in the uppermost coat of the ground, in such abundance, that by an *express act* among the islanders themselves, it was not lawful to dig and gather ore above a certain proportion at a time.

‡ See *Richard*, p. 36. *Whitaker's Manchester*, vol. 1, p. 323,----328.-----Exeter, like Manchester, was one of the cities *tributary* to the Romans---therefore not *built*, though it might be fortified by the Romans. If it had been *built* originally by the Romans, it would probably have been included among their FREE or MUNICIPAL cities. There seems, however, to have been a Roman mint at Exeter.---A correspondent adjusts the business of the Romans at Exeter in the following manner:--- "The visit of the Romans to our metropolis hath nothing of formality or stiffness: it was conducted with an air of the most easy familiarity. Vespasian, having made Exeter tributary to the Romans, considered, perhaps, Arviragus too proud to be a subject, and too powerful not to be acceptable as a friend. The British commerce was likely to be advantageous to the Romans: and Vespasian might think it more for the interest of Rome to treat with Arviragus for settling garrisons and trade, on easy terms to the vanquished party, than to use the British prince as an enemy, and thus risk the reward of victory. The Britons of the northern parts continued their struggles for liberty many years; but it may be questioned, whether the Romans received much opposition in the western parts, where an agreement with this people, on account of trade with Rome, Gaul, and other places, must have induced the natives to court their favor and imitate their manners earlier than others. Be this as it may; Agricola, sent into Britain by Vespasian, won, by wisdom, disinterestedness, and affability, the affections of the

Such was Danmonium, under the two distinct views of a British kingdom, and of a Roman province.§ History has supplied us with few particulars on this subject. To have ascertained the degree of power still lodged in the Danmonian princes, and to have marked with precision the authority assumed by the Romans, would have been curious. But we know not in what manner the government was conducted by the natives and their conquerors, in other parts of Britain: we cannot hope, therefore, to trace very satisfactorily, in the obscurer regions of Danmonium, the features of this co-operative energy.‖

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

RELIGION.

IN treating the subject of Religion, we should view Cornwall under three distinct aspects---as influenced by Druidism; by Roman Paganism, and by Christianity. The first two of these topics, I have treated so much at large, in my "Historical Views of Devonshire,"* that I shall notice a few of those tenets and ceremonies only, of which some traces are still visible, in the superstitions of the Cornish.---The other topic will admit of a very slight discussion; as the history of Christianity in Cornwall, for the first four centuries, is so much involved in fable, that it would be difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood.

people, and disposed them in general, after reducing the greater part of the island, to embrace the Roman manners, by flattering them with the names, and granting them, at many places, the privileges of citizens. He also received them into his armies, provided for the education of their youth, lived among them familiarly, and commended and rewarded their learning and other acquirements." *Extract from a letter to the author.*

§ Or rather as part of the Roman province of Britannia Prima.

‖ For the princes of Cornwall, before and after the Romans, see *Carew's Survey*, pp. 76, 77, 78.

* See the third section.

That, before Christianity, the Cornish made all nature subservient to their religious enthusiasm - - - that they treated with veneration the most familiar animals - - - that, to express their gratitude for the productions of the *earth*, they did homage to the rulers of the seasons - - - that they worshipped, at stated times, the spirits of the *air*, of *fire*, and of *water*; besides a variety of occasional rites and observances; are historical facts, of which the popular opinions and usages of the present day afford the strongest illustration. Of the animals, for which the Cornish seemed to profess a peculiar respect, the hare, the goose, and the hen, are the most obvious. Cæsar and other authors inform us, that the Britons abstained from the hare, as food;†† and the eating of geese and hens was prohibited, as birds consecrated to religion.†† The Cornish, particularly those of the west of Cornwall, are unwilling to eat of the hare - - - whether from any transmitted regard to this animal, or not, I have not discovered. - - - Of the religious abstinence of the Cornish from fish, as recorded by Dio and others, we have not, I believe, the faintest memorial in the generation before us. - - - Of all creatures, however, the serpent exercised, in the most lively manner, the imagination of the Pagan Cornish. To the famous anguinum they attributed high virtues. The anguinum, or serpent's-egg, was a congeries of small snakes rolled together, and incrusted with a shell, formed by the saliva, or viscous gum or froth of the mother-serpent. This egg, it seems, was tossed into the air by the hissings of its dam; and, before it fell again to the earth (where it would be defiled), it was to be received in the sagus, or sacred vestment. The person who caught the egg, was to make his escape on horseback; since the serpent pursued the ravisher of its young, even to the brink of the next river. (*a*) Pliny, from whom this account is taken, proceeds with an enumeration of other absurdities relating to the anguinum. This anguinum is, in British, called glain-neider, or the serpent of glass: and the same superstitious reverence which the Danmonii universally paid to the anguinum, is still discoverable in some parts of Cornwall. Lhuyd informs us, that the Cornish retain a variety of charms, and have still, towards the Land's-end, the amulets of maen magal and glain-neider - - - - which latter

†† See *Richard*, p. 5. *Magna Britann.* p. 12. *Birt's Letters*, vol. 2, p. 121.

(*a*) Lib. 29, c. 3.

they call a melprev, and have a charm for the snake to make it, when they have found one asleep, and stuck a hazel wand in the centre of her spiræ. Camden tells us, that "in most parts of Wales, and throughout all Scotland and Cornwall, it is an opinion of the vulgar, that about Midsummer-eve, (though in the time they do not all agree) the snakes meet in companies; and that by joining heads together and hissing, a kind of bubble is formed, which the rest, by continual hissing, blow on till it passes quite through the body; when it immediately hardens and resembles a glass ring, which whoever finds, shall prosper in all his undertakings. The rings, thus generated, are called gleinu nadroeth, or snake-stones. They are small glass amulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger-rings, but much thicker, of a green color usually, though sometimes blue, and waved with red and white." Carew says, that "the country people, in Cornwall, have a persuasion, that snakes breathing upon a hazel-wand, produce a stone ring of a blue color, in which there appears the yellow figure of a snake, and that beasts bit and envenomed, being given some water to drink, wherein this stone has been infused, will perfectly recover of the poison."‡---The Cornish entertain some sort of veneration for *bees*; which is indicated by their annexing an idea of misfortune to the purchase of a swarm. They hold bees too sacred to be bought for money. But what seems to prove the existence of an ancient superstition, is the practice of invoking the spirit *Browny*, at the time of swarming---a familiar spirit, whose peculiar province is the protection of the hive. The inhabitants of Shetland § and the isles, pour libations of milk or beer through a holed stone, in honor to Browny---and I doubt not but the Cornish were accustomed to sacrifice to the same spirit. ‖ If we pass from the *animal* to the *vegetable* world, we immediately observe, among the Cornish, the celebration of the return of spring, by the offering up of flowers to the Spirit of Vegetation, amidst processions and songs, and choral

‡ See *Carew's Survey*, p. 22. Mr. Carew had a stone-ring, of this kind, in his possession: and the person who gave it him avowed, that "he himself saw a part of the stick sticking in it"---but "*penes authorem sit fides*"---says Mr. Carew.

§ See Martin, p. 391.

‖ The Cornish cry, *Browny! Browny!* from a belief, that this invocation will prevent the return of the bees into their former hive, and make them pitch and form a new colony.

dances. The oblations and sacrifices of the Greeks and the Romans to the Goddess of Spring, were similar to those of the native Cornish. The rejoicings on the *first of May*, usual in many parts of Cornwall, are evidently of Pagan origin.* But, perhaps, the most memorable observance of antiquity remaining in Cornwall, is the *Furry* of Helston. In the furry of the Lizard,† a few years since, and in the furry of Helston, at this hour, we recognize the religious gratitude of our Pagan ancestors. The furry has been, from time immemorial, celebrated at Helston on the 8th of May. That *Furry* is a corruption of *Flora*, is a vulgar error; though there is doubtless a correspondence, or rather a resemblance, between the festival of Flora and the furry. I scruple not to deduce *furry* from the old Cornish word *fer*, a *fair* or jubilee: whence, also, the Latin *feriæ*.‡ At Helston, the eighth of May is ushered in (very early in the morning) by the music of drums and kettles, and other pleasant sounds,

* "Among ancient customs still retained by the Cornish, may be reckoned that of decking their doors and porches on the first of May with green boughs of sycamore and hawthorn, and of planting trees, or rather stumps of trees, before their houses. From the towns they make excursions on May eve into the country, cut down a tall elm, bring it into town with rejoicings, and having fitted a straight taper pole to the end of it, and painted it, erect it in the most public part, and upon holidays and festivals dress it with garlands of flowers, or ensigns and streamers. Keysler (Northern Antiquities, p. 88) thinks that 'this custom took its rise from the earnest desire of the people to see their king, who seldom appearing at other times, made his procession at this time of the year to the great assembly of the states held in the open air; the women and men therefore, drawn by curiosity, passed their nights and days, but especially the night before the first of May, (allured by the vernal season) in dancing and feasts in the open air and in the woods,' in memory of which rural nocturnal assemblies, early on the first of May every house has its bough or branch at the door, as if the master was but just returned from the woods. This is not improbable, but it is as likely that this custom is nothing more than a gratulation of the spring, and had no other foundation than to display the leaves and blossoms which begin at this time to adorn every hedge, tree, and shrub; of this every house was to take notice, and by exhibiting a proper signal of the spring's approach, to testify their universal joy at the revival of vegetation." *Borlase's Nat. History*, pp. 294, 295.

† The *Furry* of the Lizard was formerly held in the month of May: and in the Isle of Mann there are May sports, answering to the furry, on the 12th of that month.

‡ That *furry* is derived from *fer*, a *fair*, seems probable from that expression in the furry-song: "*They both are gone to fair—O.*" There are some of opinion, that *furry* is derived from the Greek φερω *to carry*. And the rites of the *furry* correspond most intimately with the Ανθεσφορια a Sicilian festival, so named απο τω φερειν ανθεα, or *from carrying flowers*, in commemoration of the rape of Proserpine, whom Pluto stole as she was gathering flowers---"herself a fairer flower!"---See *Potter's Antiquities*, vol. 1. and three letters in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 60, pp. 520, 875, and 1100. The first gives no very correct description of the rites of the day; the second is vague and desultory as to the etymology of the word; and the third tells us, that "the Goddess *Flora* has nothing to do with the *Floralia*."

the accompaniments of a song. § I need not remark, that it is a general holiday. So strict, indeed, is the observation of this jubilee, that if any person be found at work, he is instantly seized, set astride on a pole, and hurried on men's shoulders to the river; where he is sentenced to leap over a wide place; which if he fail in attempting, he of course leaps into the water. There is a ready method, however, of compounding for a leap.---About nine o'clock the revellers appear before the Grammar School, and demand a holiday for the school boys---after which they collect from house to house, more money than is now-a-day collected on a brief from the Tweed to the Land's-end. They then *fade* into the country, (*fade* being an old English word for *go*) and about the middle of the day, return with flowers and oak-branches in their hats and caps; from which, till the dusk, they dance hand in hand through the streets to the sound of the fiddle, playing a particular tune; and thread the houses as they list---claiming a right to go through any person's house, in at one door and out at the other. In the afternoon, the ladies and gentlemen used to visit some farm-house in the neighbourhood; whence, having regaled themselves with

§ A FEW STANZAS OF THE FURRY SONG.

Ro—bin — Hood — and — lit—tle — John
They — both — are gone — to — Fair — O —
And we — will to — the merry — green wood
To see — what they — do — there — O —
And — for — to — chase — O —
To chase — the Buck — and — Doe
With — Ha — lan — tow
Jolly rumble — O

And we — were up — as soon — as a—ny Day — O —
And for — to fetch — the Sum—mer home
The Sum—mer — and — the — May — O —
For Sum—mer — is — a — come — O —
And Win—ter — is — a — go — O —

Where — as — those — Spani—ards
That make — so great — a — Boast — O —
They shall eat — the grey — Goose Feather
And we — will eat — the — Roast — O —
In — ev—ry — Land — O —
The Land — that ere — we — go —
With — Ha—lan—tow, &c.

syllabubs, they returned, after the fashion of the vulgar, to the town, dancing as briskly the fade-dance, and entering the houses as unceremoniously. At present, a select party only, make their progress through the street, very late in the evening; when they quickly vanish from the view, re-appearing in the ball-room. Here meeting

And we — were up — as soon — as a—ny Day O —
And for — to fetch — the Sum—mer home
The Sum—mer — and — the — May — O —
For Sum—mer — is — a — come — O —
And Win—ter — is — a — go — O —

As — for — St. — George — O —
St. George — he was — a — Knight — O —
Of all — the Kings — in — Christ—en—dom
King Georg—y — is — the — Right — O —
In — ev—ry — Land — O —
The Land — that ere — we — go —
With — Ha—lan—tow, &c.

And we — were up — as soon — as a—ny Day — O —
And for — to fetch — the Sum—mer home
The Sum—mer — and — the — May — O —
For Sum—mer — is — a — come — O —
And Win—ter — is — a — go — O —

God bless — Aunt Ma—ry Mo—ses
With all — her pow'r — and Might — O —
And send — us peace — in merry — En—gland
Both — Day — and — Night — O —
And send — us peace — in merry — En—gland
Both now — and — e—ver—more — O —
With — Ha—lan—tow, &c.

And we — were up — as soon — as a—ny Day — O —
And for — to fetch — the Sum—mer home
The Sum—mer — and — the — May — O —
For Sum—mer — is — a — come — O —
And Win—ter — is — a — go — O —

This song is full of comparatively modern allusions. Perhaps some stanzas, conveying the sentiment of the running verse, were originally sung in the Cornish Language - - - stanzas coeval with the *furry* itself. - - - - - A correspondent thus amuses himself in commenting on some expressions in this song. " Halan-tow (says he) is, as some conjecture, an inarticulate word, similar to Αλαλγ in the Greek, vox militaris, a military noise, or huzza before battle: and *tow*, it seems, is a mere expletive. Others derive it from Αλλομαι salto, because dancing was a rite essential to the furry-day. Others, again, think Αλως, a barn, the root of our Trissyllable, because, forsooth, young men and maids often dance in a barn, and very possibly might dance in a barn on this day. - - - Phutatorius, of punning fame, is willing to adopt this conjecture, provided Αλως, instead of barn, be translated *ale-house*, where he says,

their friends, they go through the usual routine of dancing till supper; after which they all, till within these few years, *fadded* it out of the room, breaking off by degrees to their respective houses. || --- We have seen the revellers of the furry adorned with *oak* branches. But I believe the veneration with which the ancient Cornish used to approach the new-leaved oak, hath ceased to operate: even in breaking or cutting off its boughs, there is little ceremony observed. --- Nor have I been able to find the least

young men and maids always meet on this day. But I dismiss these idle hallucinations. --- Read, meo periculo --- *Hale-an Lo* --- which is simply this: *The Moor on the Lo.* "*With,*" then, a surreptitious word, must be omitted: and the lines run thus:

"Hale — an — Lo
Jolly rumble O."

i. e. "Let the moor that overhangs the Loe pool, *jolly rumble*, or jovially echo to the noise of the hunters." *Twist-noddle.* --- Absurdities! ---- *Halan*, or (as it is sometimes pronounced) *Hellan*, comes, undoubtedly, from Hellas, or Ελλας, the ancient name both of Helston and of Greece. Helston was first called Ελλας, by the Grecian colony that settled in this part of Cornwall, and made this town their capital. At that time, Gunhilly-downs was denominated the *Nemean Wood*, from the *Nemean Wood* of Greece. For, as the English called different places in America, after the names of counties and towns in England, so the Greeks naturally gave the places they colonized here, the names familiar to them in their mother-tongue. Thus Κριω μετωπον."---- This much for badinage. ---- Be the meaning of *Halan-tow* what it may, it is, unquestionably, curious, and perhaps not unworthy the attention of the antiquary --- that the first names of Helston were Ελλας and *Halangium*; and that the peninsula of Meneg was called *Sylva Nemea*, the Nemean Forest, and infested by wild beasts. See *Camden* and *Richard* of *Cirencester*; and a MS. in the *Bodleian Library*, containing a history of *St. Ruan.*

|| The following Songs were written in 1796, for the *Furry* of Helston, which was celebrated in that year with more than usual spirit:

JANUARY.

Tho' oft we shiver'd to the gale
That howl'd along the gloomy waste;
Or mark'd, in billows wrapt, the sail
Which vainly struggled with the blast;

Tho', as the dark wave flash'd on high,
We view'd the form of danger near;
While, as we caught the seaman's cry,
Cold terror check'd the starting tear;

Yet have we seen, where zephyrs breathe
Their sweets o'er mead or pasture-down,
Young laughing Spring with purple wreath
The hoary head of winter crown.

But, ere we hail'd the budding tree,
Or all its opening bloom survey'd,
Whilst in gay rounds the vernal bee
Humm'd o'er the fragrance of the glade;

memorial of the regard for the * mistletoe in Cornwall: the plant itself, indeed, is no more seen; unless, perhaps, in the north-east of Cornwall: it is plentiful in the orchards at Tetcot.

Fled was the faery smile, and clos'd
The little triumph of an hour;
And melancholy's eye repos'd
On the pale bud, the fainting flower!

APRIL.

No longer the goddess of florets shall seem
To rekindle the bloom of the year;
Then scatter around us the wreck of a dream,
And resign us to winter austere.
To its promise yon delicate child of the shade—
The primrose—is never untrue:
Nor the lilac unfolds, the next moment to fade,
Its clusters of beautiful blue.
Tho' weak be its verdure, ere long shall the thorn
The pride of its blossom display,
Where Flora, amid the mild splendor of morn,
Unbosoms the fragrance of May.

THE EIGHTH OF MAY.

Soft as the sigh of zephyr heaves
The verdure of its lucid leaves,
Yon lily's bell, of vestal white,
Moist from the dew-drop, drinks the light.
No more in feeble colors cold,
The tulip, for each glowing fold,
So richly wav'd with vermeil dyes,
Steals the pure blush of orient skies.
The hyacinth, whose pallid hue
Shrunk from the blast that Eurus blew,
Now trusts to May's delicious calm
Its tender tint, its musky balm.
And hark! the plumed warblers pour
Their notes, to greet the genial hour,
As, whispering love, this arborous shade
Sports with the sunbeam down the glade.
Then say, ye nymphs! and truly tell,
If ever with the lily's bell,
Or with the tulip's radiant dye
Young poets give your cheeks to vie,
Or to the hyacinth compare
The clustering softness of your hair;
If e'er they bid your vocal strain
In silence hush the feather'd train;

There is a festival still celebrated at Bodmin, (which is called the *Bodmin-riding*;) deducible, perhaps, from the Pagan worship of the Goddess of flowers; though now

Beat not your hearts with more delight
At every "rural sound and sight,"
Than at such flattery, to the ear
Tho' syren-sweet, yet insincere?

THE FADE'.

White-vestur'd, ye maidens of *Ellas*, draw near,
And honour the rites of the day:
'Tis the fairest that shines in the round of the year;
Then hail the bright Goddess of May.
O come, let us rifle the hedges, and crown
Our heads with gay garlands of sweets:
And, when we return to the shouts of the town,
Let us weave the light dance thro' the streets.
Flinging open each door, let us enter and frisk,
Tho' the master be all in a pother—
For, away from one house as we merrily whisk,
We will *fade'* it, quick thro' another.
The nymph who despises the furry-day dance,
Is a fine, or a *finical* lady—
Then let us with hearts full of pleasure, advance,
And mix, one and all, in the *Fade'!*

THE SOLITARY FAIR.

Perhaps, fair maid! thy musing mind,
Little to festive scenes inclin'd,
Scorns not the dancer's merry mood,
But only longs for solitude.
Thy heart, alive to nature's power,
Flutters within the roseate bower,
Thrills with new warmth, it knows not why,
And steals delirium from a sigh.
Alas! tho' so averse from glee,
This genial hour is felt by thee:
The tumults of thy bosom prove,
That May is but the nurse of—love!

BEWARE OF THE MONTH OF MAY.

Then, gentle maid, whoe'er thou art,
Who bid'st the shades embowering, veil
The sorrows of a lovesick heart,
And listen to thy pensive tale;
Sweet girl! insidious May beware;
And heed thy poet's warning song:
Lo! May and Venus spread the snare
For those who fly the festal throng!

retaining a stronger tincture of saintly superstition. It is held in the month of July, on the Monday after St. Becket's-day; when the common people *ride* out into the country; and returning, proceed to the Priory with garlands of flowers; which they there present, according to immemorial usage. Why they make this procession to the Priory, and present their flowers, few of them know: they only know that their forefathers had done the same. But there is little doubt, that the offering of flowers was at the shrine of Thomas a Becket; and that the saint had the honour of superseding some Pagan deity.

* Respecting the ceremony of cutting the misletoe, the following particulars may not be unentertaining: --- "A gentleman in the neighbourhood of Penzance, has been curious in making such a collection of antiquities, as chance or his endeavours could furnish him with. Among other things in this cabinet (says a correspondent of Mr. Urban) I particularly distinguished a piece of gold in the form of a crescent, supposed, I think upon sufficient authority, to have been worn always by the Druid when he performed the ceremony of cutting the misletoe. Although the religious worship of the Druids was polluted with human sacrifices, yet it appears that these extreme propitiations of the Deity were resorted to only upon very extraordinary occasions, such, for instance, as when an invasion, or their darling liberty was threatened. For we learn that many of the rites, which the crafty policy of that order of priesthood had imposed upon the ignorance and credulity of the people, were yet innocent in their nature, and well enough adapted to the rude notions of uncultivated life. The power of healing, which was found to reside in herbs, could not fail to attract the notice of the Druids, and to promote their interests by an obvious delusion. The natural effects, which resulted from their application to the human body, were by them ascribed to celestial influences and supernatural interpositions: but, when the herb was cut or gathered, the presence and consecration of a Druid were necessary, without which every hope of relief was vain; nor did any impious patient ever dare to provoke the anger of the gods by an unauthorized appeal to their interference. Among other herbs or plants, the misletoe, from its near affinity to the oak, that principal object of the British worship, was held in peculiar veneration. No profane hand could presume to cut the sacred misletoe; nor were all times and seasons proper for the performance of this rite: for so did the superstition of the people receive it. But when the moon had passed her first quarter, a Druid, specially appointed, arrayed in white, a golden hook in his hand, a golden crescent fastened upon his garment, approached the plant, and performed the ceremony of cutting, amidst the concourse and acclamations of the surrounding multitude. The hook or knife was of gold, that the misletoe might escape the pollution of every baser metal; and the crescent of gold represented, by a single image, that time of the moon before which it was not lawful to cut the mystic plant. This very singular piece of antiquity was discovered by a common labourer in turning up the ground near Penzance; and saved from rustic ignorance, which would have sold it for old gold, by the good fortune and virtu of John Price, Esq. of Chuane, in the neighbourhood of that town, in whose cabinet it remains for the inspection of the curious. The plate of gold from whence it is fashioned, is extremely thin, much too thin for the superficial dimensions, probably on account of the great scarcity of metal in those days, which by the bye, if any doubt could be entertained, would be an additional proof of its original designation. With respect to its figure, the best description I can propose to the reader is, by referring him to the moon, its prototype, at that period of its increase when, as I before stated, the ceremony of cutting the misletoe was performed; its size and weight (its weight very trifling) being such as to make it an ornament, and not an incumbrance, upon the garment." *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 61, p. 34.---Compare the above with *Pliny*, lib. xvi c. 44.-----Mr. Rashleigh, of Menabilly, has described (in the *Archæologia*) an ancient instrument "of *brass resembling gold*," found at the bottom of a

That point of time, in which the fruits of the earth were so far advanced as to bear the "first sweet promise" of maturity, was, probably, marked by some religious ceremonies: I allude chiefly to the "blessing" of the orchards. That the ancient Cornish had orchards, is evident from *Nansavallan*, and other aboriginal names in Cornwall. But, if there were once any religious observances appropriated to the orchard, at the fruit-seasons, they have long been lost. The custom, however, of saluting the apple-trees at Christmas, with a view to another year, is still preserved both in Cornwall and Devonshire. In some places, the parishioners walk in procession, visiting the principal orchards in the parish; in each orchard, single out the principal tree; salute it, with a certain form of words, and sprinkle it with cyder, or dash a bowl of cyder against it. In other places, the farmer and his workmen only, immerse cakes in cyder, and place the cakes on the branches of an apple-tree, in due solemnity; sprinkle the tree, as they repeat a formal incantation, and dance round it; and to close the whole, drink the cyder that may remain after the rites are performed, which is generally enough to intoxicate the assembly.† Of the veneration of

mine near the river Fowey, ten fathoms under the surface of the earth, where a new work was begun for searching after tin ore. The substance of this instrument, with a piece of amber set at one end, and the great depth at which it was found, leave but little doubt of its having belonged to the Druids. Great quantities of wood cover the banks of the river, where this hook was found. --- Mr. R. thinks this was a Druid hook for gathering misletoe. *Archæol.* vol. xii. Appendix 414. --- This instrument is, probably, a mixture of copper and tin. See *Chemical Researches* into Remains of Antiquity, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society* for 1796.

* A gentleman from the South-hams of Devonshire, writes: "On the eve of the Epiphany, the farmer, attended by his workmen, with a large pitcher of cyder, goes to the orchard, and there, encircling one of the best bearing trees, they drink the following toast three several times:

"Here's to thee, old apple-tree,
Whence thou may'st bud, and whence thou may'st blow!
And whence thou may'st bear apples enow!
Hats full!—caps full!
Bushel—bushel—sacks full!
And my pockets full too! Huzza!"

This done, they return to the house; the doors of which they are sure to find bolted by the females, who, oe the weather what it may, are inexorable to all intreaties to open them till some one has guessed at what is on the spit, which is generally some nice little thing, difficult to be hit on, and is the reward of him who first names it. The doors are then thrown open, and the lucky clod-pole receives the tit-bit as his recompence. Some are so superstitious as to believe that, if they neglect this custom, the trees will bear no apples that year." --- "I recollect but one custom in this part of the county, (says a gentleman resident near Plymouth) and whether that is peculiar or general I know not. On Epiphany eve, a number of the lower class of people, labourers and inferior tradesmen, or in short any idle

the Cornish for the Deities presiding over the other elements, *air*, *fire*, and *water*, we have various memorials in existing usages. I know not, indeed, that we have any trace of the homage paid to the spirits of the winds; except, perhaps, in the west of Cornwall; when, if, in winnowing, the breeze fail, it is usual to whistle for air.* That whistling will produce air---will bring, I suppose, the spirits of the wind to the assistance of the winnower, is a notion still prevalent in this county.† Of the *fire*-worship, we have the clearest evidence in several customs of the Cornish. The Irish call the month of May, *Bel-tine*, or fire of Belus, and the first of May, *la-bel-tine*, or the day of Belus's fire. In the Cornish language, *tan* is *fire:* and to "*tine*" or *light the fire*, is still used in Cornwall: whence *Bar-tine*, or *the hill of fires*. The months of June and November were, also, distinguished by the holy

disposed fellows assemble with guns, in the orchards, after night: there they repeat a kind of rustic song, or rather recitative, in which is a health to any particular sort of apple-tree, and conclude with three cheers, and a discharge of all their pieces. This they call going a *wat sailing*---I suppose, from the beginning of their song, which seems to be in the following words: "*Watsail, Watsail, in all our town.*"---In reward for their performance of this ceremony, they are entitled to as much cyder as they chuse to drink, which no one refuses them, as this custom is supposed to contribute to the fertility of the orchards; and I believe, some half think they should have no apples if it was to be neglected; yet it seems but a small reward to those who do them so great a service. A few barren years no more lead them to doubt the efficacy of this custom, than a man's accidentally striking his leg against a stone, would lead him to doubt the general care of Providence."---To these remarks of my ingenious correspondent, I may add, that *watsail* is undoubtedly *wassel*, or *waes hail*, that is, "*be of health.*" *Was haile* was an annual custom observed in the country, on the vigil of the new year. See *Selden's notes* on the ninth song of *Drayton's Polyolbion*. Selden conjectures, that the *wassel* was a usual ceremony among the Saxons, as a mode of health-wishing; supposing the expression to be corrupted from *wish-hail*.---"*Wassel* is a word still in use in the midland counties, and signifies at present what is called *lamb's-wool*, i.e. roasted apples in strong beer, with sugar and spice. It is sometimes used for general riot, intemperance, and festivity." *Steevens* on a passage in Macbeth. See *Malone's Shakspeare*, small octavo edit. vol. iv. p. 311.---*Lamb's-wool* was once frequent in this part of Cornwall, on the occasion of hailing the orchards.

* These are the Deities which the Cornish call *Spriggian*; still regarding them as real beings, and giving them the dominion of the air, with various other powers.

† Perhaps, in the obscurer parts of Cornwall, it might be easy to discover in existing superstitions, some traces of that veneration for the spirits of the air, which was once so general in this county and in Devonshire, and is even now observable in the Highlands of Scotland, and the Hebrides.---In a thousand instances, we see the appendages of Christianity made instrumental to Pagan ideas. The ringing of bells, to dispell a thunder storm, was very-frequent among our forefathers.---The notion, that a friend about to die, was sometimes made visible in the air, to certain persons, seen to glide through the dark night, or to gleam through the clouds; was soon connected with the rites of a Christian funeral. And it is a notion which still obtains, in the east of Cornwall. Not long since, the people of Stratton believed as firmly in the second sight, as the Scottish Highlanders. Of funeral processions, previous to the death of eminent personages, I have not heard any very recent instances. But regularly before the death of one of the Bathe family at Kilkhamton, there was a funeral procession through the town of Stratton!

fires. In Cornwall, the eve of Midsummer is, even now, peculiarly sacred: it is the *goluan*, or "*the light and joy*" of the Cornish. What are called, indeed, the festival-fires, are kindled on the eve of St. John the Baptist, ‡ (or Midsummer eve) and St. Peter's day.‡‡ At these fires, the Cornish carry lighted torches, tarred and pitched at the end; make their perambulations round the fires; and go from village to village, bearing their torches before them, with every appearance of a Pagan procession.§ Of the fire-worship, the *Karn-gollewa*, or *the Rock of lights*, in the parish of Sennor, and the *Carn Leskqz*, or *the Rock of Burnings*, in the parish of St. Just, may be almost deemed imperishable monuments. ‖ To *rivers*,* and *fountains* also, the

‡ ‡ June 24 and 29.---St. John the Baptist and St. Peter, are the ostensible objects of veneration: but they owe their seeming exaltation above the rest of the saints, to the Pagan sanctity of the month of June.

§ *Faces præferre*, to carry lighted torches, was reckoned a sort of Gentilism, and as such, particularly prohibited by the Gallic councils. The torch-bearers were in the eye of the law, *accensores facularum*, and thought to sacrifice to the devil, and to deserve capital punishment. *Baluz. tom.* vi. p. 1234.

‖ I consider the following letter, from a person residing in the neighbourhood of Penzance, as well worthy insertion: it is dated *July* 2, 1801.

"The custom of celebrating Midsummer by fires and various sports, was, I apprehend, very general among the ancient Cornish. At present it seems to be nearly confined to the towns and villages of Mount's-bay; the inhabitants of which have never yet relaxed in their zeal for this usage. Being at Penzance the 23d ult. I observed the young people all alert in the preparations for their favorite festival. No sooner had the tardy sun withdrawn himself from the horizon, than the young men began to assemble in several parts of the town, drawing after them trees, and branches of wood and furze; all which had been accumulating week after week, from the beginning of May. Tar-barrels were presently erected on tall poles; some on the Quay, others near the Market, and one even on a rock in the midst of the sea; pretty female children tript up and down in their best frocks, decorated with garlands, and hailing the Midsummer-eve as the vigil of St. John. The joyful moment arrives! the torches make their appearance! the heaped-up wood is on fire! the tar-barrels send up their intense flame! the ladies and gentlemen parade the streets, or walk in the fields, or on the terrace that commands the bay: thence they behold the fishing-towns, farms, and villas, vying with each other in the number and splendor of their bonfires. The torches quickly moving along the shore, are reflected from the tide; and the spectacle, though of the chearful kind, participates of the grand. In the mean time, rockets and crackers resound through every street; and the screams of the ladies, on their return from the shew, and their precipitate flight into the first passage, shop, or house, that happens to be open, heighten the coloring and diversion of the night. Then comes the finale: no sooner are torches burnt out, than the inhabitants of the quay-quarter, (a great multitude), male and female, young, middle-aged, and old; virtuous and vicious, sober and drunk, take hands, and forming a long string, run violently through every street, lane, and alley, crying, "An eye! an eye! an eye!" At last they stop suddenly; and an eye to this enormous needle being opened by the last two in the string, (whose clasped hands are elevated and arched) the thread of populace run under and through; and continue to repeat the same, till weariness dissolves their union, and sends them home to bed: which is never till near the hour of midnight.--- Next day (Midsummer-day) happened to be rainy this year, by which means the festival

* See this note, p. 52.

Cornish paid divine honours. And, in many parts of Cornwall, the vulgar may still be said to worship brooks and wells. From those streams and wells put into agitation after a ritual manner, our forefathers pretended to foretell future events. This mode of divination (which is recorded by Plutarch in his life of Cæsar) has been transmitted from age to age in Cornwall; and still exists among the vulgar, who resort to some well of celebrity at particular seasons, and there observe the bubbles that rise, and the state of the water, whether troubled or pure, on their throwing in

was rendered imperfect. The custom is, for the country people to come to Penzance in their best clothes, about four or five o'clock in the afternoon; when they repair to the Quay and take a short trip on the water. On this occasion numbers of boats are employed, most of which have music on board. After one cargo is dismissed, another is taken in; and till nine or ten o'clock at night, the bay exhibits a pleasant scene of sailing-boats, rowing-boats, sloops, sea-sickness, laughter, quarrelling, drum-beating, horn-blowing. On the shore there is a kind of wake or fair, in which fruit and confectionary are sold, and the public-houses are thronged with drinkers and dancers.---Such is Midsummer in this part of Cornwall; and on the eve of the feast of St. Peter, which follows so closely upon it, the same things are acted over again.----With respect to the origin of this custom, Doctor Moresin informs us, that in Scotland they used on this night to run about the mountains and higher grounds with lighted torches, like the Sicilian women of old, in search of Proserpine. In Pennant's Tour (Appendix No. 2), the Rev. Mr. Shaw, in his account of Elgin and the shire of Murray, tells us,---"In the middle of June farmers go round their ground with burning torches." This he supposes to be derived from the *Cerealia*. Stowe, in his Survey of London, says, that on the vigil of St. John the Baptist, every door was shaded with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, and garlands of beautiful flowers; and that glass lamps, with oil burning in them, were hung out, and continued all night. He mentions likewise the bonefires in the streets, every man bestowing wood or labour towards them. This custom is of the remotest ages; and its connection with John Baptist arises from the circumstance of the early Christians having fixed upon the Summer Solstice for the time of that Saint's festival: as the Vernal Equinox, also, had been chosen for celebrating the Annunciation of the Virgin.---Can any one (says Gebelin, in his *Allegorics Orientales*) overlook here the Saint John fires, those sacred flames, kindled about midnight, on the very moment of the Solstice, by the greatest part both of the ancient and modern nations? A religious ceremony, which was observed for the prosperity of states and people, and to dispel every kind of evil. The origin of this fire, still retained by many nations, and which loses itself in antiquity, is very simple. It was a *feu de joie*, kindled the very moment the year began; for the first of all years, and the most ancient that we know of, began at the month of June. Thence the very name of this month, Junior; the younger or youngest, which is renewed; while that of the preceding one is May, Major, the ancient. Thus the one was the month of young people; the other that of old men.---These *feux de joie* were accompanied at the same time with vows and sacrifices, for the well-being of the people, and for the fruits of the earth. They rejoiced, and also danced round this fire; (for what feast is there without a dance?) and the most active leaped over it. Each at his departure took away a greater or less fire-brand, and the remains were scattered to the wind, which was to drive away every evil, as it dispersed the ashes. When, after a long train of years, the Solstice ceased to be regarded as the beginning of the year, the custom of making these fires at that time was still continued, and a variety of superstitious practices and ideas were annexed to it. *Hist. d'Hercule*, p. 203."----There were a great variety of ceremonies which, half a century ago, were practised on Midsummer-eve: but they are discontinued in most parts of Cornwall and Devonshire. At *Ashton*, indeed, (in Devonshire) and some neighbouring parishes, I understand that many of the parishioners are still accustomed, on this "thrice hallowed eve," to meet at twelve o'clock at night in the church

pins or pebbles, and thence read their future destiny.† Among wells, that retain, in some degree, their ancient sanctity, are the wells of *Madern, St. Euny, St. Cuthbert, Colurian, Gulval, Cardinham, St. Neot, St. Keyne, and St. Nun.* To this day, the Cornish are accustomed to consult their famous well, at Madern, or rather the spirit of the well, respecting their future destiny. "Hither (says Borlase) come the uneasy, impatient, and superstitious; and by dropping pins or pebbles into the water, and by shaking the ground round the spring, so as to raise bubbles from the bottom, at a certain time of the year, moon, and day, endeavour to remove their uneasiness: yet the supposed responses serve equally to encrease the gloom of the melancholy, the suspicions of the jealous, and the passion of the enamoured. The Castalian Fountain,

porch; where they believe they see the shadows of all those who are to die within the following year, passing by, in silent solemnity. If any one of the spectators fall asleep during those awful moments, they believe he will himself die within the twelvemonth. A man, named *Samuel Pasmore*, in Ashton parish, was particularly clever in these Midsummer-eve observations: he is said to have repeatedly foretold the deaths of people, from the appearance of their shadows in the churchyard; and to have been always a true prophet; though many of his Midsummer victims were apparently in good health at the time of his prediction---particularly a child of Sir Geo. Chudleigh, who was perfectly well at the time when her death was foretold. Had his prediction been communicated to her, she was too young to be killed by the fear of death.---In *Ottery* they go to the church porch, on Midsummer-eve, under pretence of seeing the people pass by, who are to die within the year, but, in reality, to meet their sweethearts. Love is the first mover of this spectre ceremony.

* It is a common idea both in Cornwall and Devonshire, that when any person is drowned, the voice of his spirit may be heard by those who visit, soon after, the banks of the river or the sea-shore, where he perished. The Cornish and Devonians say they hear him "*hailing his own name.*" This idea prevails more strongly and universally in the Highlands. Mr. Gray in one of his letters (see Mason's edition of Gray) finely illustrates this by an extract from an Erse poem:

"The waves are tumbling on the lake,
And lash the rocky sides.
The boat is brimful in the cove,
The oars on the rocking tide.
Sad sits a Maid beneath a cliff,
And eyes the rolling stream:
Her lover promised to come;
She saw his boat, (when it was evening) on the lake;
Are these *his groans in the gale?*
Is this his broken boat on the shore?"

† "The priest judged (says Borlase) from the quantity, colour, motion, and other appearances in the water, of future events and of dubious cases; and the vulgar Cornish have a great deal of this folly still remaining: there is scarcely a parish-well, which they frequent not at some particular times for information, whether they shall be fortunate or unfortunate; whether, and how they shall recover lost goods: and, from several trials (which they make upon the *well*-water), they go away *well* satisfied. Those that are too curious, will always be too credulous." *Antiquities*, p. 241.

and many others among the Grecians, was supposed to be of a prophetic nature. By dipping a fair mirror into a well, the Patræans of Greece received, as they supposed, some notice of ensuing sickness or health, from the various figures portrayed upon the surface. The people of Laconia cast into a pool, sacred to Juno, cakes of bread-corn: if the cakes sunk, good was portended: if they swam, something dreadful was to ensue. Sometimes, the superstitious threw three stones into the water; and formed their conclusions from the several turns they made in sinking."‡ - - - The well of *St. Euny*, in the parish of Sancred,§ is said to possess great salutary powers; but to have more healing influence on the last day of the year, than on any other day. - - - Of great healing virtues, also, is the well of *St. Cuthbert.*‖ The well of *Colurian*, in

‡ The soil round Madern well is black, boggy, and light; but the stratum, through which the spring runs, is a grey moorstone gravel, called by the Cornish, Grouan. Here people, who labour under pains, aches, and stiffness of the limbs, come and wash; and many cures are said to have been performed; though the water can only act from its cold and limpid nature; as it hath no perceivable mineral impregnation. See *Borlase's Nat. Hist.* p. 31 - - - and *Gibson's Camden*, p. 21.

§ "In the parish of *Sancred* there is a well whose water rises in the same kind of soil as Madern well; and as a witness of its having done remarkable cures, it has a chapel adjoining to it, dedicated to St. Euinus, (commonly called Chapel-Euny); the ruins of which, consisting of much carved stone, bespeak it to have been formerly of no little note. The water has the reputation of drying humours, as well as healing wounds and sores. It gives no perceivable evidence of any mineral impregnation; neither needs it to produce the effects attributed to it, for certain it is, that the mere coldness of water will work surprizing cures; wounds, sores, aches, disordered eyes, and the like, are often cured by that quality only; the cold by bracing up the nerves and muscles, and strengthening the glands, promotes secretion and circulation, the two great ministers of health. In the northern kingdoms, they are so sensible that all extraordinary defluxions of humours are owing to too great a relaxation of the parts, that they keep carefully the water of snow gathered in March, and apply it as a general remedy in most diseases: but the common people (of this as well as other countries) will not be contented to attribute the benefit they receive to ordinary means; there must be something marvellous in all their cures. I happened luckily to be at this well upon the last day of the year, on which (according to the vulgar opinion) it exerts its principal and most salutary powers: two women were here who came from a neighbouring parish, and were busily employed in bathing a child: they both assured me, that people who had a mind to receive any benefit from St. Euny's well, must come and wash upon the three first Wednesdays in May. But to leave folly to its own delusion, it is certainly very gracious in Providence to distribute a remedy for so many disorders in a quality so universally found as cold is in every unmixed well-water." *Borlase's Nat. Hist.* p. 31, 32.

‖ "In this parish (St. Cuthbert) is that famous and well-known spring of water, called Holy Well; so named, the inhabitants say, for that the virtues of this water were first discovered on Allhallows-day. The same stands in a dark cavern of the sea cliff rocks, beneath full sea mark on spring-tides. From the top of which cavern fall down or distill drops of water, from the white, blue, red, and green veins of these rocks, wherein (I judge by the colour) lies

the parish of Ludgvan, has gained, in the opinion of some naturalists, a deserved reputation; though not such as to warrant the hereditary notion of its sanctity,

couched, allum, iron, copperas, vermilion, and other minerals or metals. And accordingly, in the place where these drops fall, it swells to a lump of considerable bigness, and there petrifies to the hardness of ice, glass, or freestone, of the several colours aforesaid, according to the nature of those veins in the rock from whence it proceeds: and is of a hard brittle nature, apt to break like glass. The virtues of this water are, if taken inward, a notable vomit, as once I had experience of. To others it operates downwards by the soil or water gate. If applied outward, it presently strikes in, or dries up, all itch, scurff, dandriff, and such like distempers in men or women. It's incredible what numbers of people in summer season frequent this place and waters from countries far distant. Buchanan gives account of some such petrifying water in Mernis county in Scotland, on the bank of the river Ratra, near Strangs castle; which, distilling by drops out of the natural vault, presently turns into pyramidal stones. And were not the said cave or hole otherwise rid and cleansed by men's labour, the whole space as far up as the vault would in a short time be filled therewith. Now, the stones thus ingendered are of a middle nature, between ice and hard stone; for it is brittle and easy to crumble, neither groweth it ever to the solidity or hardness of marble. In like manner in Somersetshire, Dr. Hakewell, in his Apology, lib. 5. p. 69. tells us, that at Wokey in the Hole, entering therein and passing through with lights, he found, amongst many other rarities of nature, that the water which dropped down from the vaults of the rock, though it made little dints in the same, was turned into the rock itself, though of a more clear and glassy substance than the rock to which it was assimulated: And this (says he) we found not only in several places, but in a very great quantity in sundry places, enough in some places to load many carts. From whence the Doctor infers, that rocks in many places are increased by the droppings of water upon them from the bowels of the earth." *Hals pag.* 84. --- Another well (says Borlase) of the same plain kind as *Madern* and *Euny*, is that called *Holywell*, about a mile and half to the north west of St. Cuthbert's church, in a small sandy bay where there are several caves wrought in the cliff by the northern sea. In one of these caves, at the north-eastern point of the bay, at the foot of a high cliff is this well. The entrance is low, but by the help of some steps cut into the rock, you ascend about fifteen feet perpendicular, where the water which distils from every part of the roof, is collected into a little bason, from whence proceeds a small rill about the bigness of a reed. As the water percolates through the interstices of clay and stone, it brings down with it some of the finer parts of both, which form into seams and ridges correspondent to the fissures through which they proceed; some short mamillary stalactites hang from the roof; the floor of the rock, on which you tread, is covered with the same substance, and as the rock is shelving, the incrustations are so many wavy processes covering the unevenness of the rock. I mention these particulars the rather because such productions of the alabaster kind are extreamly scarce in Cornwall, and I have yet seen none worth notice but here. The water is much commended in fluxes, and disordered bowels. Upon trying this water, I found that with green tea it altered not it's colour; with milk it curdled not; so that it has neither steel nor alum in its composition. I evaporated it to one half: no pellicle appeared, nor any crystallized shoots on its cooling; so that it has no acid salts; but it deposited a small sediment of the same colour and substance with the calcarious incrustations of the well. I therefore in the next place pulverized some of the incrustations brought from the well: upon burning over the fire they did not melt; had no particular taste or smell; upon throwing some of the powder into the fire, concluding that if there were any sulphur in it the flame would have turned blue, it had no visible effect: I put a red-hot iron to it, but it sent forth neither smoke nor scent. Upon the whole, this water appeared simple and unimpregnated; nothing but the earth which forms the calcarious coverings of the roof and floor of the cave appearing in it. But when I say there is no steel, no alum, no acid salts or sulphur, I would not be thought peremptorily to assert, that there is nothing of that kind; I mean only, that there is nothing predominant; for nature mixes and qualifies her ingredients inimitably and inscrutably. We may positively affirm, that such and such ingredients are to be found unquestionably in waters; but others may be also there in a quantity to us indiscoverable; and therefore we cannot absolutely affirm, that in any water there is no such salt, steel, sulphur, or the like." *Nat. Hist.* pp. 32, 33.

among the descendants of those who worshipped its guardian spirit.* Of a well at *Gulval*, Hals has given us a character, which it is no longer able to support.†

* " In Cornwall there is a great number of those waters, which from their principal ingredient, are called Chalybeate. The strongest water of this kind, and most remarkable for its cures, which I have heard of, or had an opportunity of examining, is that which rises in the tenement of Colurian, in the parish of Ludgvan. The bed through which this water flows, is a loose pebbly ground, mixed with a gravelly clay, full of ochrous iron mineral, from which the taste and smell of the water proceeds. Upon trying it several times with galls, it turned a deep reddish purple; with green tea, a lighter purple; with oak leaves, a blue-black of a purple cast. Upon pouring two thimbles full of spirit of vitriol into half a pint, it made but a small effervescence. I let the water with the galls only stand for some time, and it retained its purple and transparency; whereas, if it had turned black and turbid, as some waters do, (Shaw on Mineral and Islington waters, p. 227), that would have been a disadvantageous symptom. Upon dropping gently a large thimble full of syrup of violets, about three-fourths of an inch of the mineral water, towards the top of the glass, kept its usual colour; the middle part turned to a pale greenish yellow, which reached to within half an inch of the bottom; and the remainder was of a light purple: but upon stirring it, after it had stood half an hour, the whole became a deep green. Upon dropping a thimble full of oil of tartar, it fell immediately to the bottom of the glass, which held about half a pint, but precipitated no sediment, nor turned the water milky, thick, or chalky; if there was any alteration, the colour seemed more inclinable to a bright ochre, but scarce discernable; an experiment much in favour of this water. (Shaw on Mineral and Islington waters p. 159.) Upon suspending a piece of polished silver for about an hour in the inclosed well, the silver turned not blackish; by which it appears, that little or no sulphur exhales from this water. In the morning, before the water is stirred, there is a film or skin on the surface of a rainbow colour, shooting to and fro; by which may it be presumed, that there is a sulphur or naphtha mixed with this water, which rises and settles on the top when the water is left quiet for any time? (See Plot's Staffordshire p. 137, and Oxfordshire, p. 44, Sect. lvi.) In a calm but not very warm morning, on the 7th of August, 1734, O. S. before six o'clock, I found the water, both in the inclosed well and without, where it ran exposed to the air almost blood-warm, and the common water, which runs about nine feet from the Chalybeate, as cold as snow. I stayed some time, and found the difference still continue, by which it is to be concluded, that the Chalybeate spring derives a sensible heat from the bed of iron, vitriol, and pyrites, which it passes through. (Mallow Chalybeate water, in the county of Cork, Ireland, raised Farenheit's thermometer to sixty-nine degrees, when the adjoining brook sunk it to fifty. Bristol Hot Well, though not Chalybeate, raises the thermometer to seventy-six. Hist. of Cork, vol. ii. p. 277.) Having carried the water a mile or two, it lost that warmth; whence we may infer, that such acidulæ as this cannot be so kindly to the stomach, and intestines at a distance, as when drank on the spot. Being exposed to the open air for twenty four hours, it suffers no alteration from galls; and the steel being deserted by the volatile spirit, and the common menstruum imbibing the moisture of the adjacent air, becomes weaker, and a dingy yellow sediment may be observed making its way to the bottom of the glass. It is a smooth water, mixes well with milk, and lathers easily with soap. There are many living evidences, within the compass of my knowlege, of the great virtues of this water. Two persons (of which I have sufficient proof), by drinking and washing the part affected, have been cured of the King's-evil; and many others are said to have been so. It is very diuretick, passes forcibly by perspiration, promotes evacuation, removes obstructions and swelling of the abdomen, and restores lost appetite. Externally applied it cures sores and scrophulous eruptions, and is a very good collyrium for the eyes. These virtues of Chalybeate waters (usual in some degree, but seldom so eminently as here) make them a remedy of great extent for the disorders of the human body, and this is doubtless the reason that they are most kindly distributed into every corner almost of the world. But it must not be imagined that they can do no hurt: like all other medicines, they have their ill tendencies, when improperly applied, or used to excess; and therefore the time of using them, the necessary cor-

† *See Hals's MSS.* In Gulval.

The holy well at *Cardinham* was sacred, before the saints. I doubt not but the well of *St. Neot,* (to which saint due homage will be paid, hereafter) was a holy fountain in the days of Cornish Paganism. This beautiful spring, with a rill issuing from it, that constantly supplies the neighbouring village with water, is yet to be seen at the foot of a steep wood. About forty years ago, a very large and spreading oak, which grew almost horizontally from the bank above, and overshadowed the well, was cut down by the tenant of the estate for repairs.---The well of *St. Keyne,* in the parish of St. Keyne, was famous in very early times.‡---The holy water from the *well of*

rectives in particular cases, as well as the quantity and time of omitting them, are surely best learned from a physician. There are many other wells of this kind in Cornwall; iron, being more easily dissolved and imbibed by running water than any other mineral, which is the reason that there are more chalybeate, than salt, sulphurous, or aluminous springs. *Scarlet Well,* near Bodmin, was once much frequented, and is said to be much heavier than other water, and will keep, without alteration of scent or taste, most part of a year; representing many colours, like those of a rainbow. At present it is scarce known where this well is to be found. Many naturalists have endeavoured to give us the analysis of these waters: in all, the ingredients discovered are much the same (salts only excepted); and it is the different quantity of particular ingredients, and the proportion they bear to the water, which is their vehicle, that makes them stronger or weaker. Our Spas in England are not so spiritous and pungent as the celebrated ones of Germany; yet, in many cases, they may be of great and extensive use; and if I am well informed, the Spas of our own country may in most cases supply the place of the other, though more famous foreign waters. As to saline, aluminous, hot, bitter, or sulphurous waters, which deserve strictly to be so called, I have not been able to learn that there are any such in this county. I have seen a letter from the late Mr. Vallack (an apothecary of character in the town of Plymouth, and among those of his business noted for his skill in chemistry), in which he affirms, that Carn-Kei water, near Redruth, is impregnated with tin. His words are these, in a letter, dated January 5, 1741-2:--- "I have not only read in Mr. Boyle's history of mineral waters, but have seen the water at Keyrn-Key, near Redruth, which I found impregnated both with iron and tin. It is the only water I ever read of, or met with so mixed." This is very rare but not improbable. I have had no opportunity of trying this water myself, and therefore can neither confirm nor disprove what is said; but as tin is frequently found intimately connected with iron ore I apprehend that the deposit of this water might give sufficient reason for the assertion. Petrifying waters, such, I mean as will incrust bodies put into them with stone, I have not yet heard of in Cornwall, except the water at Holywell, in Cuthbert, may be called so. Our river, lake or sea water, have not any taste, colour, or property, more than common, but must however be treated of as to their rise, courses, extent, and issue, harbours, and tides; their present usefulness, and their capacity of being rendered still more useful." *Borlase's Nat. Hist.* pp. 33, 34, 35, 36.

‡ "Here are no purging waters, unless you will reckon St. Kayn's well to purge melancholy, the nature of the waters being vulgarly reported to be this:

The person of that man or wife,
Whose chance or choice attains,
First of this sacred stream to drink,
Thereby the mastery gains.

St. Nun was believed to have the power of curing madness.† - - - - Various other wells might be enumerated, possessing equal virtues with the above; and equally attractive

† "I know not whether it be worth the reporting, says *Fuller*, that there is in Cornwall, near the parish of St. Neot's, a well, arched over with the robes of four kinds of trees, withy, oak, elm, and ash, dedicated to St. Keyne. The reported virtue of the water is this, that whether husband or wife come first to drink thereof, they get the mastery thereby." - - - The following lines on this subject, are among the best, in the *Annual Anthology*. See vol. i.

A well there is in the west-country,
And a clearer one never was seen;
There is not a wife in the west-country
But has heard of the well of St. Keyne.

An oak and an elm-tree stand beside,
And behind does an ash tree grow;
And a willow from the bank above
Droops to the water below.

A traveller came to the well of St. Keyne,
Pleasant it was to his eye,
For from cock-crow he had been travelling,
And there was not a cloud in the sky.

He drank of the water so cool and clear,
For thirsty and hot was he;
And he sat down upon the bank,
Under the willow-tree.

There came a man from the neighb'ring town,
At the well to fill his pail,
On the well-side he rested it,
And bade the stranger hail.

Now art thou a batchelor, stranger? quoth he;
For an if thou hast a wife,
The happiest draught thou hast drank this day,
That ever thou didst in thy life.

Or has your good woman, if one you have,
In Cornwall ever been?
For an if she have, I'll venture my life
She has drank of the well of St. Keyne.

I have left a good woman who never was here,
The stranger he made reply,
But that my draught should be better for that,
I pray you answer me why.

to the vulgar. So strong, indeed, was the superstitious regard for some of these springs, that even lately, it was found expedient to divert, or fill them up, in order to prevent the intrusion of the multitude. ‡ With respect to places of worship, it

St. Keyne, quoth the countryman, many a time,
Drank of this chrystal well,
And before the angel summoned her
She laid on the water a spell.

If the husband of this gifted well
Shall drink before his wife,
A happy man thenceforth is he,
For he shall be master for life.

But if the wife should drink of it first,
God help the husband then!
The stranger stoopt to the well of St. Keyne,
And drank of the waters again.

You drank of the well, I warrant, betimes?
He to the countryman said;
But the countryman smil'd as the stranger spake,
And sheepishly shook his head.

I hasten'd as soon as the wedding was done,
And left my wife in the porch;
But I'faith she had been wiser than me,
For she took a bottle to church.

† "A very singular manner of curing madness is that mentioned by Mr. Carew (p. 123) in the parish of Altarnun, in this county. It was the custom to place the disordered in mind on the brink of a square pool, filled with water which came from St. Nun's well (Nun or Nunne being the patroness saint, from whose altar, famous, I conjecture, for some miracles, this parish had its name). The patient having no intimation of what was intended, was, by a sudden blow in the breast, tumbled into the pool, where he was tossed up and down by some persons of superior strength, till being quite debilitated, his fury forsook him; he was then carried to the church, and certain masses sung over him; if he was not cured at once, the immersion was repeated. This custom was practised probably in some other parts of this county, as well as at Altarnun; for at the foot of St. Agnes's holy well (a place formerly of great resort) I think the remains of such a pool are still to be discovered, though the sea has demolished the walls. The Cornish call this immersion Boussening, from Beuzi or Bidhyzi, in the Cornu-British and Armoric, signifying to dip or drown. Belgice Buysen (says Lye's Junius in Bowse) unde Anglice Bowse potare, largiter bibere. This may seem to the generality so very impotent a remedy, that people might easily be persuaded to look upon any cure that ensued as the miraculous effect of the holy water, and the interposition of St. Nun; but if we recollect that madness is no other than a raging fever, that interrupts for a while, and dissipates all congruity betwixt ideas and things, we may soon satisfy ourselves, that without any miracle, so violent an exercise of the body in cold water was no contemptible prescription, something very like this method in parallel cases having been approved of and practised by the greatest physicians." *Nat. History*, pp. 302, 303.

‡ There was, some years since, a well of fine clear water, at the Priory, near Bodmin. --- It was walled up and arched over; and had in front a little image of a saint carved in stone. This was one of our holy wells; and was

appears, that many of the religious rites of the Cornish, were celebrated in groves or woods of ancient oak; § but all in the open air.---"The original temples of the island (says Mr. Whitaker) were all raised in the depth of woods, were all constructed with great rude obelisks of stone, and were all absolutely open to the sky above."‖ Such we see on the plains of Sarum, on the edge of Rollrich, in Oxfordshire,* and in Scotland. But the Druid temple of *Karnbre*, in Cornwall, (so largely described by Borlase†) is one of the most curious in Britain. It would be easy, perhaps, to draw a line of distinction between the religion of the ancient Cornish and that of the Romans who settled in Cornwall---as the former hath been proved by our best writers, to have the closest affinity to the religion of Iran or of Persia. That the natives, however, were worshipping some of the deities of Rome, before the first Roman invasion, is evident, not only from Cæsar's account of the British deities, but from the names of those deities still traceable in Cornwall. In *Tresadarn*, we have the town or house of *Saturn*---in *Nansadarn*, the valley of Saturn: and many of our vast rocks were appropriated to the worship of the god. We have, also, places in Cornwall, which retain the names of *Mars* and of *Mercury*; as *Tremar*, the town of *Mars*, and *Gun-mar'r*, and *Kelli-mar'r*, the downs and the grove of Mercury. ‡

reputed beneficial in various disorders. But, as in reality, its waters were not superior in quality to other springs in the town and neighbourhood, and it continued to attract the common people, to the inconvenience of the family, its walls were taken down, and it was filled up.

§ That particular places and temples in Cornwall, were appropriated to particular deities, is an unquestionable fact. The old British appellation of the Cassiterides, was Sulleh or Sylleh---which signifies rocks consecrated to the sun. Thus St. Michael's Mount was originally called Dinsul, or the hill dedicated to the sun. And the vast flat rocks, common in the Sylleh Isles, particularly at Peninis, Karn-leh, Penleh, Karn-wavel; but, above all, the enormous rock on Salakee downs, formerly the floor of a great temple, are no improbable arguments that they might have had the same dedication, and so have given name to these islands. Nor is it an unprecedented thing to find an island, in this climate, dedicated to the sun. *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 3. speaking of a Northern island, over against the Celtæ, says: "It was dedicated to Apollo, who frequently conversed with the inhabitants: and they had a large grove and temple of a round form, to which the priests resorted, to sing the praises of Apollo." And there can be no doubt but this was one of the British islands, and the priests, Druids. See *Borlase's Ancient and present State of the Isles of Sylley*, pp. 59, 60.

‖ See *Whitaker's Manchester*, quarto edit. vol. i. p. 397.

* See *Borlase's Antiquities*, p 190. † See *Antiquities*, pp. 113---116.

‡ The memory of *Jupiter*, according to the authors of the *Magna Britannia*, is retained in *Market-Jew*, or *Ju*, as they would spell it. "The *market* (they say) in that town, is held on *Thursdays*, (the day of Jupiter) and *Ju* is

------Archbishop § Usher and || Leland think, that the Druid rites continued here in full force, till the reign of king Lucius, in the year 177; when Christianity was embraced by the king and princes of the island; and bishops ordained and supported by the civil power. Certain it is, however, that the Romans were not long settled in the island, before they built temples: and in the reign of Trajan, the Britons of the north had deserted their own woods and obelisks, and in imitation of the Romans, had erected their temples in towns, of hewn stones and covered with roofs.*

Whilst Druidism was thus declining, Christianity was introduced into Britain. And Episcopacy was almost coeval with Christianity in the island. The first dioceses in Britain, were the same as the provinces of the Romans: and the Roman conquests were regularly partitioned into dioceses as early as the year 314. †----Cornwall, ‡ (as part of *Britannia Prima*) was now subject to the Archbishopric of

a contraction of *Jupiter*." p. 308.---But this conjecture is unfounded. Market-*Jew* (or Marazion) was "*the market of the Jews*," as will appear in a future chapter.---Many places in Cornwall carry in their names, the memory of the Druids; such as *Bod-druden* (Boddrugan), the Druid's house---*Boddrugy* in Philak---*Rhiedruith* (Redruth), Nobilium Druidarum vadum---*Goon-derw* (Conderow), the Druids downs---*Tinderw* (Tinderow), in St. Anthony-Meneg, *Druid's Hill*.

§ Prim. pp. 57, 58, 59. || De Script. Brit. p. 4.

* *Tacitus, Agric. Vit.* c. 21.

† Sirmondus's Concilia Gallica. Lutetiæ, 1629. Tom. i. p. 9.

‡ The following is Borlase's account of the state of Christianity, from its first introduction to the times of the Saxons. "The Britons received the faith of Christ very early, even in the Apostolical times, (says Stillingfleet, Ant. Brit. chap. i.) but there was no British king of the Christian religion till Lucius, and the precise time when he was converted is not agreed upon, but is generally held to have been in the time of M. Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, and the beginning of Eleutherius's popedom, (Stillingfl. Ant. Brit. p. 60) who began his rule according to the Savil. Fasti A. D. 171, ten years before Commodus. It cannot, however, be imagined, that Paganism was every where abolished as soon as Christianity appeared; there were at that time, and from the very first account we have in history of the British nation, there had been for the most part many petty principalities in Britain, (Diod. Sic. lib. iv. ---Strabo lib. iv.---Mela lib. iii. ch. iv. Tacitus vita Agric.) independant of one another, and in times of distress subordinate, and obliged in matters of council and war, to obey that prince whom they elected to be the head of all. Let it be allowed then, that Christianity was embraced by the king of Britain, as early as king Lucius, and that he was supreme king of all the Britons, (though some think he was but a petty prince. Stillingfl. Ant. Brit. p. 63) yet, was he under the direction of the Romans, and king only by their leave, and had no authority in religious matters over the other princes of Britain; many of the little kings therefore may be supposed to remain unconverted for a long time after. I know that the learned Sir Henry Savil in his Fasti, says, (in a note there, ad ann. 173) that "about this time Lucius king of the Britons, (as he is called by Bede) at the instance of Eleutherius the pope, together with the whole nation of the Britons, received the Christian faith," but this is altogether improbable, neither suiting the limited authority of Lucius, nor allowing enough for the different tempers and circumstances of the other princes.

London.§ It is probable that *Claudia Ruffina*, a native of this island, was a convert to Christianity, seventy years after our Saviour. She is mentioned by Martial, ‖ as the wife of *Pudens*, a Roman senator: and that a *Pudens* and a *Claudia*, both Christians, lived at Rome in the time of St. Paul, we learn from the apostle himself.* This is

Doubtless, the most stubborn, vicious, and bigotted, were less susceptible of the divine precepts of the Gospel, and continued many years after in their contented darkness; and when the princes became at last converted, and baptised, the common people (every where fonder of superstition than truth) continued their attachment to the errors in which they were brought up. From Commodus to the time that the Roman empire became Christian, Christianity, though adopted by the British kings, wanted really the support and countenance of the state, for the Romans (then heathens) being lords of all, though the Britons had some churches, bishops, and a few monasteries, the generallity of the people, we may take it for granted, continued without controul in the Druid superstition (and of this opinion I find Dr. Stillingfleet: 'During all this time, the church must have laboured under great difficulties, the governors and provinces, before Constantius, and the generality of the people, being set against the Christians.' Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. 74. And this seems to be what Gildas means, when 'he asserts the continuation of a church here from the first plantation of the Gospel, though not maintained, says he, with equal zeal, to the persecution of Dioclesian.' Stillingfl. Antiq. Brit. p. 55). Again, the true religion in its infancy suffered much under the persecution of Dioclesian's reign, which lasted ten years, at which time it lost ground rather than advanced, though when those clouds were passed, it shone the brighter. In this persecution they not only destroyed the churches, but they prejudiced church history beyond recovery, for as Velserus observes, (M. Velser. Rerum, Vindel. lib. vi. Still. Ch. Ant. 42) they burnt all the monuments which concerned the Christian church. 'Tis true, the persecution in Britain did not last so long as it did in the east, that is, did not rage with that violence, but the whole reign of this emperor, is reckoned by the above author, (Stillingfleet, p. 70) one perpetual persecution. When Constantine and the empire became Christian, the British bishops were summoned to the Council of Arles, 314, and probably to that of Nice, (as Stillingfl. ib. p. 9. and Selden (ibid) in Eutych, p. 115, 123. though by others this is doubted of, because the Britans did not keep Easter conformably to the directions of the Nicene council. Spelman's Conc. vol. i. p. 141. from Bede Liber ii ch. xix. See Prid. Connexion 8vo vol. ii. p. 238, &c.) A. D. 325. and of Ariminum in 359 (Stillingfl. Or. Brit. p. 176); at the last of which, as well as at the first (see Stillingfl p. 74,) three Bishops of Britain were present. These Bishops are styled by Hilarius, in his epistle to the Bishops, (Speed's Chron. p. 79.) of the provinces of Britain, and the reason why only three were present, seems to be, because Britain was at that time divided into three Arch-bishopricks. Under the Archbishop of London was Loegria, Cornubia, (that is, from the river Humber to the Land's End) under the Archbishop of York, all Deira and Albania, that is, all north of Humber to Cathness in Scotland, and under the Archbishop of Caerleon, all Wales, called then Cambria. One great obstacle to Christianity's prevailing soon in Cornwall, arose from the retired situation of the country, which being at a great distance from the heart of the kingdom, had fewer opportunities of being instructed, than countries which lay nearer to the Imperial court, which had already received the Gospel. Cornwall and Devon (then called Dunmonium) were at this time under the Archbishop of London: they must have suffered greatly therefore in point of religion, by means of their distance from the Metropolitan See. The Gospel might have been supported in it's full purity under the Bishop's eye; but as the Bishops kept most of the Clergy about their persons in those early days, and dispatched them occasionally only from their Cathedrals, to instruct the most distant parts, the Gospel shone more faintly in the remote corners of the island. Druidism had taken deep root, and it would not give way to weak efforts; hence it is, that after the Roman Empire, and much the greatest part of Britain had been Christian, we find many Martyrs suffering death in Cornwall for the Christian faith; and hence it is, that in the latter end of the fourth, during all the fifth, and most part of the sixth centuries, we find so many holy men employed to convert the Cornish to the Christian religion. 'The state of Christianity among the Britans in Cornwall (at this time) is acounted very uncertain.' (Inet's Orig. Ang. from Bede, lib. v. ch. xix. vol. I. p. 123.) Let us endeavour to discover what we can of it by tracing the facts we have

‖ *Lib.* 7. *Epig.* 62. * 2 *Tim.* iv. 21.

a curious fact; on which, however, I shall forbear to comment; as the honour of Claudia's birth, is not, perhaps, attributable to Cornwall. - - - The name of *Solomon*, occurs among the western princes, as Duke of Cornwall, about the middle of the

in history relating thereto. About the middle of the fourth century, Solomon Duke of Cornwall seems to have been a Christian: for his son Kebuis was ordained a Bishop by Hilarius Bishop of Poictiers in France, and afterwards returned into his own country to exercise that high function (Ush. p. 1087. A. D. 369.). St. Corantine (now called Cury) was the first Cornish Apostle of note that we meet with. Born in Britany, he preached first in his own country, and Ireland; 'till being driven away by violence, he again betook himself to the life of a hermit, which he had quitted for the sake of travelling, to instruct the ignorant and the infidel; he settled at the foot of a mountain called Menehont. (I find it written thus, 'Uberrimam Rectoriam de Manihont in Devonia.' Parker's Eccl. Antiq. Drake, p. 384. but some think it Menhynnett in Cornwall.) Here the fame of his sanctity increasing, at the intreaty of Grallonus King of the Armoricans, he was consecrated Bishop of Cornwall by St. Martin, Bishop of Tours in France, and being said to have converted all Cornwall, died in the year 401. St. Piranus, born in Ireland in the year 352, must have come into Cornwall about this time, for he is said to have been buried here. But notwithstanding the endeavours of these holy men about the year 411, St. Melor (although son of Melianus Duke of Cornwall) suffered martyrdom. Capgrave (p. 451. Ush. Prim. p. 451.) says that this happened soon after the Britans had received the Christian faith; by which Britans he must mean those of Cornwall, for the others had been converted above 200 years before. By persisting in their druidism the Britans of Cornwall drew the attention of St. Patrick that way, who about the year 432, with 20 companions, halted a little in his way to Ireland on the shores of Cornwall, where he is said to have built a Monastery. Whether St. German was in Cornwall at this time I cannot say, but by Usher, he was either in Cornwall or Wales; for St. Patrick is said, 'ad Præceptorem suum beatum Germanum divertisse et apud Britannos in partibus Cornubiæ et Cambriæ aliquandiu substitisse.' (Ush. Prim. p. 1100. and 842.) This was not the only visit of St. Patrick, for this holy Apostle having had great success afterwards in Ireland, in confuting the Druid Priests, and converting that nation to Christianity, undertook the same charitable task in Cornwall, (the Legend says, he was wafted over from Ireland into Cornwall upon his altar, which was greatly frequented and reverenced for that reason,) and had an altar and church there dedicated to him and much reverenced for the sake of this excellent pastor. From the time of St. Patrick, Ireland began to be the seat of every kind of learning, which the christian world was then acquainted with, and persons of the highest rank not only deserted Gentilism, but their crowns too, and became Preachers of the word of God; they neither shut themselves up in Monasteries, nor confined themselves within the limits of their own Island, but travelled into Italy and France, frequently into the isles on the north of England and Scotland, and oftentimes into Cornwall, directing their course where they saw most need of their instruction. St. Patrick lived to a great age (some think till he was 120 old) and died about the year 490. His example lived still longer, and animated his disciples to pursue his holy plan. Of his scholars Fingarus, from Armorica (whither the like druid superstition which had overspread all the west, had probably called him) passing into Ireland, his native country, and finding it, by the labours of St. Patrick and his priests thoroughly converted to christianity, gave up his right to a crown, by that time fallen to him, (upon the decease of his father Clito) and, with his sister Piala, eleven Bishops, and a numerous attendance, all baptized by St. Patrick, came into Cornwall, and landing at the mouth of the river Hayle was there put to death with all his company, in the year 460, by Theodorick King of Cornwall, for fear, lest they should turn his subjects from their ancient religion. (Usher. ch. xvii. p. 869.——Dr. Cave in his Histor. Literar. among St. Anselm's works, reckons Passia St. Guigneri sive Fingari, Pialæ, et sociorum, p. 542.) About the same time came over from Ireland, St. Breaca (now called Breage) attended with many Saints, among whom were Sinninus (alias Senanus) the Abbot, who had been at Rome with St Patrick, Germochus an Irish King, (as tradition says) and several others. She landed at Revyer on the eastern bank of the river Hayle in the hundred of Penwith, where Theodorick (or Tudor) had his castle of residence, and slew great part of this holy assembly also. In the middle of this 5th century the Saxons, being called in as friends, in a few years proved the most inveterate enemies to the British nation which the island to that time had ever felt, and the general disorders which attend a weak government, and a potent enemy in the heart of the kingdom, engaged all hands in war, the Britans to defend their country, and the Saxons to

fourth century. And his son *Kebius* was distinguished among the preachers of Christianity.† But the most famous of our primitive apostles, was *St. Corantine*, a

take it. Religion, in the general tempest, had her share of the distress; an universal ignorance ensued, no one studied religion, because every one was obliged to be in arms." *Borlase's Antiq.* pp. 333---337.

"Having mentioned the monastery erected by St. Patrick, it may not be amiss, before we go any farther, to look a little into the nature and constitution of the monasteries of those times, by which we shall be able to form a better judgment of the men that came from them, to whom the Cornish were so much indebted for their instruction. 'The monasteries of the Western nations, before the time of St. Benedict, such as that of Bangor in England, and St. Martin and St. Germans in Gaul, were chiefly intended as nurseries to the church,' (Dupin's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 201.—Stillingfleet, Or. B. p. 205.) to educate persons in such a manner as to make them able ministers of the word of God. In the 5th century we read of no distinct orders of Monks; they were not as yet called after any particular patron, as the Benedictines, Dominicans, Augustines, &c. in the following ages were; their design being to learn of some, in order to teach others, they were quite strangers to the ambition, luxury, and idleness, which afterwards attended the monastic life: their zeal for religion made them indefatigable in preparing themselves for, and afterwards exercising their holy function. In the monastery of Bangor (by some accounted the first christian monastery in the world) (Bede lib. ii. ch. ii.—Stillingfl. Or. Brit. p. 205) great numbers of monks were bred up in a collegiate manner, and daily, bodily labour was to fill up the intervals of their study and devotion. By their learning they fitted themselves for teaching religion, by their labour they contributed in their turns to the support of the religious numerous community of which they were members (Hum. Lhuyd, (in his breviary) thinks some of these monks were appropriated to labour, in order to maintain those, whose genius carried them more eminently to study and learning: others think that labour was enjoined to all at proper times, by their institution). Many of these monks were bishops, of which seven at one time, with many other learned men from the same place attended the Synod called by Austin of Canterbury about the year 600. St. German, St. Martin, and St. Patrick, all exercised the episcopal function, ordained, and appointed bishops to their particular provinces. St. German, bishop of Auxierre in France, (but called over to assist the British church) is thought to have established several schools, or seminaries, for young divines here in England; and St. Patrick, who spent many years under the discipline of St. German, carried the same collegiate, or monastic education into Ireland, (As Probus and Jocelin the writers of his life agree) and, doubtless, brought the same into Cornwall when he came here. St. Patrick had also studied under his uncle St. Martin, bishop of Tours, and from him received the habit of a monk, and with the habit, doubtless, the institutes he was to observe; so that St. Patrick's monasteries (for he founded many, as so many schools for learning) were of the same kind as those in France, in which he had his education; (At Armagh it is said, he founded *Summum Studium Literale*, which in the language of that time is the same with an University. Stillingfl. ib. and in this school, Gildas is thought to have been a professor) and by the history of those great doctors, we see that their principal office was to preach the gospel, to undertake the conversion of infidels, now in one nation and now in another, and to bring up other monks under them, who might engage in the same holy task. By this it appears that the monastick life, in those early ages of christianity, was not what it generally is at present, viz. a life of inactivity and confinement, but a life of travel, and preaching; and it was from such monasteries and such monks that we had our Irish saints and teachers, ('As the design of these monasteries was very different from that of the monasteries in after ages, so was the faith of the ancient church of Ireland, to which the Cornish had so many obligations, very different from that of modern Rome,' as may be seen at large in Archbishop Usher's religion of the ancient Irish. Letter from the Rev. Mr. Collins) who coming into Cornwall to preach the gospel, were, after their death, generally reckoned among the saints, and we have great reason to think those holy men endued with as much piety and learning as any of the age they lived in, or any after them for many centuries. To name all these holy men and women, and particularly specify their coming into Cornwall, and departure elsewhere, might suit a register, or catalogue, but would be foreign to the intention of this treatise, as well as tiresome to the reader. The design of them all, was one and the same; they came to preach the gospel, and by the strictness and severity of their lives to enforce their doctrine; and the consequence was the same; by their means christianity increased, churches were built, and when, by a division of the kingdom into parishes, each parish had its

native of Britany, who is said to have been indefatigable in his preaching to his own countrymen, and afterwards to have converted all Danmonium to the Christian faith. A great part of his life was past in solitude. At the foot of a mountain in *Danmonium*, called *Menehont*, (at present Menheniet) he had fixed his lonely residence. But the fame of his sanctity increasing, he was drawn, at length, from his retreat, and prevailed on (it is said) to exchange his hermitage for a bishopric.

Among the memorable events of the fourth century, are, also, recorded the arrival of *St. Piran* ‡ in the west, the martyrdom of *St. Melor*,* son of Melianus, and the preaching of *St. Patrick* to the western Britons. Numerous, indeed, were the saints, who now migrated into Cornwall. Of this number, I conceive, was *St. Austel*,

church, there was scarce a saint from Ireland, or elsewhere, who had preached in Cornwall, but had his memory preserved by the grateful inhabitants, by having a church near the place he settled in, dedicated to, and called after his name. Ireland continued to be a nursery full of holy and learned men even to the year 674, (as Marianus notes, Usher. Prim. p. 1165.) and therefore we may reasonably suppose, that till that time she continued to send forth her saints into the adjoining countries." *Antiq.* pp. 338---340.

§ *Thomas Rudborn*, in his *Historia Magna*, says, that, when Lucius was converted to the Christian faith, there were twenty-four flamens and three arch-flamens, whose sees *(sedes)* were converted into Christian bishopries and archbishopries. He hath given us the names of those several seats of ancient idolatry; and tells particularly, that one existed at *Crediton*, and was originally called *Caer-Pendragon*.

† About 360 years after Christ, *St Kebius* may be mentioned, as the most famous among the religious of Danmonium. He is said to have been the eldest son of the Duke of Danmonium; but he was more attentive to religion and learning, than to the dignity and riches of his family. Such was his eminence, as a saint, that he was believed to possess the power of working miracles. The scene of his wonderful acts was not, however, in his native country. He was a disciple of St. Hilary at Poictiers, a bishop in Anglesey, and an apostle in Ireland. See *Prince's Worthies*, p. 480----"Among the assertors of the purity of religion against the poison of Arianism, we find *St. Keby*, son of Solomon Duke of Cornwall, a principal champion." *Fuller's Church Hist.* (edit. 1655) p. 26.

‡ *Browne Willis* says, that *St. Piran* is the same person as *St. Keryan*, to whom a church in Exeter was dedicated; and who came from Ireland into the west of Britain in the year 460, and lies buried at Bodmin.---"At Piran, we meet with a little chapel, dedicated to *S. Piranus*, an Irish saint, who was buried here. The Legend magnifies his sanctity, by attributing incredible miracles to him, viz. feeding ten Irish kings and their armies eight days with the flesh of three cows only, and raising not only men from the dead, but hogs." *Magna Britann.* p. 319. "From civility, (says *Carew*) in the fruitful age of canonization, they stepped a degree farther to holiness, and helped to stuf the church calendar with divers saints, either made or born Cornish. Such was *Keby*, son to *Solomon* prince of Cornwall---such *Peran*, who (if my author the Legend lye not) after that (like another *Johannes de temporibus*) he had lived two hundred years with perfect health, took his last rest in a Cornish parish, which therethrough he endowed with his name. And such were *Dubstane*, *Machecu*, and *Manslunum*, who (I speak upon *Math.* of Westm. credit) forsook Ireland, thrust themselves to sea, in a boat made of three ox skins and a half, with seven days victuals, and miraculously arrived in Cornwall." Fol. 58.

* "*St. Melorius*, the son of Melian, Duke of Cornwall, whom Rinaldus, his Pagan brother, inhumanly butchered, cutting off first his right hand, then his left leg, and lastly his head, about A. D. 411. His relics did many miracles, which, in gratitude, obliged the people to saint him." *Magna Britan.* p. 332.

who gave name to the parish and town of *St. Austel*; ‖ and *St. Jia*, a daughter of an Irish nobleman, who gave name to St. Ives.* --- It appears from a legend of Cornish saints quoted by Leland, that most of our saints came from Ireland, between the years 423, and 432. They might have sailed from Ireland to Padstow within twenty-four hours.† Of the churches and religious houses that were founded at this early period, it is not to be expected, that any vestiges, unless of a very dubious nature, remain in Cornwall. That many of the heathen temples were converted into churches, we are assured from the best authority. And hermitages were now built in various places; whilst the fountains of the Pagan Cornish, in the vicinity of churches or hermitages, were walled up, to secure them from pollution; and dedicated to the patron saints. This sacrifice to idolatry was found expedient: ‡ the well had before a spirit: it had now a guardian saint. Such were the wells of St. Euny, St. Cuthbert, St. Neot and St. Keyne, and many others in Cornwall; already noticed, or reserved for future description. ---- The church and monastery of *Padstow*, were founded by St. Patrick, in the year 432.§ --- The church of *St. Neot* was anciently (according to Camden, ‖ who quotes Asser for his authority) called "St. GUERRIRS," or "the *healing saints*." --- *Gueras*, in the Cornu-british, signifying *help* or *healing*.

‖ This name is written differently. We find St. Austelles, in Leland (vol. iii. p. 20) quasi Holy Altar, as if the parish had its name from some remarkable altar there of great resort; as the parish of Altarnun had that name from a famous altar of St. Nunne. In vol. vii. of the same Itinerary, p. 111, it is called St. Austols, with this marginal note (St. Austol, erat Hermita). It is called St. Austol in the bishop's register at Exeter: and according to Dean Milles, the proper way of writing this name is St. Aussil, a corruption of St. Auxilius, an Irish bishop."

* "St. Ives takes its name from an Irish saint, *St. Jia*, a nobleman's daughter of Ireland, famous for her singular sanctity, who came hither about the year 460, having been a disciple of St. Barricus, first bishop of Cork; so that the true name of the town is St Jies, and corruptly called St. Ives." *Magna Britan.* p. 345 --- *Browne Willis*, vol. ii. p. 124.

† I might have drawn out this chapter to a very tedious length, by the simple enumeration of the saints and apostles, who are said to have preached the Gospel in Cornwall. From those saints, indeed, most of the parishes in Cornwall, derive their names: but few however, in Devonshire, are thus distinguished. There is one parish, indeed, on the east side of the Tamar, which, though not sainted, yet retains in its name the traces of a celebrated missionary --- I mean *Braunton* --- or the *town* of *St. Brannock*. See *Risdon*, p. 277.

‡ The rocks, the stones erect, the fountains, the trees, and the cross-roads of the idolatrous Cornish, were held sacred by the vulgar, for many ages after the introduction of Christianity. And the cross-road, in particular, is still regarded with a superstitious reverence: In the less frequented parts of Cornwall, it is seldom passed in the night, without a sensation of terror.

§ "Ubi (in Cornubia) et Meneyiæ, Cenobium construxisse ferunt." *Usher*, p. 1100.

‖ See *Gibson's* Camden, p. 9.

The hermitage on *Roche*-rock, was, probably, one of the first in Cornwall.* ---- The chapel on *St. Michael's Mount* has a claim to very high antiquity. When the monks first settled at St. Michael's Mount, is uncertain. Edward the Confessor found monks here, serving God, and gave them, by charter, the property of the Mount and other lands; first obliging them to conform to the rule of St. Benedict. But long before, this place seems renowned for its sanctity, and, therefore, must have been dedicated to religion. St. Keyne, a holy virgin, and daughter of Braganus, prince of Brecknockshire, is said to have gone a pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. This saint lived in the latter end of the fifth century: and, as she probably dwelt in the eastern part of the county, (where her church and well are still to be seen, and her festival is celebrated on the 30th of September) it is not unlikely, that she performed this pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount. Whence it appears, that this place was dedicated to religion, at least as early as the latter end of the fifth century; above 500 years before the grant and settlement of it by Edward the Confessor.† ---- In his Lycidas, Milton alludes to St. Michael's Mount, in the following passage:

* "Roche rock (says a correspondent) forms a striking object to travellers on the great turnpike road from Exeter to Truro and Falmouth. It stands between Bodmin and Michel, in the county of Cornwall, and is the more singular, as it rises in the midst of an extensive common. I should suppose the middle of the rock to be about thirty feet high; but, as I have not measured it, I am by no means certain. I can find no account of it either in Camden or Borlase; but it seems likely that the parish (Roche) has taken its name from it. In Carew's Survey of Cornwall, I find the following account, p. 138.---'After we have quitted Restormel, Roche becomes our next place of sojourn, though hardly inviting with promise of any better entertainment than the name carries written in his forehead --- to wit, a huge, high, and steepe rock, seated in a plain, girded on either side with (as it were) two substitutes, and meritorious, no doubt, for the hermite who dwelt on the top thereof, were it but in regard to such an uneasy climbing to his cell and chapel, a part of whose natural walls is wrought out of the rock itself. Near the foot of Roche, there lyeth a rock level with the ground above, and hollow downwards, with a winding depth, which containeth water, reported by some of the neighbours to ebb and flow as the sea.' These quaint rhymes follow the above description:

You neighbour-scorners, holy-proud,
Go! people Roche's cell---
Far from the world, near to the heavens,
There, hermits, you may dwell.
Is't true that spring, in rock hereby,
Doth tide-wise ebb and flow?
Or have we fools with lyars met?
Fame says it---Be it so."

† *Antiq.* p. 351---*Carew*, p. 130---*Capgrave*, p. 204---*Br. Willis's Not.* p. 105.

" Or whether thou to our moist vows deny'd,
Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old,
Where the great vision of the guarded mount
Looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold;
‡ Look homeward Angel now, and melt with ruth."

‡ *Warton's Poems of Milton*, 2d edit. p. 28, 29, 30; where we are presented with the following fine piece of criticism.

" The whole of this passage has never yet been explained or understood. That part of the coast of Cornwall called the Land's End, with its neighbourhood, is here intended, in which is the promontory of Bellerium, so named from Bellerus a Cornish giant. And we are told by Camden, that this is the only part of our Island that looks directly towards Spain. So also Drayton, Polyolb. S. xxiii. vol. iii. p. 1107.

Then Cornwall creepeth out into the westerne maine,
As, lying in her eye, she pointed still at Spaine.

And Orosius, " The second angle or point of Spain forms a cape, where Brigantia, a city of Galicia, rears a most lofty watch-tower, of admirable construction, in full view of Britain." Hist. L. 1. c. ii. fol. 5. a. edit. Paris. 1524. fol. Carew says of this situation, " Saint Michael's Mount looketh so aloft, that it brooketh no concurrent." p. 154 ut infr. But what is the meaning of " The Great Vision of the Guarded Mount?" And of the line immediately following, " Look homeward Angel now, and melt with ruth?" I flatter myself I have discovered Milton's original and leading idea. Not far from the Land's End in Cornwall, is a most romantic projection of rock, called Saint Michael's Mount, into a harbour called Mount's-bay. It gradually rises from a broad basis into a very steep and narrow, but craggy, elevation. Towards the sea, the declivity is almost perpendicular. At low water it is accessible by land: and not many years ago, it was entirely joined with the present shore, between which and the Mount, there is a rock called Chapel-rock. Tradition, or rather superstition, reports, that it was antiently connected by a large tract of land, full of churches, with the isles of Scilly. On the summit of Saint Michael's Mount a monastery was founded before the time of Edward the Confessor, now a seat of Sir John Saint Aubyn. The church, refectory, and many of the apartments, still remain. With this monastery was incorporated a strong fortress, regularly garrisoned; and in a patent of Henry the fourth, dated 1403, the monastery itself, which was ordered to be repaired, is styled Fortalitium. Rym. Foed. viii. 102. 340. 341. A stone-lanthern, in one of the angles of the tower of the church, is called Saint Michael's Chair. But this is not the original Saint Michael's chair. We are told by Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, " A little without the castle (this fortress), there is a bad (dangerous) seat in a craggy place, called Saint Michael's Chaire, somewhat dangerous for accesse, and therefore holy for the adventure." Edit. 1602, p. 154. We learn from Caxton's Golden Legende, under the history of the Angel Michael, that " Th' apparacyon of this angell is manyfold. The fyrst is when he appeared in mount of Gargan, &c." Edit. 1493. fol. cclxxxii. a. William of Worcester, who wrote his travels over England about 1490, says, in describing Saint Michael's Mount, there was an " Apparicio Sancti Michaelis in monte Tumba antea vocato *Le Hore Rok in the wodd*." Itinerar. edit. Cantab. 1778. p. 102. The *Hoar Rock in the Wood* is this Mount or Rock of Saint Michael, anciently covered with thick wood, as we learn from Drayton and Carew. There is still a tradition, that a vision of Saint Michael seated on this crag, or Saint Michael's Chair, appeared to some hermits: and that this circumstance occasioned the foundation of the monastery dedicated to Saint Michael. And hence this place was long renowned for its sancity, and the object of frequent pilgrimages. Carew quotes some old rhymes much to our purpose, p. 154. ut supr.

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

Nor should it be forgotten, that this monastery was a cell to another Saint Michael's Mount in Normandy, where was also a Vision of Saint Michael. But to apply what has been said to Milton. This great Vision is the famous Apparition of Saint Michael, whom he with much sublimity of imagination supposes to be still throned on this lofty crag of Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall, looking towards the Spanish coast. The guarded mount on which this Great Vision

I might have noticed the foundation of other churches in Cornwall; but it is more likely, that in the next period, I shall find their proper place.

appeared, is simply the *fortified* Mount, implying the fortress above-mentioned. And let us observe, that *Mount* is the peculiar appropriated appellation of this promontory. So in Daniel's Panegyricke on the King, st. 19. "From Dover to the Mount." With the sense and meaning of the line in question, is immediately connected that of the third line next following, which here I now for the first time exhibit properly pointed.

Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth.

Here is an apostrophe to the Angel Michael, whom we have just seen seated on the Guarded Mount. "O Angel, look no longer *seaward* to Namancos and Bayona's hold; rather turn your eyes to another object. "Look *homeward*, or *landward*, look towards your *own coast now*, and view with pity the corpse of the shipwrecked Lycidas floating thither." But I will exhibit the three lines together which form the context. Lycidas was lost on the seas near the coast,

Where the great vision of the guarded mount
Looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold;
Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth.

The Great Vision and the Angel are the same thing: and the verb *look* in both the two last verses has the same reference. The poet could not mean to shift the *application* of look, within two lines. Moreover, if in the words *Look homeward angel now* - - - the address is to Lycidas, a violent, and too sudden, an apostrophe takes place; for in the very next line Lycidas is called the *hapless youth*. To say nothing, that this new *angel* is a *hapless* youth, and to be *wafted by dolphins*. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - No such name as Bellerus, occurs in the catalogue of the Cornish giants. But the poet coined it from Bellerium abovementioned. Bellerus appears in the edition 1638. But at first he had written Corineus, a giant who came into Britain with Brute, and was made lord of Cornwall. Hence Ptolemy, I suppose, calls a promontory near the Land's-end, perhaps Saint Michael's Mount, Ocrinum. From whom also came our author's "Corineida Loxo." Mans. v. 46. And he is mentioned in Spenser's M. M. of Thestylis.

Vp from his tombe
The mightie Corineus rose, &c.

See Geoffr. Monm. L. xii. c. i. Milton, who delighted to trace the old fabulous story of Brutus, relates, that to Corineus Cornwall fell by lot, "the rather by him liked, for that the hugest giants in rocks and caves were said to lurk there still; which kind of monsters to deal with, was his old exercise." Hist. Eng. ubi supr. i. 6. On the south-western shores of Cornwall, I saw a most stupendous pile of rock work, stretching with immense ragged cliffs and shapeless precipices far into the sea: one of the topmost of these cliffs, hanging over the rest, the people informed me, was called the Giant's Chair. Near it, is a cavern called in Cornish the CAVE WITH THE VOICE."

Two Sonnets, suggested by the above, may not, perhaps, be deemed out of place:

St. MICHAEL's MOUNT.

"LE HORE ROK IN THE WODD."

Yon chasmy crag precipitous, where frown
Embattled walls, and dark their shadow throw
Upon the dashing wave that foams below,
Yon crag, which rough monastic ruins crown,
In elder days far distant from the flood,
Gleam'd "the hoar rock amid the secret wood."
There once (tis said) at evening-close, appear'd
An awful vision to a hermit's eyes;
While, as a meteor, stream'd his silver beard
To the rude winds. "Be thine (the archangel cries)
"To bid a fabric to Saint Michael rise;

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

FROM CÆSAR TO VORTIGERN.

CIVIL AND MILITARY AND RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE.

IN surveying the civil and military and religious architecture of Danmonium, as existing before its separation into the counties of Devon and Cornwall, we cannot with any satisfaction confine our observations to the district on this side of the Tamar. In our military views, particularly, we can never detach one county from the other, if we would wish to imitate our Roman conquerors in the extensiveness of their plans or the spirit of their operations. The architectural prospect must necessarily open in the east of Devon, and close in the west of Cornwall.

" High on these pilgrim rocks devote to fame :
" And, as it braves the shafts of angry skies,
" Shall it the deep regard of ages claim !"

Foundation of the Monastery at St. Michael's Mount.

OFT at the solitary rock, whose brow
Half-hid for many an age by hoary oak
Thro' the romantic umbrage wildly broke,
The pligrim had effus'd his pious vow :
There Keyna once, a princess and a saint,
(For such the virgin, monkish legends paint)
Breath'd the pure essence of her soul in prayer :
But, rushing on the solemn wood's repose,
As " the great Vision" beckon'd, high in air
The fane, the towers, the vaulted chambers rose !
Thence holy orisons, that wont to hail
The dawn, or choral hymns at even-tide,
Soft o'er the still wave sooth'd the distant sail,
As to the seaman's ear, the melting murmur died.

That we may conceive as exact an idea of the Roman roads, towns, and camps in Danmonium, as the obscure medium through which we are to survey them, will permit, I shall recur to the first chapter, where I have traced the operations of our Roman invaders; though I must previously call attention to the *Itinera* of the old writers relating to this part of Britain in its form of a Roman province, and make a few observations on the Roman roads and fortifications in general. First, then, for the *Itinera*. I have extracted, in the second chapter, a geographical outline of Danmonium, from Ptolemy. And such of the Itinerary of Richard as concerns the west of Britain, deserves to be compared with the parallel parts of Antonine's, for the elucidation of the subject before us.* Our antiquaries have, in general, steered clear of the *anonymous Ravennas*; lest they should perplex their subject by

* For which purpose, I refer the curious reader to *Whitaker's Manchester*, vol. 2. pp. 258---------375. Of the same nature as Antonine's Itinerary, was *Peutinger's* Table. Mr. Ward speaks of it in high terms. "The *Roman military ways* (says he) were not barely roads made convenient for travelling, but for military marches---for securing the Roman conquests---for guarding against the incursions of the Britons, and quelling insurrections. Those Roman works which were formerly looked upon as the ruins of some causeways or garrisons thrown together in distant parts of the kingdom, without any great order, or designed communication, appear now in a very different light: they are strong proofs of the great power and policy of the Romans. They were evidently extended almost throughout the kingdom; and the whole contrivance of them was regular and consistent. The stations were placed at proper distances, suited to the usual marches of the army; and the military ways had a communication with each other, from almost all parts. By this means, the army was always supplied with necessary provisions; and insurrections were easily quelled in any parts of the kingdom. And, accordingly, *tables* or *maps* of these military ways and stations throughout the empire (of which kind was *Antonine's* Itinerary) were drawn by the Romans, and commonly used by the generals in their marches. And indeed, no ancient record that time hath left us of the Roman affairs, appears to me a stronger proof either of the power or policy of the Romans, than PEUTINGER's *Table*. Not only their historians, but likewise their monuments and inscriptions which are extant in most countries where they came, acquaint us with the extent of their conquests. These evidences, however, lie wide, and require time and thought to collect them into one view, and therefore do not convey the idea of the Roman power in so strong a light, as when we see in a manner the whole world that was then known laid out as distinctly almost as a private estate. This shews on what a foundation some of their emperors might assume to themselves, as they did, that haughty title of *Victores omnium gentium*. And when we survey their *military ways*, and consider the number, nature, and vast extent of them, with the *stations* every where erected upon them at proper distances, they seem to be much more ingenious works, than even the porticos, temples, amphitheatres, or triumphal arches of that surprizing people. Nor could any thing, in point of policy, more contribute to secure the conquests of the Romans. What could be a greater encouragement to their officers and soldiers, to enter upon distant expeditions, than to observe the whole course of their way, the nature of the countries through which they were to pass, the daily stages they were to make, and the several towns in which they might expect accommodations, so plainly represented to their view? This must have rendered all places familiar to them, and induced them to think themselves every where at home, whilst they saw the marks of their former labor and victories. If any insurrections happened in any part of the empire, by this might be found what forces were nearest---what route they should take---where and in what manner they might best be supported."----Some account of the Roman ways in the west of Britain, is given in a letter to *Hearne*, published at the end of his 6th vol. of *Leland's Itin.* p. 112.

endless conjectures.† Yet amidst all the disfigurement of names, and the irregularity of his Itinerary, considerable information might be gathered from the *Ravennas*, whose authority seems, in some instances, to be confirmed by *Antonine* and *Richard*. In his description of Britain he expressly mentions "*Civitatès et Castra*:" and it is evident that he begins from the western coast; though he does not proceed with such a degree of method as greatly to assist us in our elucidations.‡ We should here proceed to the illustration of these ancient notices, by investigating the Roman roads and stations in Danmonium: but a few preliminary observations may assist us in this research. With respect to the roads, I have only to premise, that we are not to expect the discovery of a Roman way, at every turn. About forty years since, and so lately as the time when Dr. Borlase investigated the antiquities of Cornwall, it seemed to be the prevailing opinion that the Romans had scarcely visited the western part of Danmonium. Dr. Borlase, therefore, takes great pains to prove, that this people had advanced beyond the banks of the Tamar: and, as his sentiments had some chance of meeting with opposition, he cautiously represents those matters as probable, which he might have stated as indubitable facts, without incurring the charge of injudiciousness or temerity. At the present juncture, it seems to be the fashion to intersect the whole

† *General Simcoe* was so obliging as to communicate to the author his conjectures on the *Ravennas*. "The Ravennas seems to enter Devon at *Tamaris*, which must be looked for on the Tamar (possibly on the Cornish bank). He proceeds to *Durocoronavis*.---Whether the etymology of this word be found in *Cornwood*, which gives the name to the hundred, is worth attention: by *Duro* it should appear to be on the river. He proceeds to *Pilais*, *Vernalis* or *Vernilis*, *Ardua*, which possibly may be *Clifton-Hardness*, parts of *Dartmouth*, *Ravennatone*, *Devionisso*, which may be *Devenebury* of Domesday. I think the modern Latin name for *Devonshire* is *Devionissa* (some print of a countess of that name). Next, his *Statio-Deventia* may be *Auton*; for I can by no means reduce the names to any probable regularity, which possibly may arise from the intermixture of *civitates et Castra*. *Stene* is certainly *Stanborough*, giving at this day the name to the hundred. *Duriarno*, the *Durius-Amnis* of Richard of Cirencester, is probably *Ashburton*, (or *Buckfastleigh*, which should be examined). *Uxelis*, *Vertevia*, if the latter be *Artavia*, must induce us to suppose that he describes towns irregularly, and possibly may inforce Gale's conjecture, that *Uxelis* is *Lestwithiel*. *Melarmoni Scadum-Nanniarum* is a corruption of *Isca-Danmoniorum*, *Exeter*.---*Termenin* is the *Termolum* of Richard of Cirencester, (these authors giving and borrowing mutual credit, and proving the irregular method of the description of Ravennas). *Mostevia*, *Milidunum* perhaps *Milverton*, *Apaunaris*, *Alongium*,----These names seem to comprehend the sea-coasts and internal parts of Devonshire. He adds, item *Juxta* Suprascriptam Civitatem Scadoniorum est Civitas quæ dicitur *Moriduno*. So that we may infer the intervening cities were not *Juxta*; and Antoninus and Ptolemy, by *Isca Danmoniorum* and *Moridunum*, connect and support the Ravennas, as well as R. of Cirencester by his *Durius Amnis*. *Alauna Silva*, I cannot but conceive to be *Taunton-Dean*---Dean is a perfect translation of Silva."

‡ In the *Notitia Imperii*, are mentioned no places either in Devonshire or Cornwall. The *Portus Adurnus*, or *Portsmouth*, is the most westerly place in the *Notitia*.

country with military ways. Not a hill, valley, or plain escapes the touch of the *romanizing* rod. § But Danmonium is, surely, not the scene for such minute investigation.‖

§ There are *two points*, from which, as we trace the Roman roads and stations, we should endeavour to keep at an equal distance: the *one* is, a littleness of research (if research it may be called) so common in our antiquaries, who timidly creep upon the ground, or proceed with feeble steps; as confined in their ideas as they are slow in their movements. Characters of this description are appalled at a conjecture! Poor, doubting apprehensive creatures, they require absolute proof of every fact, where, from the nature of the subject, such evidence is impossible. The result, therefore, of their discoveries, on Roman Britain, is nothing more than a few scattered relics---bits of broken roads which they are unable to put together---and here and there, a camp, which they are afraid to separate from the vulgar mass of Danish castles; but which, if rescued from its disgrace, they bring forward to no end: insulated it stands; and so may stand for ever!---In investigating the works of the Romans, we should enlarge our ideas: we should proceed with a Roman comprehensiveness of mind; and taking the whole scale of the country into view, survey it with a military eye: hence the Roman works will be rapidly developed around us; and the whole arise in beautiful connexion.---Yet, amidst this scene of grandeur, we should guard against the effects of a fervid imagination; lest, in pursuit of truth, we wander into error. Too great an ardor, therefore, is dangerous. This is *the other point*, which we should sedulously shun. *Mr. Whitaker* speaks well on this topic, in his *Manchester*, vol. i. p. 165, 166. On what topic, indeed, does he not speak well?

‖ Yet a very acute observer of antiquities (with whom the author has the honor of corresponding) seems to think the contrary. "The Romans (says he, in a letter to the author) made roads, not merely to strengthen their line of march through a country; or fixed stations to strengthen that line; but when the country was mastered, or as it was progressively subdued, they *encreased* their number of stations, and made *cross-roads* or *communications* from one station to another, in order the more effectually to support each other, to protect convoys and keep the country in obedience. These *cross-communications* from station to station, have been very properly called *Viæ Diverticulæ*: they are innumerable; and I am inclined to think all our *old parish roads* took their direction from these, and were so continued, except where accidentally altered in modern times by fresh cuts or by turnpikes.-----The Romans, we all know, had possession of this island for more than four centuries and a half, supported by a body of 80,000 Roman and foreign troops, besides British auxiliaries. They not only conquered the country, but during that time kept it in subjection amidst the repeated struggles of the Britons. But one line of march or of stations can never be supposed to have been adequate to this. Stations must have been formed in every convenient part of the country---in every commanding situation; and these must have been connected---must have regularly communicated with each other---or have been useless. What appears, then, to be so prudent and necessary, will, I am confident, by an accurate investigation of the remains which yet have survived their empire, be found to be also true, in fact.---The research will produce in every mind that hath caught the true military ideas, one singular effect: it will shew, how much military tactics, or the art of taking post and possessing a country by a military force, depends on uniform principles. Though the art of war may have varied, and the weapons or instruments of war may have changed in later times by the use of gunpowder and other circumstances; yet the leading principles of the art were and are still the same: and I will venture to say, that were a great general now to invade Devonshire, he would be induced to take post at many of the Roman stations: and that would also point out the necessity of *cross-communications*."----- As observations on the discriminating character of Roman ways, or the marks by which they are distinguished from other roads, can have no particular reference to Cornwall, I shall only remind the reader that the most finished Roman ways are raised into a ridge, consisting of regular strata of stone, clay, and gravel, ditched on each side---running in a straight line, and paved on the top: the stones are often laid close in an arch corresponding to the general turn of the ridge. Such perfect roads, however, do not in general occur. The way is sometimes raised, and sometimes level---sometimes it hath two ridges, and a ditch in the middle. Here the ridge turns to a dyke---there the dyke turns again to a ridge. Two ways are, not unfrequently, found running parallel with each other. It must be observed, also, that the Romans discontinued their roads, when they were not thought necessary to the ease

For the Roman entrenchments or earthworks, I have little more to suggest, than that the vulgar notion of them, in Devonshire and Cornwall, has not the slightest foundation in truth. I have hinted, that our antiquaries, in general, are too fond of *romanizing* the country: yet the idea of *Danish* castles seems greatly to obtain. But, almost all our camps were *Roman*. It is true, they were seized upon successively, by Saxons, Danes and Normans, and even by our own generals in the time of Charles the First, as the most convenient places for military works. And it is a mistaken idea, too favourable to the Danish hypothesis, that the Romans adhered to one *form* in their encampments. The form surely tallied with the situation, and was accommodated to the ground on which the entrenchments were raised. Hence it is a delusive standard, that some would adopt, who represent the Roman encampments as always taking the square figure. Some were square; some of unequal length and breadth; some took a circular, and others an oval figure. In short, the form was always adapted to the ground: and perhaps the square or parallelogram was preferred, when the ground would conveniently admit of it.* Besides, we have no less than Cæsar's authority for saying, that the camps and stations of this enlightened people, were shaped *secundum convenientiam loci*. As to the *scite* of their camps, we may observe, that the Romans frequently entrenched themselves near the water; and were particularly fond (as Horseley well remarks) of a *lingula*, or little tongue of land, near the confluence of rivers. To this general observation, however, there are numerous exceptions.

Having thus made a few observations on the Itinera, and on the Roman roads and fortifications in general, I shall endeavour, as I proposed, to exhibit the Roman

and discipline of the troops, and began them again, as they found occasion. The *vicinal* roads (leading from town to town) being much narrower and lower than the great consular ways, were, generally speaking, soon defaced."

* "We are not to imagine (says a correspondent) that the Roman fortifications were always square or rectilineal. When the Romans met with a triangular or hexagonal eminence, conveniently situated in regard to the enemy, we cannot suppose them labouring to throw the fences of their camp or garrison into a figure so contrary to the nature of the ground. Where they could chuse their ground, I believe an *oblong* agreed best with their method of encamping a *legion*: but they did not always encamp a whole legion."----- It will appear from Josephus, that Vespasian encamped in a square: but I believe the army under his command did not always fortify their camps, though they constantly smoothed the ground. If this be the case, they would but rarely fortify their camps, in Cornwall; because the points of our hills forming in general two sides of the triangle, and from their position being frequently inaccessible, there would be little occasion for precaution, where one front only could be approached by an enemy

architecture and castrametation in Danmonium, according to my † theory of its reduction and its situation as part of a Roman province. In this view, our *civil* and *military* architecture will necessarily be blended together. After which, our *religious* structures shall be separately surveyed. First, for the *first scene* of the Roman operations in Danmonium; which we have seen under the conduct of Vespasian. On this scene, the most conspicuous objects are, the *two great roads* that connect ‡ Danmonium with the eastern provinces, the *Fosse-way* and § the *Ikenild-street*; *three* Roman ways---*one* running from *Exeter* to *Okehamton*, and thence into Cornwall---*another* from *Bamton* to *Stratton*---a *third* from *Dulverton* to *Hertland*; and those *fortified towns* which probably existed on the roads I have mentioned or in their neighbourhood, at this critical conjuncture. I shall begin with the *great Fosse-way*; as it was evidently the road on which Vespasian directed his march into the west. It was, probably, *British*, at least in its rude shape. After Vespasian had occupied our principal towns, or, perhaps, during his progress through Danmonium, it was romanized, as well as the *Ikenild-street*, the other great road that runs through the south of Devon. The *Fosse road*, so called from its being *fossis munita*, and which was particularly necessary through the Somersetshire marches, more so than in any part of its course, begun, probably, at some period of Vespasian's war, to communicate with Bath, Cirencester, and the internal parts of the kingdom, where the other army, under the direction of Plautus or Ostorius was acting, I conceive, on the defensive. To introduce the *Fosse-way* into Devonshire, let us look to Dr. Stukeley, who, in his Itinerary, gives us the following account of it. "I continued my journey (says Stukeley) along the *Fosse*, which I observed paved with the original work in many parts. It is composed of the flat quarry stones of the country, of a good breadth, laid edgewise, and so close, that it looks like the side of a wall fallen down, and in the current of so many ages is not worn through---a glorious and useful piece of industry, and to our shame not imitated: for, a small reparation from time

† As laid down in the first chapter.

‡ See *Musgrave's Belg. Britann.* pp. 73------80.

§ "The *Ikening-Street*, was originally undertaken and executed before the invasion of the Romans; undertaken for the purposes of British conveniency, and executed in a style of British simplicity." *Whitaker's Manchester*, vol. i. p. 104---106.

to time would have preserved it entire. - - - As I rode, on my left hand I saw the pleasant view of *Montacute-hill*; a copped round eminence, encompassed at bottom with a broad verge of wood; so that it looks like a high-crowned hat, with a fringed hat-band. - - - Another hill, near it, is much of the same figure. Between them and the *Foss*, upon the same hilly ridge, is a Roman camp, called *Hamden-hill*, with a double ditch about it - - - to which leads a *vicinal* Roman way from the *Foss* through Stoke. The *Foss* is very plain and straight hither, and to Petherton-bridge, near South-Petherton, once the seat of King Ina. Beyond this, the *Foss* grows intricate and obscure, from the many collateral roads, made through the badness and want of reparation in the true one: yet it seems to run through Donington, which stands on a very high hill, and, when mounted, presents us with a *vast scene of* Devonshire. I suppose this *Foss* went on the east side of *Chard*, and so by *Axminster* and *Culliton* to *Seaton* or *Moridunum*." The Fosse-road evidently points from Somersetshire towards *Seaton*. It crosses the Axe, probably at Axminster. It proceeds through *Colyton* (which I take to originate in a corruption of *gual* or *vallum*) to *Seaton*. From *Seaton*, the great *Fosse-dyke* proceeds to *Hembury-Ford*: and it comes down from *Hembury-Ford*, through the parishes of Hembury, || Fenniton, Talaton, and Whimple, along the *old Taunton road* to *Exeter*, by Lay-hill, Colstocks, Tale-water, Talaton-common, and Larkbere, till it falls into the *Ikenild-Street*, at the top of Streetway-head, nine miles from Exeter. Let us now look back for the *Ikenild-Street*, or great *Icenian-way*. The *Ikenild-Street* goes north of *Bridport*; then running along the ridges of some hills, which command the country, comes to *Worston*. From the back of *Worston* it is visible for six miles together quite to *Axminster*, rising up to an entrenchment called *Lambert's Castle*, through which it runs; then proceeds on the ridge of the opposite hill just above some fish-ponds, and keeps along the plane of the hills, till it falls into what is now the turnpike road from Lyme to Crewkerne. This it gradually leaves to the left, by turning itself to the right, with an easy descent to *Axminster*, where it falls into the London road near the

|| In the parish of *Dunkeswell*, was a *paved road* (visible not long since) that ran through *Gully-lane* into the common; where it was discontinued as unnecessary on such an exposed and dry eminence.

turnpike gate at Axminster.* From *Axminster* this road is traceable across *Kilmington* and *Shute-Hill*. It then turns away along *Dalwood-down*, and so keeps the *ridge* till it gradually descends by Honiton-church to the Turk's-Head on the Exeter road to Honiton; whence it runs very conspicuously for *sixteen* miles in a straight line to *Exeter* - - - a branch only, turning off to *Hembury-Ford*. In marking the course of this road in the neighbourhood of Exeter, our learned antiquaries are not perfectly agreed. "That there passed a road west of Exeter to Totnes, Robert of Gloucester tells us, speaking of the four great Roman ways.† But we have better authority than that of this antiquated poet for a Roman road to Totnes. Whether it passed to the ferry below Exeter, as some think (who take it for a branch of the northern road through Worcestershire, Gloucester, Somerset, and Devonshire) or through that city, and was only a continuation of the way through Dorchester, Seaton, and Exeter, I shall not stay to enquire: my business is to trace it west of the city, in which I shall use the words of a late curious gentleman. The Roman road 'is visible at Kenford (about three miles below Exeter). There are not bolder remains in the kingdom of such ways, than from the passage over the Exe through Kenford, and Newton Bushel to Totnes. It appears with a high crest, and entire, most part of the way, which is at least twenty miles: I travelled twice along it: at Totnes I lost it; but about Brent, a small market town about six miles farther, I imagine I struck into it again; whence it continues in as straight a line as that uneven rocky country admits of, to Ridgeway, a small village near Plymton. In the neighbourhood of which place, in the grounds of Mr. Parker of Boringdon, I observed a remarkable camp, though of no great magnitude. Near this entrenchment, the said road having passed the small

* In this course, the judgment of the Romans, and their knowlege of the country, are conspicuous: they have avoided all the steep ascents which embarrass the London road by *Charmouth*, and contrived at the same time to command both the sea and the inland country: and it would have been for the advantage of the public, if the turnpike road had kept the same line.

† "Fram the South into the North takith Erminge-strete
"Fram the East into the West goeth Ikeneld-strete
"Fram the South East to North West that is sum del grete
"Fram Dover into Chestre goeth Watlyng-strete
"The ferth of these is most of alle, that tilleth from Totoneys
"Fram the one end of Cornwaile anone to Cateneys."

Dugd. Warw. p. 8.

river Plym, mounts a pretty steep ascent, crosses the main coach-road from Plymouth to Exeter, at a place called Nacker's-hole, and proceeds in a direct though narrow line to St. Budox, where the ferry over the river Tamar brings us to Saltash, and thence into Cornwall. Near this Nacker's-hole is a small intrenchment, (now a bowling-green) which though of a circular form, I yet deem Roman, and the *castrum æstivum* of the Tamaris of Ravennas, at this day called Tamerton, ‡ about a mile below it on the side of the river Tamar.' So far the late Rev. and learned Mr. Moulding, of Wichenford, Worcestershire, on the Roman ways in the west, § from his own observation; to which he adds: 'this way from Saltash, I have been told, proceeds to an intrenchment near Lestwithiel, where there is a causeway leading directly to it. I am equally positive, there is another Roman direction into Cornwall.' This road, continued from Exeter to Totnes, and thence to the sides of the Tamar, manifests that the design was to carry it into the southern coast of Cornwall." This far, Dr. Borlase. ‖ Among Dean Milles's MSS. I found the following letter * to Dr. Borlase: — "I can plainly prove that the *Roman road* goes directly to Isca Danmoniorum, and follows the course of the present road from *Exeter* to *Totnes*. When I was upon the hill called *Streetway-head*, nine miles from Exeter, in the London road, I observed the direction of this road, westward, and found it to be so far from going to the south of this city over a ford of the river, as Mr. Moulding supposes, that it run in a straight line for four or five miles, bearing rather to the north than to the south of the city: and though we perceive no traces of the road within two or three miles of the city, yet the present road observes the same direction; so that the Roman road must have made a very short and improper turn, if it had crossed the river in any place to the south of the city. I have carefully searched for it between *Exeter* and *Kenford*; but can find no traces, except that there is an estate on that road called *Kenbury*, where, on a hill, I discovered some *faint traces of*

‡ "The Tamare of Ptolemy, now Tamerton Foliot;" says *Borlase*.

§ In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Lyttelton, Dean of Exeter, dated August 22, 1743.

‖ *Antiqu.* pp 302, 303.

* Dated May 24, 1755.

an encampment; and probably that was Roman; and if so, the road lay near it, as it generally does to the Roman camps.---From the first ascent of *Haldon*, I have made out the Roman road quite to the end of the down. It was along the side of the present road, at about forty or fifty yards distance, and is raised a little above the level of the down; sixteen feet wide; and the holes made by digging out the stones and earth for this road, appear regularly along the sides of the road. There is a well fortified, but not a large camp, about a mile beyond Haldon, and a little to the south of Lord Clifford's, which from its being so near the old road, and by being fortified strongly against the west, I take to be *Roman*. The road continues on in a straight line to *Sandy-gate*; and there I apprehend it continues in a direct line to a ford over the river between *King's-Teignton* and *Newton*, instead of winding to the right over *Teignbridge*, where the river never is navigable: and it is generally observed, that the Romans rather chose to pass rivers at fords than to build bridges over them.---From the hill above *Newton* to *Totnes* the road runs pretty straight, which makes it probable that the old Roman road kept this direction; but as for the high crested road, which Mr. Moulding talks of in this place, it seems to be much more modern than the time he supposes; for it is a modern road, pitched with a causeway of stone, which has no appearance of being Roman. From *Totnes* to the *Tamar*, I think the course which Mr. Moulding has pointed out a very likely one."----Dean Milles does not seem to have found any traces of this road near Exeter. It is certain, however, that he is right in his observation as to its running north of the city. It passed the Exe at a ford under the camps on Stoke-hill, and opposite to Sir Stafford Northcote's. Upon *Haldon-hill*, I could perceive very plain traces of it.---That the design of carrying this road into the south of Cornwall was executed, we may be assured from the Itinerary of Richard; which, though imperfect, leads us as far west as the river Fal.---Dr. Borlase thus endeavours to trace this road through Cornwall. "In the Summer of the year 1752 (says the Doctor), I set out from Saltash on purpose to search after this road; and in my way from Lestwithiel to Leskard, about a furlong to the eastward of Lestwithiel bridge, I saw an old ridgeway on the right hand, but soon lost it by keeping too much to the left, as I imagine; but a quarter of a mile before I came to the second tap-house, saw on the left a high ridge, leading on near easterly,

large pits on the higher side of it, some square, some shapeless out of which the ridge was raised. This way was ditched on both sides, ten feet and half wide, in some places wider. It went straight over the downs (which was here level) from Lestwithiel toward Leskard; on the side of it were many barrows: hence it runs through some meadows (which lie round the tap-house) beyond which I immediately joined it again, plain, high crested, slanting up the hill, ditched on both sides, but wider than before; thence it is very plain as far as the third tap-house, beyond which in a straight line it continues for half a mile, then passes from the highway into a field, where it runs within the hedges for a quarter of a mile farther, in a straight line still. I then lost it; and thence to Leskard, and afterwards to Saltash, being through deep hollow ways and inclosures, I saw nothing more of it. That this is part of a Roman way I am inclined to think from its keeping in a straight line, from the places dug along its sides to fill it, from its ascending the hill in an easy slope, and from its being ditched on one side as much as on the other; whereas if it had been a camp, it would have turnings round the hill, and rounds, or salient angles on its turnings, and would have been ditched but on one side. There is also a ridgeway west of Lestwithiel, which runs down nearly parallel to the river, towards Fawey; it runs by Castle-Dour, (an ancient encampment, now almost demolished), betwixt which and Lestwithiel, I saw many remains of a Risbank, about eight feet wide, ditched on each side; betwixt Castle-Dour also and Fawey, saw a high ridge-way ditched on each side, in a straight line. What makes it probable that the Romans had a way here running down from their great western road the better to secure the mouth of Fawey harbour, is, that many coins have been found hereabouts. And a little below Fawey, cross the river is an ancient village called sometimes Polrouan, and sometimes Portrouan, which by its name seems to have belonged to the Romans. I am informed, that there is a part of a stone causeway leading from Bodmin to Lestwithiel: this way tradition attributes to the Romans: the remains of it are about midway betwixt these two towns; they consist of two fragments, the longest of them is about 100 yards, and the other not so much; they incline a little with the road, are about ten feet wide, and are raised above the common level about a foot. It is not at all strange that here should be a way: for the river Alan coming up from the North sea, and Padstow haven, and the river Fau coming up from the South sea, and Fawey

to Lestwithiel, do almost cut our narrow county in two, being within the reach of four miles, one of the other; so that a way from river to river would in a manner, connect the two seas, and there could not be a more judicious piece of ground chosen either for a way, or a garrison, than this, from whence the troops could reach so easily from north to south sea. To this let me add one observation more, that at Pencarrow there is a very considerable fortification overlooking the Alan, and on the hill near Bodmin as considerable a fort, (leading directly from that of Pencarrow towards Lestwithiel) called Castle-kynek. By means of these two garrisons, and one at or near Lestwithiel, the passage between the two rivers was easily secured, and small parties might traverse with security." † Between Leskard and Loo, near Polgover, there are evident remains of a causeway, which to the eye of the antiquary is Roman, as well as the cross-road from Dulo to Heasenford. The causeway and the cross-road are, also, traditionally Roman. "That the Romans had ways (says Borlase) about Looe and Lestwithiel, ‡ the following ancient work, shewn me by the Rev. Mr. Howel, Rector of Lanreath, (June 25 and 26, 1756) will abundantly confirm: it is called the Giant's hedge; a large mound which reaches from the valley in which the two boroughs of East and West Loo are situated, to Leryn, on the river Fawey: it is first visible on West Loo down, about two hundred paces above the mills, whence it runs to Kilmaenarth woods; from and through them to Trelaun wood, about three hundred paces above Trelaun mills; then through little Larnic to the Barton of Hall, in which there are two circular encampments about four hundred paces to the north of it; thence quite through the said barton, making the northern boundary of a field on the glebe of Pelynt vicarage, called Furze-park; then cross the barton of Tregaric, and thence through the north grounds of Tresasson and Polventon, to the glebe lands of the rectory of Lanreath, where I measured it seven feet high and twenty feet wide at a medium; thence it stretches through the tenement of Wyllacomb to Trebant water, whence it proceeds through the barton of Langunnet and

† *Antiqu.* pp. 304, 305.

‡ *Coanse*, in the parish of Luxulian, means a pavement or causeway

some smaller tenements to Leryn, from which there is a fair dry down, called St. Winnow down, leading north along to Lestwithiel. This risbank, or mound, ranges up-hill and down-hill indifferently; has no visible ditch continued on any brow of a hill, as intrenchments always have; there is no hollow or foss on one side more than the other; it is above seven miles long, and tends straight from Loo to Leryn creek, in the direct line from Loo to Lestwithiel. By all these properties, its height and breadth, its wanting the fosses of fortification, its straightness and length, the grandeur of the design, and the labour of execution, I judge that it can be nothing less than a Roman work: in this supposition I am the more confirmed; first, because several Roman coins have been found on the banks of Fawy river, and as I have been informed also in the run of this remarkable work; secondly, by its tendency to the first ford over the navigable river of Fawy; for it must be observed that the Romans, thoroughly sensible of the delays and hazards of crossing firths and arms of the sea, and the danger of bridges getting into the possession of the natives, were equally averse both to bridges and passing large rivers; they had therefore in constant view the nearest and most commodious fords of rivers, and directed their roads accordingly. Now near Leryn creek, where this work ends, there is a ford, and no where below is the river Fawy fordable, which plainly accounts for their carrying this road so high up in the country, that it might at once convey their troops towards their station at Lestwithiel, and afford them a safe passage over the river Fawy into the western parts, through Grampound and Truro." § "Having tracked this way, thus much about Lestwithiel, I have seen no more of it; but there is reason to believe, that it kept on, through or near St. Austel to Grampound, the *Voluba* of the ancients, and thence in a straight line to Truro, six miles farther; but the grounds (altogether inclosed) will make it difficult to trace it here. However, the name of this last mentioned town, (to say nothing of coins found near it) induces me to think that more than one way passed here. So that Camden may be very little out in his derivation, when he says, that it is called, in Cornish, TRURU, *a tribis plateis*, from the three streets. Probably the great eastern road passed from Truro, near Penryn, there being a straight lined fortification about midway between these two towns, in the parish of Feock; and

§ *Borlase's Nat. Hist.* pp. 325, 326.

so on towards Constantine and Helford Haven, where many coins were found. - - - I have nothing farther to remark of this great western road, than that there is room to conjecture, from the Iter of Richard of Westminster, that a little beyond Grampound it sent off a branch to the left-hand down to Tregoney, on the river Val, which was formerly navigable far above this town ; * and what seems to confirm this conjecture, is, that midway betwixt Grampound and Tregoney, is an encampment called Wulvedon, with an avenue pointing towards the Grampound road." ‖ About a mile to the west of Grampound, adjoining to the present high road to Truro, is a tenement called *Caerfos*, (or *Caerfosou*) which indisputably means, *the castle* or encampment on the dyke or *foss*.¶ Dr. Plot was of opinion, that the Ikenild-street "went into Devonshire and Cornwall to the Land's-end." † In Peutinger's table, there is a Roman way, far west of Exeter, and running, indeed, to the Land's-end, where his *Riduno* is placed. ‡ And it is remarkable, that at this extremity of the county, we find *Rin* and *Treryn*, not much unlike *Ridunum*. But, not to reason from a meer echo, we have, also, to observe, that at Treryn was found a brass pot of Roman coins, as mentioned by Leland. §

This much for the *two great roads* that connect Cornwall and Devon with the rest of the island. And I may venture to assert, that the *scene* of Vespasian's triumphs, was distinguished by other Roman (or rather romanized British) roads, running in nearly parallel lines through parts of Devonshire and Cornwall - - - *one* from *Exeter* to *Okehamton*, over the *jugum Ocrinum*, into *Cornwall*; *another* from *Bamton* to *Stratton*; and a *third*, still further north, intersecting the country, from *Dulverton* to *Hertland*.

* "The sea in former times brought boats of reasonable burden far above Tregny, to a place called Hale-boat-rock, in which rock are yet many strong iron rings, which served to tie boats unto." *Norden's Survey of Cornwall*, p. 6.

‖ *Antiqu.* pp. 305, 306.

¶ *Fos, Foz*, a wall. pl. *Foson, Fusu*. Thus, *Ar-vose* signifies, "*upon the ditch of the entrenchment*. - - - *Penvose*, "*the head of the entrenchment*" - - - *Trevose*, "*the fortified town*" - - - *Kellivose*, "*the grove in the entrenchment*" - - - *Marhaz-an-voz*, "*the market of the fortified entrenchment*" - - - *Trefuses*, "*the walled habitation*," or "*the fortified town*" - - - *Hendra-vossan*, "*the old town entrenchment*."

† Plot's Oxfordshire, p. 324.

‡ But Peutinger is deficient as well as confused. *Riduno* is commonly supposed to stand for *Moridune*.

§ *Itin.* vol. 3. p. 4.

Of the road from *Exeter* to *Okehamton*, we have few vestiges: yet these, together with the probabilities in favor of such a road, will leave us no room to doubt of its existence. The present turnpike between Exeter and Okehamton, has all the air and straightness of a Roman road: and its very inconvenient narrowness gives it greatly this appearance. I cannot but remark, that this narrowness is visible in all our old county bridges. Borlase seems to have discovered some traces of this way, which he describes in a letter to Dr. Milles.----"At the extremity of Okehamton parish, I espied, close to the coach road, two little ridges of earth, gravel and stones, intermixed: the stones were from eight or ten to eighteen inches diameter.--- These ridges run directly parallel, about twelve feet asunder, straight from Okehamton towards Bridistow: they might be visible for a mile and more. Neither of these mounds could be intended for a fence or hedge for an inclosure; for then the stones would not have lain so confusedly mixed with earth, clay and gravel. I soon put my horse between these ridges, to view them the better, and found the way betwixt them consisted of a layer of small pebbly stones, very closely compacted, which made me think that the ridges had formerly composed the upper or outmost coat of this way, which growing ruinous on the top, and the stones moved out of their order, made it necessary for the parishioners to strip off the upper coat of stones, clay and gravel; and laying them partly on one side and partly on the other, they formed the two ridges, and at the same time laid bare the second coat of the old way, which is at present the road, and a very firm one. Farther on, beyond Bridistow three or four miles, on Loo down, is to be seen the remainder of a like work, running straight on towards Lifton. Whether this be the track of a Roman way grown ruinous, as may be imagined from the intermixed stones, the straightness of its direction, and the suspicion there has always been of a Roman way near this place, leading from Exeter towards some parts of Cornwall, I leave to Dr. Milles to find out."* This road seems to have passed over Newbridge, on the Tamar, some miles to the south of Launceston. Near Launceston, it fell in with a branch of the more northern road; which I shall mention as proceeding from Stratton to Camelford, Bossiney and St. Columb.

* Of the Okehamton-road towards Bridestow, Dr. Milles had some suspicion: of the road on Loo-down, not the least.

The roads I have noticed, could not have sent off such convenient branches as to command the whole country of Danmonium. Previously to any investigations on the spot, it has been often conceived, that a *northern* road came into the north of Devon from Somersetshire, crossing the river Exe above *Bamton*. Confirming this opinion, evident traces of it have since been discovered. This grand northern way, which is called *Rumonsleigh-ridge*, enters Devonshire in the parish of Clayhanger. || It is observed to continue from the *Exeter* road towards *Southmolton*, a little beyond a house which stands at its junction with the *Witheridge* road, south-westward to *Beacon-moor*, in * *Chulmleigh*, about a mile north or rather N. E. of the town, where it bends itself westward, and crossing the road that leads from *Chulmleigh* to *South-molton*, goes on to *Elson* village, and so on, after crossing the river, to a farm-house called *Pavington* in *Burrington*; and thence over *Burrington-moor* through the Barrows there: on crossing the *Roborough road*, it proceeds to *Beaford-moor*, and through the barrows there to *Beaford-moor-head*, near the directing post in the cross-way to the east of the house so called. Here the ridgeway is supposed to bend a little, and to go on to *Beaford*, and so by *Wolley*; and crossing the *Torridge* a little above its junction with the brook that comes from *Wolley-mill*, to proceed to *Little-Torrington*, where there is some appearance of it. In the parish of *Hollacombe*, there is a village called STADDON, directly in the way from *Broadbury-down*, (where are many old encampments) to *Holsworthy*: through this village of Staddon, the Roman road still takes its course. To this spot, Dr. Borlase very nearly traced it. "Of the northern road (says he) I think there are plain remains still to be seen at Stratton. As this town lies among hills, I was obliged to get up into the church-tower to have the better view of the country round: from the battlements there, I soon saw a straight road passing E. and W. and bearing directly for the town, which in the main has the same direction, though some little by-streets branch off on the sides.

|| A correspondent says: "The ridge called *Rumonsleigh-ridge*, may be about ten or twelve feet wide, but in some places narrower, and about twelve or fifteen inches high, where it hath not been torn down, or otherwise damaged. It appears, in many places, to be raised with small stones; in others it is covered with a grassy spine. We see no pits where stone might be dug---there are no quarries near it."

* This part of Devonshire seems to retain very strong traces of the Romans, in the *names of places*. I doubt not but *Eggesford*, in this neighbourhood, (the seat of Mr. Fellowes) was Roman. *Eggesford*, I conceive, has *agger* for its origin: And *agger* (with all its corruptions) is a leading point to determine the course of ancient roads.

The next morning in my way to the east, I easily found the ridgeway I had seen from the tower the evening before, overgrown with briars, about ten feet wide, bearing in a straight line up the hill: I rode by it till I came to Westleigh on the top of a hill, near two miles east of Stratton, in the way to Torrington, which is several miles eastward of this town. There is a way, parallel nearly to this, which runs midway betwixt the lane, leading to Lancell's church and the aforementioned way, and this midway is called Smallridge-lane. This may be a collateral way to the other; for such are found near the great roads, particularly in Oxfordshire: but I do not take it to be the most ancient road, because I apprehend there must be a *broad* ridgeway near, or this could not with any propriety have been called the *Small-ridge*. Having collected these hints to the east, let us now pass through the town of Stratton to the west; where, at the town's-end, we find a raised way pitched with stones, (called the Causeway) slanting up the hill, and then running a mile and half as straight as the hilly surface will permit. About half a mile from the town, and one furlong to the right of this causeway, there is a square entrenchment, containing about an acre of ground, where the house of the Blankminsters (once a great family in these parts) formerly stood. It was moated round, but whether a little fort belonging to this way, or laid out so by the owners, I do not pretend to say: but in this place several brass medals and some silver coins have been lately found, as I was assured by the tenant of these lands, who found the former, and gave the four or five old brass farthings (as he called them) to his children to play withall. Before I go farther from this town, I must not forget to mention, that about two-thirds of the way from hence to Launceston, there is a barton called *Broad-ridge*, in which, as I am informed by the lord of the soil, there is a large ridgeway straight for a mile together, in a line pointing north and south, that is, from one of these towns to the other, which makes me imagine, that there was a cross road which struck off at right angles from Stratton to Launceston, a pass of great importance to those who would master Cornwall. I return now to the causeway which runs a mile and half west of Stratton, passing away at the head of Bude haven towards Camelford---which is sufficient to shew that the Romans had a way in the north of Cornwall; but the people hereabouts have done by this way, as the vulgar and ignorant have dealt with the four great ways in the other parts of the

kingdom; they have attributed it to the most famous man that tradition records to have lived in these parts; they say the causeway was first made by one of the name *de Albo Monasterio,* in English, Blankminster, a knight templar, (whose effigy lies in their church) who lived in the time of Edward the first, and gave lands to this parish, as appears by a deed of confirmation granted by Queen Elizabeth. This story may have so much truth in it, as that it was repaired by some great man of the family: but the Romans, of all the ancients, were the only paintakers about the public roads. Even the British chroniclers, however, ascribe the great ways to the greatest men they can think of. Thus Robert of Glocester, from the fabulous British history, attributes the four great military roads of Britain to King Belinus: and in like manner the road through Westmoreland and Cumberland, (though confessedly Roman) is called Michael Scot's causeway, as is also that in the county of Durham, about Binchester: whoever considers this custom, and at the same time the road leading from the east through the town of Stratton, must needs think that this causeway to the west, (though kept in better repair, because passing through more miry grounds) is only a continuation of the great road which comes from the east." § There are yet visible remains of this northern road, from *Stratton* to *Camelford, Bossiney* and *St. Columb.* ‖

That there was another road of some consequence, still further north, and nearly parallel with the way I have just described, seems extremely probable from the importance of the principal towns in the north of Devon, both in the British and the Roman periods.* I have scarcely a doubt but that one of the principal Roman roads

§ Antiqu. pp. 306, 307, 308.---In my Postscript to the whole work, (and indeed my biographical memoirs of the Cornish authors) I shall give my reasons for thus permitting Carew, Borlase, and others, to speak for themselves. In the mean time, let it be observed, that such extracts as the above, exhibit to us the *genius*, the *learning*, the *turn* of *thought*, the *style* and *manner*, in short, the *discriminating character* of writers, whose WORKS are OUT OF PRINT, and will BE CALLED FOR NO MORE; if the present history, embracing, as it proceeds in chronological order, every conceiveable topic of a provincial history, shall ever be brought to a happy termination.

‖ *White-street*, in St. Agnes, is a rough raised way: and there are several other streets, which, together with this, seem to have communicated with the great northern road. We have *Rough-street* in Gwennap.

* The navigable rivers, on which those two considerable trading towns *Barnstaple* and *Bideford* now stand, would abundantly justify the Danmonians or Romans in bringing their public roads so far north directly from Somersetshire. For the Danmonians, a northern road of this description would be very necessary, in the support of their communication with Ireland---an intercourse which appears to have been maintained by the original inhabi-

in Danmonium proceeded from *Dulverton* to Molland-Bottreux, and from Molland, through several places of distinction, to Hertland. †

How far these roads might have been British or Roman, it is impossible to ascertain: but that there existed in the British times, beacons commanding the whole extent of them, there can be little doubt. Both on the south and the north sides of the jugum Ocrinum, there were, probably, lines of beacons, that ran from the eastern limits of Danmonium, along to ‡ its western extremities, the Ocrinum and the Antivestæum promontorium. And there are many ruins of beacons along the jugum Ocrinum itself. There was anciently a beacon in almost every parish in Cornwall. § Directing our eyes from hill to hill, ‖ from the heights of *Maker* to *Godolphin*, on the south, or from the *Stratton-hills* to *St. Ives*, on the north, or along the jugum Ocrinum, we might easily discover those chains of beacons, by which the intelligence of an invading enemy was sent through Cornwall with great rapidity. On the south-coast, the beacon of *Roscruge*, in the parish of St. Anthony-Meneg, is one of the most commanding. On the north, may be particularized, the beacon of *St. Issey*, to the south of Padstow; and the beacon at *St. Agnes*, one of our highest hills adjoining to the sea-shore. It is by computation, at least four hundred and eighty feet above the level of the sea.* Near *St. Ives*, stood the watch-tower mentioned by

tants of Devonshire, long before the Romans. And, for the Romans, it was impossible that they could subdue or keep this part of Devon in subjection, without such a road communicating with our northern towns and castles. And *Hertland*, where I have supposed the road to terminate, held a distinguished rank among our ancient towns.

† We have, certainly, plain vestiges of a road, which branching off from the *Castle of Termolus*, runs towards *Barnstaple*, not by the present turnpike, but in the bottom; and which, avoiding the hills for a considerable space, joins the present road near *Landkey*. That this was the military road is unquestionable; because it seems a *natural* direction, and is conducted round and beneath the hills to save fatigue; and also because there was lately discovered in this very road a British *celt*, which strongly marks its great antiquity.

‡ For a connected view of the beacons on the east side of the Tamar, see *Hist. of Devonsh.* vol. i. pp. 143, 144.

§ "Of beacons, through the nearnesse to the sea, and the advantage of the hilly situations, welneare every parish is charged with one; which are watched *secundum usum*, but (so farre as I can see) not greatly *ad propositum*: for the Lords better digested instructions, have reduced the countrey, by other meanes, to a like ready, and much lesse confused way of assembling, upon any cause of service." *Carew, fol.* 85.

‖ "Hills of greatest name and height (says Carew) are *Hinxten, Rowtor, Brownwelly, S. Agnes, Haynborough*, the *foure Boroughs, Roche, Carnbray*, and the two *Castellan Danis*." *Carew, fol.* 6.

* "The strata of this beacon, upon digging, appear in the following order: the vegetable soil and common rubble under it, five feet deep; a fine sort of white and yellow clay, of the better sort of which tobacco pipes have

Orosius, as "opposite to such another in Galicia." - - - On the jugum Ocrinum, or near the ridge of mountains, we have *Beacon-hill*, at a short distance from Brownwilley; and *Bodmin-beacon*, and *Hensbury*, and many others.

Of the towns on the *Fosse-dyke* and the *Ikenild-street*, or such as lie in the vicinity of these roads, *Axminster* seems to have the first claim to a visit, in the route of a

formerly been made, six feet; under this, a layer of sand of the same nature as that of the sea below, six feet; beneath which is a layer of rounded smooth stones, such as the beach of the sea affords. Under this, four feet deep of a white stony rubble and earth, and then the firm rock, in which tin lodes shape their course. In both these instances the sea sand is lodged far above the level of the present sea. In Por'nanvon cliff (St. Just, Penwith) it is at a medium fifteen feet higher than full sea-mark: five and twenty miles off, on the grounds of St. Agnes, near the beacon, it is near five hundred feet above the sea. Other instances of the same unnatural situation of marine bodies, (which I here purposely omit) are to be found in other countries, as in Holland, Italy, and elsewhere, which have made all the chief naturalists agree (see Varenius's Geog lib. i. prop. 7. and Rohalt ii. vol. p. 159, Steno's Prodromus, &c.) that at one time or other, some of the highest mountains, as well as champaign lands, have been parts of the bottom of the sea, though now so much higher (Ray's Physico-theological discourses, pp. 130, 148, 214, 215, &c. third edition). And indeed, let us re-consider and turn these circumstances into every possible light, and it must at last be confessed, that the bed of the sea has been undoubtedly moved upwards more in some than in other places, (of which I take these two before-mentioned instances to be irrefragable proofs) and it may be added, not only in Cornwall, but throughout the universe. But how, and when this happened, how these sands became promoted to their present station, is not easily decided. That fish of all sorts should raise themselves to the tops of mountains with the waters of the deluge, is not so wonderful; that they should be intangled, suffocated, and deserted there, as the waters retired, and precipitated by descending torrents into bodies of dissolved earths and stones, is also easy to conceive; but here the bottom of the sea has been raised, fixed, and become dry land. No earthquake could be the cause of this, for the convulsions of an earthquake would not leave the pebbles and sands so horizontally placed, as in Por'nanvon cliff, nor the clays, sands, and shingle, so orderly and specifically ranged, and the solid rock so firm and unshaken underneath, as in St. Agnes hills. The cause of this elevation was therefore equal to the force of earthquakes, but gentle and equable, acting under certain laws and restrictions, in order to accomplish some great event; an event requiring and worthy of such astonishing alterations. This great event could be no other than the universal deluge; I do not produce these phænomena, the translation of sands, as direct natural proofs of the deluge, (that rests sufficiently firm upon revelation, as well as the *exuviæ* of marine animals every where dispersed on dry land) but as plain intimations of the manner in which the sea, now prostrate at the foot of cliffs and mountains, was raised and enabled to overflow the highest hills, and afterwards gradually laid down to rest in its usual bed. This is a part of natural history too extensive to be thoroughly discussed here, let it suffice to hint, what may one time or other, perhaps, be proved to the satisfaction of the curious; I advance it only as a conjecture at present, that it being determined to extirpate the human race, except one family, by overflowing the earth with water, the sea was the appointed instrument of destruction; that in order to raise the sea to a sufficient height, the bottom, the bed, the channels of the sea, were to be lifted up, and the wrinkles of the earth smoothed; that when the divine decree was accomplished, the same first Almighty cause, which conducted the waters to their necessary height, withdrew that power which occasioned the elevation, and the channels of the sea retreated again to their wonted level. But this return was not uniform, exact, and universal in all parts of the world, but general, and sufficient to all the purposes of animal and vegetable life; consequently, far the greatest part of the up-lifted bottom, returned to the place from whence it came; part rested in its most elevated station, hence the sands, pebbles, and shells, on the highest hills; part sunk somewhat, though some hundred yards short of its former depression, as was the case at St. Agnes hill; and part sunk till it came within a few feet of the common level of the sea, whence the pebbles, sands, and shingle of Por'nanvon cliffs, and places which exhibit the like remarkable phænomena, are found so near full-sea mark." *Borlase's Nat. Hist.* pp. 76, 77, 78.

Devonshire antiquary; though its pretensions, indeed, rather arise from its situation, than its importance. † *Honiton* seems, from its supposed etymology, to have been a British town. *Kwn-y-ton, Oppidum-canium-aquæ* - - - *Kwn* signifying dogs, *y* water, and *ton*, town, would fix its existence prior to the Romans: and it was probably enlarged by the Romans. ‡ *Hembury-ford*, in the parish of Pehembury, under which the *Cockenhay-street* proceeds, pointing towards *Seaton* or Moridunum, was certainly a place of great consequence in Vespasian's time. *Hembury* means the *old fort*. It lies on the summit of a high hill, with a § *double* rampart. It consists of two parts - - - one, supposed for the horse, the other, for the foot. The two Prætoria are still visible in both. In the eastern part, are the foundations of an old wall, running from west to east. This fort commands the vale of the river Otter. Several Roman coins have been dug up here. ‖ Around *Seaton* have been noticed many remains of antiquity, such as might be expected in the vicinity of such a town. - - - "They talk at * *Cullyford*, (says Stukeley,) of great stone vaults being found" - - - among various other relics that mark the destruction of the once flourishing Mori-

† That it was a town of little note before the Romans, we may venture to affirm: but it probably rose into eminence not long after the Roman invasion. It was certainly one of our principal towns in the Saxon times: its very name, indeed, is Saxon: and the traces of antiquity there, are chiefly Saxon. The vestiges of the Romans, however, in its neighbourhood, might lead to some conjectures on its architectural state during the present period.

‡ There are several *collateral Roman ways*, that meet in the centre of the town of *Honiton*, at the Market-cross; *one* called *Cockenhay-street*, which branches off towards Hembury-ford, and there falls into the *great Foss-dyke*; *another*, called the *North-street*, which follows the *great London-road*; and a *third*, that goes straight through the town towards Chard, by what is now called *Colley-Forches*, which I take to be a corruption from *collium fauces*, with which this station perfectly agrees.

§ "A *triple* rampart" - - - it is commonly said: but this is a mistake.

‖ Connected by the plainest roads with *Hembury Ford*, that eminent sea-port of the ancients, *Moridunum* or *Seaton* should doubtless be traced with accuracy. Though now sunk into a very inconsiderable village, it was one of the stipendiary cities of the Romans. Dr. Stukeley tells us, that according to the tradition of the inhabitants, there were formerly many great foundations of houses visible at Seaton, nearer the sea than the present town. "There, in likelihood, says he, stood the Roman city." And, about half a mile from the present Seaton, upon higher ground, on the western side, is a *castle*, called *Honey-ditches*. It is moated round, and seems to have been walled; for a great quantity of square stone is dug up there. The place is an oblong square, containing about three acres. This castle was, probably, the garrison of the port. Others place the garrison in a different situation; and think the whole of it has been lost in the sea.

* "On the western side of the river, (says Stukeley) is *Cullyford*; where was the *ancient road* from London to Exeter, passing over at Axebridge - - - which is now a strong ford, with two bridges that traverse the valley and the river, once a haven. Here, when the *high-road* was in being, were many inns and houses."

dunum. † The vicinity of ‡ *Ottery St. Mary* to Woodbury and Belbury and other Roman works, would lead us to suspect, that this, also, was a Roman town. But here we are treading uncertain ground.----It is time to visit the metropolis of the Danmonii---the *Isca Danmoniorum* of our conquerors. §-----

† A lachrymatory is said to have been discovered some years ago near Seaton: but at Seaton I could procure no intelligence of it. Roman coins have been repeatedly dug up in the neighbourhood.

‡ At Gittisham, in this neighbourhood, are evident vestiges of the Romans.

§ "The Roman geography of Cornwall (says Borlase) is so imperfect, that little information can be drawn from thence which can be depended upon. Ptolemy mentions four towns, and all the light he seems capable of affording us, must be drawn from their names, and the order in which he places them. His words are as follows:--- 'Μεθ ους Δυροτριγας, δυσμικωτατοι Δημωνιοι, εν οις πολεις, Ουολιβα, Ουξελα, Ταμαρη, Ισκα,' viz 'After the Durotriges (the people of Dorsetshire) come the most western inhabitants of Britain, called Dunmonii [It must be written Dunmonii, from Dun, a hill, and Mwyn, metal; says Gale, Itin. p 138: so, therefore, we shall write it for the future, however differently written by authors], among whom we find these towns, Voliba, Uxela, Tamare, Iska.' Voliba must be a town in the most western parts; for as Ptolemy ends with Isca (undoubtedly Exeter, as will be proved by and by) in the eastern parts of the Dunmonii, he must in all reason be allowed to have begun in the west. By the name, Voliba should stand somewhere on the river Fal or Val; and as the ancients for the greater security from pirates and invasions, chose to build their cities (which they always placed, if possible, on navigable rivers) at a distance from, rather than near the mouth of the harbours, I think Grampound is most likely to be the Voliba of the ancients. Ουξελα, (or Vexela) comes next; farther to the east, certainly, than the former, and by Camden thought to be Lestwithiel, but by Baxter peremptorily asserted to be Saltash. '*Pene quidem juraverim hanc* (viz. *Uxelam*) *fuisse Saltesse, sive uti hodie dicitur Saltash.*' [Glossar. p. 257] I am, however, of opinion, that Uxela is Lestwithiel, (Saltash being much too near to Tamerton) though I do not think with Camden, that ever this town stood on the top of a hill, and that the present name resembles much the ancient one. [Whatever gave name to Withiel at a few miles distance, gave also name to this, with the addition of Lost (or Lest rather) put before it; but from its being conveniently situated near a river, (formerly of greater depth of water than now) and at a middle distance from Tamerton, at the east, and Truro to the west, I should think the Romans might have had their head quarters here, and a station for some ships farther down at Polruan, at the mouth of the river.] The third city is Tamare, in which the name of the river Tamar is too strong to be questioned; and Tamerton, on the eastern bank of this river, lies almost opposite to Saltash, and must have been the place. The fourth is *Isca Dunmoniorum*, or Exeter, the winter, and westermost station of the Romans, according to Antoninus's Itinerary, and capital of the Dunmonii, the common appellation of the Devonshire and Cornish men. Here, therefore, I must beg leave to differ from the learned Mr. Horsley, who (in his Britannia Romana, p. 462) denies Exeter to be the Isca Dunmoniorum, making Ilchester the westermost station. If Mr. Horsley 'could never yet hear' (p. 462) of any military way leading to it or from it, nor the least evidence of any such way farther west than what Dr. Stukeley gives an account of in his Itin. Curios. p. 153, (which is the only foundation of all his arguments) I doubt not but he will be glad to be better informed; for by those who have examined the ground, I am well assured that there are two different Roman ways, that plainly cross one another near Honiton, about twelve miles to the east of Exeter, and irrefragable evidences of Roman ways to the west of that city. But ways are not the only testimonies of this truth; and since this point has not yet been cleared up, I shall beg the reader's patience, whilst from the name and situation of it, according to history, and also by its answering exactly to the distances given by Antoninus, I prove Exeter to be the Isca Dunmoniorum. That the river Exe, on which Exeter stands, is the Isca of Antoninus, the very sound of the word seems strongly to imply, [Nothing, indeed, is more natural to imagine, than that the Saxons, instead of Isk-cester (where there are three consonants after the I) for the easier pronunciation, turned the sk of the British uisk into an x, writing it Excester; as the river Axon, says Baxter, p. 140, for Askaun.] whereas Il-chester has the radical letter L in its

Exeter, || one of the principal British cities, was, undoubtedly, a stipendiary town of the Romans. Camden's opinion * relating to the antiquity of Exeter, is, surely, erroneous. Had it been "*built by the Romans*," it would have been absolutely a Roman city: and, consequently, we should not have found it among the number of the stipendiary cities. § Faint and dubious as are the traces of antiquity in the

names, [Givelcester in Florence of Worcester; in the anonymous Ravennas (inversedly as Baxter says, 141) Velox; in Ptolemy, Ischalis.] and surely because it stands on the river Ivel, it was named by the Saxons Ivel, or Il-chester. Again, Isca is placed by Ptolemy on the southern shore next above Tamar, whereas the Iskalis runs into the northern sea, and by the same author is rightly placed next to the Severn [See Horsley, p. 357]. The Isca is called *Isca Dunmoniorum*, and therefore to be looked for in Devon; whereas Ilchester is almost in the middle of Somersetshire. Now, if besides these congruities of name and place, and appearance of Roman ways, it shall be found that the distance also in the Itinerary of Antoninus does perfectly agree to Exeter, I should think that this matter can be no more disputed: let us therefore examine the 12th Iter of Antoninus, and go no further back than Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) and see whether the distance from Old Sarum to Exeter is such as is there laid down from Sorbiodunum to Isca Dunmoniorum:

	MILES.	
From Sorbiodunum to Vindocladia, near Cranbourn, — — —	XIII	C.
From Vindocladia to Durnovaria, now Dorchester, — — —	XXXVI.†	
From Durnovaria to Muridunum, likely Seaton (as by the name in British) on the river Axe, — — — — —	XXXVI.	
From Muridunum to Isca Dunmoniorum, ‡ — — —	XV.	

Here we have one hundred miles, according to the Roman measure; but the Roman miles are much shorter than the English, of which difference Mr. Horsley makes this, and I believe a just calculation, after having maturely compared (as he says, p. 382) and examined the miles used by both nations. 'Sometimes the ratio (says he, p. 383), may be as four to five, or less than this, but three to four is the mean proportion;' so that the hundred miles from Sorbiodunum to Isca Danmoniorum make only 75 English miles, according to the mean proportion, and eighty, according to the ratio of four to five, which comes so very near the real distance, [The measurement according to the post-road is eighty-nine miles from the present Salisbury to Exeter; but measuring by the wheel much exceeds the real distance, as measuring all the unevenness of the surface; reasonable allowance therefore on this account being made, this distance will appear as exact, as most of those laid down in the Itinerary.] that there can be no reasonable dispute but that Exeter not only answers to the name and place, but also to the distance given us in the Itinerary, and therefore must be the Isca Dunmoniorum, the station on the Roman military way mentioned in the 12th, and again in the 15th Iter of Antoninus." *Antiqu.* pp. 294---296.

|| According to Burton, *Exeter* was called (among other names) *Caer-ruffian*, or *Urbs Sicariorum*, "the city of assassins." See *Comment.* on *Antonine's Itinerary*, p. 266.

* See *Gibson's Camden*, pp. 30, 31.

§ "The *British city* (as General Simcoe conjectures) was on the first ford of the Exe; and it was removed, when *romanized*, to its present scite. On its present scite, it seems to have been a perfect Roman camp; and I presume, the town was originally almost a parallelogram. And *Colditch*, the old name of Southernhay, I believe

† The VIII. as in some copies, is a manifest error, for this would make it but fifteen miles English, from Old Sarum to Dorchester.

‡ Erroneously written in Anton. Scadum-nunniorum; by the Anon. Rav. Scadum-namorum, and Scadomorum, and in M.S. Regis Gall. Scadoniorum.

metropolis, our wishes would be too sanguine in expecting much amusement, amidst the inferior towns of Danmonium, as reminding us of Roman conquests. It is true, in our progress towards the south-west, an * arch discovered a few years since at Kingsteignton-bridge, might for a moment detain us. And I conceive *Teignmouth*, from its vicinity to the capital and to the great Roman road,† was known to the Romans. ------*Torbay*,‡ undoubtedly frequented by the Romans, might afford some scope

to be a corruption of *Gual* or *Vallum*; and that it was the ditch of the Vallum, which, extending thus far and beyond the present ditch, threw the ground into the shape almost of the camp of a Polybian legion. This city, as Hoveden describes it, was fortified with turrets and a wall of hewn stone by Athelstan; though in the same sentence, Hoveden says, '*lacerata mœnia reparabat*.' And this seems to be the truth; the fragments of the wall, at its bottom, (as is visible near the present Circus) appearing to be in the Roman manner. I believe this wall to have been constructed by the *legio secunda Augusta*. Towards the south, the Roman city has doubtless been altered, and probably lessened, as the wall on that side is said to have been beaten down by the Danes. The western and eastern sides have since become proportionally irregular. It is said in one of our chronicles, that after the peace made at the siege of this city, between King Arviragus and Vespasian, Exeter was called Augusta Britanniorum by the Romans; which seems to confirm our idea of the Augustan legion encamping there, and constructing its walls. But we have very few relics of the Romans in Exeter; by which we may form our conclusions with any degree of certainty. Exeter, indeed, having been so often besieged since the time of the Romans, and its walls, fortifications, and houses razed to the ground; we have no reason to wonder at this circumstance. As to the public buildings, it is uncertain where Vespasian erected his citadel. It was at first, perhaps, included in the camp, the principal station---the castra ad Iscam Danmoniorum. But *Rugemont-castle* was, I conceive, a Roman fortress. As a simple Roman camp, the Prætorium seems to have been what is now the scite of the Cathedral."

* The workmen, who were employed in sinking the ground for Mr. Templar's canal, laid open the arches of an old bridge, on which two arches of the present bridge were built. The ground had gradually risen (in process of time) to a level with the old arches, evidently Roman. In some places, indeed, the artificial earth has risen (posterior to the building of the Roman bridge) full twelve feet. The two more modern arches (erected in consequence of this) now plainly appear, resting on the old Roman work.

"† *Colley-lane*, a Roman way from *Teignmouth* to *Exeter*, separates Great and little Haldon. It is supposed to be a part of the once Roman road from Totnes to Exeter, which branches off near the Thorns on Great Haldon." *From letter to the author.*

‡ The *Berry-Head* is a lime-rock, 170 feet above high water mark, projecting into Torbay, and having a perfect command of the place. On this spot our own soldiers, not long ago, were employed in building batteries, to defend our ships, if chased back by the enemy; or to prevent an enemy from harbouring here. And here, I suspect, the Roman soldiers debarking, threw up their fortifications; so as to make this another place of reinforcement from which the Emperor might draw his succours, and to which he might retreat, as a strong-hold, in case of necessity. The wall of this fortification had, of late years, a regular face, and was many feet high. It was destroyed by the farmers, for limestone and for inclosing the adjoining grounds; as they could more easily pull down the wall than rip the lime rock. What remains is only the rubbish of the old wall, which is now about six feet high, presenting two fronts in an angle towards the country---the sea surrounding the other parts. From the foundation of the wall of this fortification, *two pieces of brass money* were dug up a few years since. One of the coins was evidently a *Victoriatus* of *Claudius Cæsar*---the image of Victory sitting on a throne very conspicuous---and the half-word---*Claud*..., sufficiently legible. On the reverse was the emperor's head; but the letters were obliterated. The other coin had the word *Cæsar* in addition; but the edge of this is worn off, where that word should be. Now, we know that the

for investigation. Nor should we, perhaps, be disappointed at *Totnes*; which, from the direction of the great road, was clearly known to the Romans. This was one of the principal towns of the Cornish. — — — It is remarkable that Totnes is situated in the neighbourhood of four towns, nearly equi-distant; *Ashburton*, *Newton-Bushel*, *Brent*, and *Dartmouth* - - - the first three about eight miles from Totnes; the last town about nine. I doubt not but these towns were Roman stations. - - - - - *Dartmouth* was probably well known to Vespasian's fleet: and, if *Modbury* were transiently visited by detachments only from the land-army co-operating with the fleet, *Plymton-ridgeway* bears evident marks of the Roman footsteps. *Saltash* (called also *Essa*) is vulgarly supposed to derive its present name from its standing near the sea. It is situated on the declivity of a steep hill, and consists of three streets, which are cleansed by every shower. It was, according to Baxter, the Ουιξελα, or *Uxella* of the ancient geographers. § The town of *Seaton*, which once stood on the mouth of the river Seaton, to the west of St. Germans, was probably a Roman town of some importance. No remains of it are to be seen. And there is little doubt but the sea

Romans had a coin called Victoriatus from the image of VICTORY upon it, stamped by an order of *Claudius*, in value about three-pence English. And it must doubtless be the same with this piece, which is brass, about the size of half a crown. The *Victoriatus* also had the image of Victory sitting, as in this coin. About forty years ago, many of these coins were found in the wall. That they were left there by Vespasian's soldiers, I can have little doubt.

§ *Trematon-castle* is situated in the neighbourhood of Saltash. "Trematon (in *Domesday*, Tremetona - - - in *Leland*, Tremertown) is in the parish of St. Stephen's, near Saltash. The wall of the Bass-court is still standing, ditched without, and pierced in several places with certain loop-holes, some square, (as those in Karnbre and Tindagel) some narrow and high, and some cross-wise. There is no tower projecting from this wall, but the gateway, which seems (together with the walls near it) more modern than the rest of the building. The Bass-court was about three-quarters of an acre, and once charged with several buildings, which are now all gone. At one end of this court is an artificial hill, which by the dipping of the valley is of a considerable height, and has a large ditch round the bottom; but next the Bass-court is only about thirty feet perpendicular. On the top of this taper hill is erected the Keep, of an oval figure, the outer wall of which is still standing, ten feet thick, two feet of which is taken up with the garretted parapet, the other eight make the breadth of the rampart. The entrance is towards the west, where the arch over the gateway is round, not pointed, and therefore the more ancient. The top of the parapet is about thirty feet high from the area within, which is now converted into a garden of pot-herbs; but the man who shewed the castle, and made the garden for his own use, remembers a chimney, and some part of walls standing, of which there are now no traces. The holes for the beams are plain, and in two rows, but both so near the top of the rampart, that I imagine there could be but one flight of rooms, and that the double beaming was contrived for the better supporting the roof, upon which in time of action the soldiers did duty. There is no window in all this Keep, for which reason I conclude they must have had a little court (or well, as the builders term it) in the centre of it, to give light and air. This little court, it is true, would yield but little light, but it was to strengthen their rampart that they denied themselves the pleasure of windows; and hence it was that these Keeps are often called the Dungeons of the castles to which they belong." *Antiqu.* pp. 321, 322.

has now usurped its place. For here the defalcations of the coast have been very considerable, if we may regard the tradition of the neighbourhood. *Leskard*, or "the *Castle-court*," is a very old town. Tradition says, that a Roman legion was stationed there; of which the name of the town is thought to retain some traces. ‖ The few vestiges of its ancient castle, will not settle our opinion. ¶ The Ουιξιλα of Ptolemy, is in Camden's idea, *Lestwithiel*; or, in Camden's ear; for he judges from the sound. "It is called at this day (says our antiquary) *Lestuthiel*, from its situation. For it was upon a high hill; where is *Lestormin*, an ancient castle; though now it is removed into the valley. Now *Uchel*, in British, signifies *lofty*: whence *Uxellodunum* - - - so termed, because the town, built on a mountain, has a steep ascent every way. This, in the British history, is called *Pen-uchel-coit*, 'a high mountain in a wood' - - - by which some will have Exeter meant. But the situation assigned it by Ptolemy, and the name it bears to this day, sufficiently evince it to have been the ancient *Uxella*. Now, it is a little town, and not at all populous. For the channel of the river Fawey, which in the last age used to carry the tide up to the very town, and bring vessels of burthen, is now so stopped up by the sands coming from the lead-mines, that it is too shallow for barges. And, indeed, all the havens in this county, are in danger of being choaked up by these sands."* I could never discover by what authority Camden placed the ancient Lestwithiel upon a hill; where the castle of *Restormel* (which he calls *Lestormin*) is situated. The ancient name of *Fawey*, according to Leland, was *Fawathe*. "It is set on the north side of the haven," hanging on a rocky hill, in length about a quarter of a mile. † *St. Austel*,

‖ "The greater number of tenements of a manor called *Carburrow*, are in the parish of St. Neot, in the neighbourhood of Leskard. But the manor takes its name from an estate in the adjoining parish of Warleggon. This manor is the property of Hunt: it is called in Domesday CAER - - - a name, which, with the more modern addition of *Burrow*, would lead an active antiquary to search for the remains of a British city within its bounds. - - - There are in Cornwall many curious circular earthworks, which appear to have had some sort of connexion with each other, and have been very little attended to." *Some account of St. Neot's Windows*, p. 6.

¶ *Caradon-Hill* near *Leskard*, is reckoned among the highest grounds in the county: it was found, some years ago, to be 1186 feet above the level of the sea.

* See Gibson's Camden, p. 8.

† "Near Fowey, (says Borlase) in the neighbouring parish of Trewardreth, were many Roman coins found, and carefully preserved by the late worthy Philip Rashleigh, of Menabilly, Esq. and now in the possession of his sister, Mrs. Hawkins, of Pencoit. What have reached my notice of this parcel are the following sorts: Of Valerian,

from its situation, has some claim, perhaps, to Roman antiquity. Bishop Gibson is of opinion, that *Grampound*, or *Granpont*, was the *Voluba* of Ptolemy; and that when *the adjoining bridge* was erected over the river Vale, it exchanged the name of *Voluba* for *Ponsmur*, ‡ signifying in British *a great bridge*, or in French *Granpond*. *Tregoney* * (or *Tregeney)* was indisputably the *Cenio* of Ptolemy, § the *Giano* of Ravennas, and the *Cenia* of Richard.‖ It is the conjecture of Camden, that

one; Gallienus, three; Victorinus, twenty; Tetricus, fifteen; Claudius, nine; Aurelian, one; Maximinus, one; Constantin. Max. one; Constantine, jun. one; Urbs Roma, one. There are many others (as I am informed) in this parcel, much defaced; but as I have not learned that they were found at one time and place, there is no guessing at the age in which they were deposited. --- I have only to observe, that Fowey lying about four miles below the Uxela (Ουιξιλα) of Ptolemy, now called Lestwithiel, and at the mouth of the same navigable, and (at Fowey) spacious river, this country and the coast was well known to the Romans, for they could not get at Lestwithiel by water without passing by Fowey; and indeed it is very likely that they had a station for their ships here, for on the other side of the river, about a mile below Fowey, there is an ancient village with a fair cove before it, still called Pol-rouan, signifying the Roman Pool, or as I find it written sometimes, Port-rouan, that is, the Roman port or cove." *Antiqu.* p, 282.

‡ By this name, Edward Earl of Cornwall enfranchised it. *Gibson's Camden*, p. 22.

* The following observations on the word *Tregoney*, will amuse the reader: they exhibit the true character of their author --- self-sufficiency and flippancy. "This district was, at the time of the Norman conquest, known and taxed by the name of *Treg-ny*, and *Tregny-Medan*. The first name of which signifies a place near the tide or sea-shore, as this place of old was. For before the river Vale was choaked with the floods and wash of the country and tin works, the sea ebbed and flowed above Tregny-bridge and St. James's chapple; as the shells and sand there still to be seen, and tradition, inform us; though now, by reason thereof, the sea is much driven back and disseised of its ancient rights and possessions in this place. Which occasioned that act of parliament, 23. HEN. VIII. that none should labour in tin-works bordering upon the havens or harbours of Cornwall and Devon, so as to endamage the same as in times past. But though the sea hath lost its dominion for about a quarter of a mile below the bridge, the contiguous tenements on the banks of the river Vale, have gotten many a fat meadow of marsh-lands annexed thereto thereby. And the name *Treg-ny-Medan*, signifies, the meadows of land near the tide or sea-shore. Names given and taken heretofore from the natural circumstances of the place And the modern name *Treg-on-y* doth in no sense vary from it, which signifies a place on the tide or sea-shore. I know, that, contrary to these etymologies, our great conjecturer, Mr Camden, (who on British words and names of places, was but as the blind man, who shot once at the hare and hit it, yet shot forty times after to no purpose) tells us in his Britannia, that *Tregny* is a corruption of *Tregenow*, or *Tregeneu*, i. e. the Mouth Town, or the town at the mouth; as if it had been the *Ostium Kenionis* mentioned by Ptolemy, viz. the mouth of Kenwyn river. Again, Mr. Sammes, in his Britannia, tells us, contrary to him, that *Tira*, and by contraction *Tra*, in the Phœnician tongue, signifies a castle or fortified place; whereof *Tregny* is a corruption, or derived from. To which etymology I only say *Bow wow!* and desire to know of this gentleman, if the initial part of this word *Tre*, or *Treg*, be derived from *Tra* or *Tira*, as aforesaid, what the terminative particle *ny*, or *gony*, signifies in that language. But then perhaps it will be replied, it is a particle without etymology or declension. To which I answer as before." *Hals's Par. Hist.* p. 80,

§ "Ptolemy calls the haven *Cenionis Ostium*, from the British word *Geneu*, signifying a mouth or entrance, which *Tregenie*, a town at the mouth of the harbour, confirms, because the name signifies a little town, or if the Phœnician derivation may pass, a castle or fort at the mouth." *Magn. Britan.* p. 311.

‖ "Cenia lying some where on the Cenio river, (or harbour of Ptolemy) must be either Tregeny, or Truro; but Tregeny bears fairest to be this Cenia; for in the parish of Lamorran on this creek, we find two mansions called

Truro, in Cornish *Truru*, was so called from its *three streets*. The British name, however, was written *Tre-uro*; in Domesday, *Treurgeu*; in the time of Henry the second, *Treveru*; *Trivere*, in the 13th of Edw. I. but in the 30th, *Treveru*: by which it appears, that the first syllable of this name is *Tre*, a town, and *vor* or *vur*, a way---in the plural number, *vorou*. So that *Trevurou* (corruptly written in Domesday *Treurgeu*) will make *Treurou*, by dropping the v consonant; which the Cornish language often does: consequently, this name will signify 'the town on the ways.' The *Castle-hill* at Truro, and the *Camp-fields*, were, perhaps, originally Roman. * From Truro there was, doubtless, a road to *Redruth*, a town of high Druidical character. ‡ The description of *Penryn*, in its ancient state, seems to agree with that of the original British town, or fastness in the woods. As we enter it, indeed, from the east, it has, even now, the appearance of a town on the side of

Tregennah; and in the adjoining parish of Verian, we find a tenement of like name, all taking their name from a river or creek, called anciently the Genna, or Cenio, as may be reasonably supposed." *Antiqu.* p. 304.

* "Whenever the Romans settled near the sea coasts, it was necessary for them to be masters of the adjacent harbour, which must have been one of the chief points that came under their consideration upon determining their settlements, the conveniency of a harbour to a body of troops being of the last importance. About two miles below the sea-port town of Truro, on a branch of Falmouth harbour, in a ditch near Mopas Passage, were found twenty pounds weight of Roman brass coin. The Rev. Mr. Ley, Rector of Lamoran, who bought them all of the finder, writ me that he never met with more than one of Severus Alexander, and one of Valerian. I have examined about 3000 of this parcel, and find them all from Gallienus, who began his reign, A. D. 259, to Carinus, who with Carus and Numerian reigned about two years, viz. from 282 to 284. [The several sorts which came into my possession were as follows:---Of Gallienus, twenty-six sorts; Salonina his wife, two; of Posthumus, nine; of Victorinus, ten; Tetricus, fourteen; Tetricus, jun. eight; Marius, two; Claudius, twenty-two; Quintillus, four; Aurelian, one; Tacitus, one; Probus, two; Carinus, one.] These coins having but one or two of the Emperors preceding Gallienus, and none below Carinus, appear therefore to have been deposited in the time of the last mentioned Emperor, and consequently before the Count of the Saxon shore was appointed, upon what particular occasion I do not presume to guess, but that the Romans were very conversant about Truro, we have great reason to believe." *Antiqu* pp. 281, 282.

‡ "Karnbre Castle stands on a rocky knoll at the eastern end of Karnbre hill. The building is footed on a very irregular ledge of vast rocks, whose surfaces are very uneven, some high, some low, and consequently the floors of the rooms on the ground-floor must be so too. The rocks were not contiguous, for which reason the architect has contrived so many arches from rock to rock, as would carry the wall above. The ledge of rocks was narrow, and the rooms purchased with so much labour, neither capacious nor handsome. The walls have in one of the turrets three stories of windows, in another but one, and are pierced every where by small holes to descry the enemy, and discharge their arrows, and some perhaps added in the more modern times for muskets. There were some buildings (now all down) at the north west end which were the outworks to this castle, but its greatest security was the difficult approach to it, the hill being strewed with great rocks on every side. This was certainly a British building, and erected in those uncultivated ages, when such rocky, hideous situations, were the

a wooded hill. ¶ There are some authors who confidently tell us, that *Voluba* stood at a little distance from the scite of the present Falmouth. * *Hals* speaks of Falmouth, † as below. ‖

choice of warlike, rough, and stern minds. The point on which this castle stands is not the highest part of the hill; that is taken up by a circular fortification, about three hundred yards to the west of the former. Here we find the ruins of a stone wall, which ruins are twenty feet wide, and shew the wall to have been of considerable height and thickness; it is called the Old Castle: its westernmost side was built on the foundation of a sacred mound which inclosed the greatest part of this hill for religion; but its eastern part deserted that mound, and was determined by the height of the ground, as it ought to be. That it was built by the ancient Britons, and as anciently as when Druidism was the established religion in Cornwall, I have great reason to think, because I find the large flat stones, which have most remarkable rock-basons (instruments, probably, of Druid superstition) left entire, as if preserved out of devotion; whereas, if this wall had been built by Saxons, Danes, or even Christians, they would certainly have been clove up, as being of the quoit or *discus* shape, and therefore commodious for the use of building; in the next place I observe that their wall does not cut or mangle any of their sacred circles, which are numerous here; whereas there is not that care taken of these places of devotion in the Danish fortifications. The rock-basons of that vast crag called Karnidsak, were probably carried off to build Castle Ch'un; and at Castle Treryn, I observe one of the Danish *vallums* cutting one of the Druid holy circles, and passing quite through it; and where the Danes have stone walls in their cliff castles, we find few or none of the rock-basons. All strong evidences, that the Danes had no reverence for these works; and therefore where we find them spared, we have reason to conclude that they were spared by the Britons out of respect to their own religion. There seems to have been part of a stone wall built on the north side of this hill, running from the old castle, nearly east, towards the new; it was built on the foundation of the religious mound before-mentioned, but it does not reach within sixty yards of the new castle, and was never finished. By the military remains on this hill, the British coins of gold, the Roman coins, weapons of war, and other things (probably Roman) found here, (not to insist upon the religious monuments) this hill must have been a place of ancient and great resort in times of war, as well as peace; well known to the Romans, and frequented by the most considerable among the Britons." *Antiqu.* pp. 319, 320.

¶ "Between Budock and Gluvias, on a promontory of land shooting into the sea creek of Falmouth harbour, between two valleys and hills, where the tide daily makes its flux and reflux, stands the ancient borough of Pen-rin, or Penryn; i. e. the hill head promontory, or beak of land; for as Pen is a Head in Cornish, so Rin, or Ryn, is derived from, and synonymous with, the Japhetical Greek ῥὶς, a nose, nook, or promontory. And here are lofty lands, still called the Rins, above the town. By the name Pen-rin, it was taxed, as the yoke lands of a considerable manor, in Domesday roll, 20. WILLIAM I. 1087. This place I apprehend to be the Ὀκρινμ of Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of the Danmonii, *An. Dom.* 140. (by Camden, through his ignorance of the British tongue!!! placed at St. Michael's Mount) it being only a corruption of Oc or Ok-rin-an; as much as to say the Oak-nose-hill, or Oak-Promontory-hill; referring to the terminative particles of the compound words Bud-ock and Pen-rin. To prove this conjecture, I find, in the manuscripts of the British and Welch bards and the Traides, *An. Dom.* 600, this place is distinguished with two appellations, Pen-rin-Goad, (i. e. the Promontory Head Wood) and Pen-rin Haus-ton (that is to say Penrin Summer-town); it being even to this day suitably called in modern English the Summer-court town. It being thus situate on the sea-shore, it was heretofore walled and fortified for its defence against enemies; near which two watch-towers are still in being. Moreover to prove that this town was formerly situate in an oak wood, or at least some other wood, I call for evidence the Cornish manuscript of the *Creation of the World*, a play, brought into Oxford in 1450, and which is still extant in the Bodleian Library there; which will at the same time serve to evince, that the now Black Rock of Falmouth, was in old time the

* See *Magna Britannia*, p. 310.

‖ See † in the next page.

Of the heights of Pendennis, the Romans probably possest themselves; though, when the castle was erected there, ‡ every remain of antiquity was destroyed. § - - - - Whether the Icenian-Street was carried further west, is too doubtful a point, to permit me to mention the more western towns, as situated on this road.

This much for the towns in the east of Danmonium, and on the great south-western road, and its neighbourhood.

Island (viz. the *Ikta*) of Diodorus Siculus, by which tin was transported into Gallia. A few words therefore of it here follow, faithfully transcribed, with their translation: they being spoken as by Solomon, rewarding the builders of the Universe, viz. p. 151.

	h e.
Banneth an Tas wor why;	Blessing of the Father on You;
Why fyth vea gwyr Gobery.	You shall have your Reward.
Whyr Gober eredye	Your Wages is prepared
Warbarth gans ol Gweel Bohellan,	Together with all the Fields of Bohellan,
Hag Goad Penrin entien	And the Wood of Penrin entirely,
An Ennis, hag Arwinick,	The Island and Arwinick,
Tregimber hag Kegillack.	Tregember and Kegyllack.
Anthotho Gurry the why Chauter.	Of them make you a Deed or Charter.

Lastly, though at present Penryn hath no timber wood pertaining thereto, yet within the memory of the last age much oak timber trees were extant about it, and lately some ancient Trees were growing in the streets thereof; all pointed at and preserved in the name of Bud-Ock, a cove, creek, or bay of oak." *Hals*, p. 145, 146.

† "*Falmouth* is situate in the hundred of Kerryer, and hath upon the north Bud-ike, east the haven or harbour of Falmouth, south the Black Rock and Pendennis Castle, west part of Bud-ike and the British Channel. For the name, it is taken from the Vale river's mouth, which here empties itself into the British ocean. And the river itself takes its name from its original fountain in Roach under Haynesburrough, called Pen-ta-vale Fenton, or Venton; that is to say, the head or chief good or consecrated spring, or well of water, or river valley; alias Pen-ta-vail fenton, i. e. the sacred or consecrated head well or spring of water: from thence called the Vale River. This place in Cornish is called Val-genow, or Falgenue; in Saxon Val-mun; in English Vale-mouth. This harbour of Vale-mouth hath been famous over Europe and Asia ever since this island was first known; though but darkly distinguished by the Greeks and Romans under several appellations; for instance, by one in Greek, signifying the Mouth of the Danmonii Island; for in former days, neither Greeks nor Romans knew whether this province of the Danmonii was an island of itself, or part of the insular Continent of Britain; no, not till the time of the Roman emperor Domitian, when he circum-navigated the whole island with his fleet of ships. Besides, 'twas the custom of the Jews and Greeks to call remote and strange lands islands, and the natives islanders: to which purpose we read, (Isaiah lvi. 19.) Tubal, Javan, and the Isles afar off; which were the Continent of Greece and Spain. Again, Strabo calls this mouth of the Vale river *Ostium Cenionis*; who also more plainly speaks of this place under the names of Valuba and Voluba: a corruption either of the British word Val-eba, i. e. the ebbing, flowing, budling, or flashing of the Vale river; or Val-ubia, that is, the point or promontory of the said Vale, now St. Anthony's Point; or Val-Ubii, from the colony of the Ubii, a people of Belgia, that planted themselves on the Vale river before Cæsar's days. From which Ubii might come Corn-ubi-ensis. Again, Diodorus Siculus tells us, that all tin was fetched out of Britain; as it is in some authors, after the Greek version, from Νῆσος Ικ-τα, ἡ Ον-τα, which seems to say in British, the first, the Good Lake, Cove, or Haven, Island, and the second (what we now call Bud-ok) a Bay of Oak Island. And indeed the

‡ As we shall see, in the time of Henry the 8th.

On the road that runs from Exeter nearly through the middle of the county, we have *Okehamton* in a direct line with Exeter. This is the first town of consequence. And I doubt not, that it was early fortified by Vespasian's soldiers. It was probably a British town, the principal one on the *Ocrinum jugum.* ‖ From *Okehamton* or *Ockinton,* the Roman road seems to have run on through Lifton to Launceston: but

memory of such Ike seems yet preserved in the present names of Car-ike Road, the chief part of the harbour of Falmouth, (from whence comparatively still all tin is transported) and Ar-wyn-ike and Bud-ike lands, by which the said harbour is bounded. --- This harbour of Falmouth, as mariners declare, is in all respects the largest and safest haven for ships which this island of Britain affords. Its mouth or entrance from the British ocean, between the castles of St. Mawes and Pendennis (situate one in St. Anthony, the other in Falmouth parishes) is about a mile and half wide; the centre or middle thereof above a league from the said mouth or entrance up the Vale river, by the very Rock island aforesaid, to Car-ike Road, King's Road, and Turner's Were. South-east, about two leagues from thence, still on the Vale river, a navigable arm or channel of the said harbour extendeth itself up the country, by Tregny; to the bridge place of which formerly it was navigable. And it is overlooked on the south-east side by St. Anthony, St. Just, Philley, Ruanlanyhorne, and Cuby parishes Within the said parishes of St. Just and St. Anthony are also two navigable creeks or channels. Here stands the castle and incorporate town of St. Mawes, where formerly stood a monastery of Black Canons Augustine, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, called St. Mary de Vale, for that it was situate on the Vale harbour or river; as its superior monastery is from the Plym river in Devon, called St. Mary de Plym, whereon it is situate. From the north-west part of this harbour of Falmouth, between the parishes of Budock, Gluvias, and Myler, another navigable channel extendeth itself up the country to the incorporate town of Penryn. And towards the north another channel thereof higher up extendeth itself through the country from the centre about a league, and is navigable to Peran Well and Carnan Bridge. Further up, north-east, another channel or arm of Falmouth harbour extends itself to the incorporate and coinage town of Truro, and the manor of Moris, and is navigable there, about nine miles distant from the Black Rock or Island afore-mentioned. --- Lastly, another branch of this harbour extends to Tresilian bridge, where it is navigable between the parishes of St. Herme, Probus, and Merther, about ten miles from the mouth of the haven and the aforesaid island. All which members or branches of this noble harbour are overlooked by pleasant hills and vales of land, and within the memory of man abounding with flourishing woods and groves of timber; and before that time Leland in his Itinerary tells us, that this River Vale was in his days encompassed about with the loftiest woods, oaks, and timber trees, that this kingdom afforded, (*Temp.* HENRY VII.) and was therefore by the Britons called Cassi-tir, and Cassi-ter; that is to say, Wood Land. From which place and harbour the Greeks, fetching tin, called it and the island so often here mentioned in their language Cassiteros. But now this commodity of tin hath made such havoc of woods and timber trees, in searching for and melting the same, that scarcely any of them are to be seen in those places. For the woods and trees being cut down and grubbed up, the hills and vales have submitted to agriculture, and are become arable and pasture lands, abounding with corn, sheep, and cattle." *Hals,* pp. 123, 124, 125.

§ "On the lands of the manor of Arwynick, upon a lofty peninsula or promontory of land, stands the famous and impregnable Castle of Pendennis; for which the Crown pays annually to the lord of the manor aforesaid, out of the Exchequer, about 13l. 6s. 8d. rent, as I take it. For the compound name Pen-den-nis Castle, it is British, and signifies that it is the head or chief man's castle, viz. the King or Earl of Cornwall's. Otherwise, if the true name thereof be Pen-dun-es Castle, it signifies that it is the head or chief Fort, or Fortress Castle. This castle of old consisted only of a treble intrenchment of turf, earth, and stones, after the British and Roman manner, upon the top of the highest hill in those parts, abutting upon the west side of the mouth, or entrance of the harbour of Falmouth, and containeth about twenty statute acres of ground within the lines." *Hals,* p. 129.

‖ In *Ockinton,* and its river *Ock,* we see a clear vestige of the Ocrinum of Richard *Portock* and *Quantock,* seem, also, to retain the memory of Ocrinum.

a considerable branch of it would lead us to *Lidford*; which I do not hesitate to set down as one of the principal Roman stations. For, though I believe that Lidford had never the honor of entertaining Julius Cæsar or his army, yet it was romanized, I conceive, in Vespasian's time. It was then a walled town; and seems to have been moated round, and secured on the north and west by a very deep ditch. Before it was destroyed by the Danes about the year 997, there were three gates at Lidford, Northgate, Eastgate, and Southgate. * But the greatest extent of this town within the walls, does not appear to have been much above a furlong. The castle at the north end of the town, is fifty feet square, and standing on a hill, rises about forty feet high. † At the southgate, there seems to have been a Roman road, which is said to have been turned from its original direction, on the building of the bridge over the Lyd. If we revere the works of antiquity, we cannot approach *Launceston* without some degree of awe. The old name of Launceston, *Dunheved*, is supposed to be derived from its situation at the head of the down on which the town anciently

* "They can shew you where the gates of *Lidford* stood, and also the foundation of the walls that encircled it, compacted of moorstone and lime." *Risdon*.

† The ingenious Mr. Lasky, of Crediton, informs us, that "Lidford-castle is a plain square building, containing nothing very curious.---One of its sides appears to be undermining.---The windows, or rather loopholes, are small and narrow, and placed in the building without regularity. There are many spacious and large rooms---particularly one, which appears to have been lately repaired, and contains a table, and seats, for holding the forest-courts. On the left, just within the entrance of the castle, a trap-door opens into what is called the dungeon. It is a square room, sunk many feet below the level of the entrance; and, it being here almost dark, and the descent perpendicular, it is a very dangerous pit for strangers unacquainted with its exact situation." See *Gent. Mag.* vol. 6?, p. 1008.---"The castle of *Lidford* is a square old edifice, on an artificial mount. It is crested with battlements, over which the ivy has run; and perched above thatched cottages that surround it, it has a venerable appearance.---Making a circuit round a wild hill, I entered the *town!* Town indeed now no more! I found only the remnant of a place, at one time well fortified, and which had the honor (as being of superior consequence) to entertain Cæsar on his second arrival in Britain. It is a mean obscure village, consisting of a few scattered thatched hovels, and a castle in ruins. In 997, the Danes laid it waste. From this devastation, however, it seems within the space of a century to have recovered itself. For, as a test of its splendor and population, the records say, that in the days of the Conqueror, it possessed 122 burgesses.---The castle is seated near the church, on the northern side, and is pretty entire. Its dimensions are about fifty feet---for it is a square: and in height it is about forty above the artificial mount on which it is raised. It consists of two or three tolerably sized chambers; with a dungeon of a horrible aspect deep, on the left of the entrance. In a former period, it was appropriated to the imprisonment of criminals proceeded against in the Stannary courts (held at Crockern-Torr, in the midst of Dartmoor) of Tavistock, Ashburton, Chagford and Plymton. Offenders being detained in this dark and horrid dungeon, more or less time, proportionate to their offence, and which was deemed as bad as the infliction of death itself, seems to have given rise to a very common saying in these parts, that 'tis Lydford law "to execute the criminal first, and try him afterwards." There being no tin-mines worked in this part of the country, the court is dropped, and the prison half filled with rubbish.---Though now even but a paltry village, the houses appear to be daily decreasing. And, indeed, a traveller,

stood, near the present church of St. Stephen. ‡ From the squareness of the castle, and one round tower remaining on the angle, (now called the Witch's tower) Dr. Borlase seems disposed to attribute it to the Romans. § From Launceston, we

accustomed to the more genial parts of the county, might hold it as a matter of wonder, if a place, so uncomfortably situated, adjacent to Dartmoor, bleak and exposed to all weathers, and in a soil, apparently unfertile, should be of any extent and decency in its buildings, or any otherwise than thinly inhabited. Yet, even now, the parish itself, for the largeness of its lands and liberties, may compare with (if not exceed) any other in the kingdom --- the whole or the greatest part of Dartmoor, by computation 100,000 acres, being included in it." *Communicated by a Correspondent*; WHOSE TASTE I CONSIDER AS MORE REFINED THAN GILPIN'S.

‡ See *Br. Willis*, vol. ii. p. 15. --- "*Dunheved* (says Borlase) is generally supposed Saxon, and to signify the head of the hill; but the learned Baxter in his Glossary, thinks that *Dunevet* is the same as the Nemetotacium, (or, as it should be written *Nemetomagum* of the anon. Ravennas) and to his opinion I subscribe, because that Nemet, is by the Cornish pronounced and written Nevet, and Dun is Magus for Pagus, (a town or village) and Dun-huedh signifies in the Cornish language, the Swelling-hill, but Dun-hedh, the Long-hill, from which shape, I imagine, the Saxons (after the Romans) called it also Lancestre, and Lancestre-town. I will only observe farther, that if Baxter's etymology is well grounded, it will prove this place as ancient as the Romans, and taken notice of in their geography." *Antiqu.* p. 330.

§ *Antiqu.* p. 291. --- "Launceston-castle (says Borlase) was by far the strongest of all our Cornish castles. Leland, who was a judicious traveller, and had seen the most remarkable places of England, says, 'the hill on which the keep stands, is large, and of a terrible height, and the arx of it having three several wards, is the strongest, but not the biggest, that ever I saw in any ancient work in England.' (Vol. ii. p. 79) The principal entrance is on the north-east, the gateway, one hundred and twenty feet long, whence turning to the right, you mount a terrace running parallel to the rampart, till you come to the angle, on which there is a round tower, now called the Witches tower. From hence the terrace turns away to the left at right angles, and continues on a level parallel to the rampart, which is nearly of the thickness of twelve feet. Here was a semi-circular tower, and, as I suppose, a guard-room and gate: from this place the ground rises very quick, and through a passage of seven feet wide you ascend the covered way, betwixt two walls which are pierced with narrow windows for observation, and yet cover the communication betwixt the bass-court and the keep or dungeon, on the top of all. The whole keep is ninety-three feet diameter. It consisted of three wards. The wall of the first ward was not quite three feet thick, and therefore, I think, could only be a parapet for soldiers to fight from, and defend the brow of the hill. Six feet within stands the second wall, which is twelve feet thick, and has a staircase three feet wide, at the left-hand of the entrance, running up to the top of the rampart; the entrance of this staircase has a round arch of stone over it. Passing on, you find the entrance into the innermost ward, and on the left of that entrance a winding staircase conducts you to the top of this innermost rampart, the wall of which is ten feet thick, and thirty-two feet high from the floor. The room is eighteen feet six diameter: it was divided by a planching into two rooms. The upper room had to the east and west two large openings, which were both windows, and, as I am inclined to think, doors also in time of action, to pass from this dungeon out upon the principal rampart, from which the chief defence was to be made; for it must be observed, that the second ward was covered with a flat roof at the height of the rampart, which made the area there very roomy and convenient for numbers; these openings, therefore, upon occasion, served as passages for soldiers to go from one rampart to the other. In the upper-room there was also a chimney to the north; underneath, there was a dungeon which had no light. The lofty taper hill on which this strong keep is built is partly natural, and partly artificial; it spread farther into the town anciently than it does now, and by the *radius* of it was 320 feet diameter, and very high. Norden gives us a wall at the bottom of this hill, and though there is no stress to be laid on his drawings, yet, it is not unlikely, that it had a wall or parapet round the bottom of it, towards the town; for the principal rampart of the bass-court breaks off very abruptly fronting the town, and seems patched and maimed, and to have lost some works at

are conducted to *Callington*; where no feature of the Romans is, at present, discoverable. It is properly, perhaps, spelt *Kellington*, "the town in the grove."

this place. The bass-court (half of which, or more, as I judge, is now covered with the houses of the town) had formerly in it the assize-hall, a very spacious building; a chapel, and other buildings, now all gone, but the county gaol: at the western end, there is another gateway into the town, but more modern than the rest. The buildings which remain of this castle are of different styles, and shew that the several parts of it were built at different times. For at the first entrance through the great gateway, you have a flat, but pointed arch over the first gate; but within, at the second gate you have a much rounder arch. There is a round tower on the angle of the rampart, which is undoubtedly of the Roman style. There is a squareness also in the area of the bass-court, which agrees with the manner of the Romans much more than any thing we have in our other castles; but whether these parts are as old as the Roman times, I cannot say. However, that the Romans should fortify here, is not at all improbable, considering that the situation of this castle near the ford of the river Tamar, makes it a pass of great consequence. The river Tamar running away to the south, is either dangerous, or impassable below this place, and all learned men allow, that the Romans were not fond of the tedious work of building bridges, and it was therefore the more customary with them to take possession of the fords. Now all below this place is secured by the Tamar, but near this castle the river is fordable in several places. Here, therefore, it was proper to have a garrison, and by placing another at Stratton on the North Sea, (between which and Launceston there are the remains of an ancient way) they formed a chain from the north at Stratton, to the South Sea at Plymouth. This was, therefore, a station of great importance, and not at all unworthy of the Roman attention; and that the Romans were here early, has been intimated before, and appears still more likely from some coins which have already reached my notice; one of Vespasian and one of Domitian, found in the walls of an old house, and a third found in digging a vault in the church, with the letters IULI, plainly to be seen upon it." *Antiqu.* pp. 325, 326, 327.---Mr. King's remarks on this castle are ingenious. "*Launceston-castle* (says Mr. King, *Arch.* vol. 6. p. 291) must be placed among castles of very great antiquity; both on account of the manner in which the stair-cases are constructed, and on account of the small dimension of the area of the inner tower. Perhaps, it was erected in the first ages, by the Danmonii, who had acquired a degree of art beyond the rest of the Britons, from their commercial intercourse with the eastern nations." But my conjectures relating to the eastern origin of the Danmonii, will best answer to the subsequent description. "We cannot but remark (continues Mr. King) the similarity between this Castle of Launceston, and that of Ecbatana, the capital of Media, as described by Herodotus. The keep of our magnificent fortress, which was built in the first ages of the world, greatly resembles the keep of Ecbatana. At Launceston we find three great and elevated circular walls, towering *over* and *behind* each other; namely, the wall of the first ward; that of the second ward; and that of the innermost ward or central tower. Besides which, there is, on one part, the outward wall of the bass-court of the castle---which would appear in many directions at a distance, as a fourth wall beneath the rest. Herodotus (Book 1st) tells us, that Dejoces compelled the Medes to come under one polity, and to build a city, surrounded with fortifications; and that seven strong and magnificent walls (known by the name of Ecbatana) were then built. They were, he says, of a circular form, one within the other; and each gradually raised just so much above the other as the battlements are high; the situation of the ground, which rose by an easy ascent, being favourable to the design. The *king's palace and treasury* were built within the *innermost circle* of the seven which composed the city. The first and most spacious of those walls, was equal, in circumference, to the city of Athens, and white from the foot of the battlements; the second black; the third of a purple color; the fourth blue; and the fifth of a deep orange---all being coloured with different compositions. And of the two innermost walls, one was painted on the battlements, of a silver color; and the other gilded with gold. Having thus provided for his own security, he ordered the people to fix their habitations without the walls of this city. This is very nearly a description of Launceston-castle, and the adjacent town---almost the only difference being, that the scale in one instance is larger than in the other, and that the battlements of the walls of the one were painted with different colors, and those of the other left plain. As to the affinity of these buildings, or the derivation of the plan of Dunheved from the east, every one must be left to form his own conclusions: but when I read in the 9th chapter of the 2d book of Kings, that

On the ridgeway which is supposed to run from *Bamton* || or *Batham-ton* to *Stratton*, I know no Roman buildings that are indisputably such; though I doubt not that *Chulmleigh*, from its situation, was *romanized* by Vespasian. Though the way goes somewhat south of *Torrington*, * the remains of the castle at this place, and its fine commanding situation, would lead us to suspect this town to have been early fortified. That *Stratton* was of Roman original, its name, and the Roman road on which it is situated, render more than probable. That *Stratton* is *Stretton*, or "the town on the Roman street," there can be little or no doubt.† The road called

on Jehu's being anointed King over Israel, at Ramoth-Gilead, the captains of the host, who were then sitting in council, as soon as they heard thereof, took every man his garment, and put it under him, *on the top of the stairs*, and blew with trumpets, proclaiming---"Jehu is King!" and when I consider the historian's account of Ecbatana, which was at no great distance from Syria, and in a country much connected with it, and reflect also upon the appearance of the top of the staircase at Launceston, I am apt to conclude, that at Launceston, is still to be beheld, nearly the same kind of architectural scenery, as was exhibited on the inauguration of Jehu at Ramoth-Gilead."

|| "By *Bomio* in *Antoninus's Itin.* is probably meant *Bamton*. There is a *street* (via strata) in the town of *Tiverton*, and in the direct road between *Exeter* and *Bamton*, that is called *Bamton-street* to this very day." *Chapple's* MS.----In a letter to Dr. Borlase (1755) Dr. Milles says: "At *Bamton* I shall be particularly inquisitive after the traces of a *Roman road*, and observe, whether *that town* has any appearance of Roman remains. I should be very glad to take up the road there, and conduct it on to you, at *Stratton*. But, at present, my sentiments are, that no such road will be found in the *eastern* part of the county: and if a Roman road went to *Stratton* (which by the account you have given us I take to be very probable), I dare say it will be found to have gone from *Okehamton* or *Ashbury*; where is an encampment, as I am told, called *Scobchester*, which in the word *chester*, carries great appearance of being Roman, and probably is a Roman camp."---Dean Milles notices "*the Castle of Bamton.*"

* "Torrington, seated on the side of a hill, and lying along for a good way upon it." *Gibson's Camden*, p. 34. The castellated mount at Torrington, the work, I conceive, of the Britons, when the town of Torrington was yet in its infant state, was probably occupied by the Romans.

† "One town, we have great reason to think of Roman original; for it has not only the name of many towns in England which are all Roman, but as far as I can learn, every other testimony; it is Stratton, at present not a considerable town either for extent, trade, fortification, or beauty, yet formerly of such high account as to give name to the hundred in which it stands, which is more than any town in Cornwall was of figure enough to do, when the county was divided into hundreds, confessed to be done in Alfred's time, about 900. [Hals says, that Lesnewth and Stratton hundreds are not mentioned in any record till 12th Edward III. both passing under the name of Trigmajorshire: but this is a great mistake, for in the Exeter Domesday, which was compiled in the year 1086, Stratton is reckoned one of the hundreds.] That the Romans placed their towns on their great roads, needs no proof; the Saxons called the Roman roads streets, as Watling-street, Icknild-street, and the like: the places where these ways passed rivers, they called Street, or Stretfords, and the towns placed on those streets they called Street-towns, or Strettons, and the name properly must be so writ, although corruption in speech has jostled out the E, and put the A in its place in this instance as well as many others. [Thus we say Aston for Easton, Astley for Eastly, says Dugdale Warwicksh. p. 106) and so we say Stratton for Stretton, and Stratford for Stretford.] Many Strettons there are in Warwickshire, all which take their name, (says Sir William Dugdale), from some great road, near unto which they are situate, as Stretton Baskerville does from Watling-street. Stratton in Somersetshire, near the river Froom, lies on the Fosse-way. Near Cirencester there is a Stratton, on the Roman way through Gloucestershire.

Smallridge-lane, to the east of Stratton, the causeway and the square entrenchment to the west, and the brass medals and silver coins found there, leave us no room for hesitation on the subject. Of *Camelford*, every Roman memorial seems to be absorbed in the fame of Arthur. But its name should carry us to the Romans.‡ ---- From Camelford the Roman road leads us to *Bossiney*; which, fortified as it was by its § castle of Tindagel, the Romans would have seized, on their first invasion of the country. Whether *St. Columb*, to which the road points, were occupied by the Romans, so early as Vespasian, may be questioned. But I am disposed to think, that not only St. Columb but *St. Agnes*, and almost the whole of the north-coast, were very soon in the possession of our conquerors. The White-street at St. Agnes, and the beacon entrenchment, which I shall describe in a subsequent page, are indisputably Roman.

On the high northern road from Dulverton to Hertland, the station near *Dulverton* shews, perhaps, the importance of the place. It was probably fortified by Vespasian. Its summer-station must have sprung up afterwards. There is a cross-road from Dulverton, seeming to point towards the *Otter* or *Lid* or *Axe*. It is now a great road, and is known in the parish of Huffculm, under Gaddew-down, by the name of the *Portway*. Whether *Port* has any reference to *Portlock*, whence the road may originate, or to *Moridunum*, where it may terminate, is worthy investigation.

In Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Oxfordshire, the like; and there is hardly any county where these great roads pass, but that there is a town called Stretton near them, and their being placed so on the Roman roads, is sufficient authority to esteem them of Roman original. This constant use of the Saxons in naming other places, must weigh with the impartial, and convince them that our Stratton had its name for like reason with the rest, and consequently is of Roman original as well as the others." *Antiqu.* pp. 298, 299.

‡ Notwithstanding the town arms --- " a *Camel* passant over a *ford*."

§ " The ruins of which (says Br. Willis) are reckoned among the wonders of this county. It is situate about half a mile from the little towns of Tintagel and Trevena, on the sea-coast, upon a high rock abutting on the sea, with a steep precipice. Half the buildings, as Carew tells us, were raised on the continent, and the other half on an island, joined formerly by a draw-bridge, but long since separated by the fall of some cliffs. The farther side passage to this island is very dangerous; on the top are two or three terrifying steps, which admit you to the hill, upon which, he informs us, he saw a decayed chapel, a fair spring of water, a cave, and an hermit's grave hewn out of the rock." *B. Willis*, pp. 117, 118.---Leland, describing this castle, says, "it had, in all likelihood, three wards, whereof two were worn away by the sea, insomuch, that it had made there almost an isle; and that there was no way to enter into it but by long elm trees laid for a bridge; so that without the isle runned only a gate-house, a wall, and a false braye digged and walled. In the isle remained old walls, and in the east part of the same, the ground being lower, remained

From Dulverton this road must have passed through *Molland*---the *Termolum* of Richard, and the *Termonin* of the Ravennas. Roman coins have been found at *Molland*. And at *North-molton*,‖ whither the road still pursued its course, coins (from Roman-British mints) have been repeatedly dug up; not to mention pieces of armour, and fragments of Roman pavement, that unequivocally mark the high antiquity of the town. That either *Barnstaple* or *Bideford* was possest by the Romans, we have no certain proof: but the attention of King Athelstan to Barnstaple, seems to suggest a hint of its consequence prior to the Saxons. And the situation both of Barnstaple and Bideford, so favourable to navigation, leaves us little room to doubt of their having early drawn the Romans within their precincts. At *Hertland*, the Artavia of

a wall embattled, and that men, then alive, saw therein a postern-door of iron. There was in the isle a pretty chapel, with a tomb on the left side, and a well, near which was a place hewn out of the stony ground, to the length and breadth of a man: there remained also in the isle a ground, quadrant-walled, resembling a garden-plot; and by this wall appeared the ruins of a vault; and that the ground of this isle then nourished sheep and conies." *Leland's Itin.* vol. vii. p. 92.---- "Tindagel-castle was built on a cape of land, the extremity of which was a peninsula, a very lofty hill. Where this peninsula joined the main land, there are the fortifications, partly on the peninsula and partly on the main. The remains here are not very considerable. The ruins on the peninsula consist of a circular garretted wall, inclosing some buildings, among which there was a 'pretty chapel of St. Uliane, with a tomb on the left side, standing in Leland's time (*Temp* H. 8.) and men then alive remembered a postern door of iron.' Leland (vol. ii. p. 81) calls this, improperly, the dungeon, and thinks the situation must have rendered it impregnable; the cliffs, it must be owned, are hideous, and not to be climbed without the utmost danger; but with all deference to so great a judge of antiquity, the ground here was badly chosen, the hill dipping so very quick, that every thing within the wall was exposed to a hill over against, and scarce an arrow-flight from it; whereas the judgment was to have placed the fortress higher, so as it should have reached the top of the hill. This would indeed have exposed the inhabitants more to the weather, but less to the enemy, which last, in such works, is most to be considered. The walls on the main inclose two narrow courts, and cover better than the other, and at the end, the highest part of this fortress, there are several stone steps to ascend unto the parapet for making discoveries. The walls were garretted, and are pierced with many square little holes as at Karnbre. This part of the fortification was anciently joined to that of the peninsula by a draw-bridge, but it was decayed before Leland came there, and the want of it supplied by long elm-trees laid as a bridge, (vol. vii.) but the gap, purposely cut through the isthmus at first for the security of the works, is now much widened, and the communication intercepted. The whole was a large work, and placed here for the sake of shutting out the enemy by means of the narrow isthmus, which error in the first design inevitably planted it so low, that little of what happened in the country adjacent could be descried from it. This castle, so noted for the birth of the famous King Arthur, about the end of the 5th century, needs no proofs of its being a British structure. It was the seat of the Dukes of Cornwall at that time, how long before we cannot say, but probably the product of the rudest times, before the Cornish Britons had learnt from the Romans any thing of the art of war; for it cannot be conceived that any people who had seen the Romans chuse their ground, fortify, or attack, would ever have placed a fortress so injudiciously." *Antiqu.* pp. 320, 321.

‖ "North-molton was, most certainly, a very ancient town, as appears from the *pavements, coins, armour,* &c. so frequently dug up in the neighbouring fields---particularly in *Radworthy-wood, Beacon-hill, Old Park-hill,* and *Holywell.* In many of the grounds between *North-Molton* and *Molland,* the farmers, on digging or ploughing the ground, frequently found Roman coins." *Letter to the author.*

Richard, I have supposed this high northern road to terminate. It was a town of too great importance to the Britons, to be overlooked by their conquerors.*

Such were the Roman roads; and such our towns and castles about the time of Vespasian's conquest.

The *second scene* of the Roman operations in Danmonium, I have described in the first chapter, as comparatively quiescent; whilst the Romans had leisure for improving the public roads, particularly the vicinal ways, and for carrying on their plans of architecture in the principal places of their residence. But as this scene was not altogether tranquil, the military works of the Romans must here be noticed, in respect at least to castrametation. To guard against the incursions (I have supposed) from Ireland, we must look for fortresses and entrenchments along the north and north-west coasts---the *fortresses* generally so placed as to protect our principal towns, and the *entrenchments* for the most part summer stations in their neighbourhood. And such I think may be traced at *Bamton*, *Huntsham*, *Molland*, between *Molland* and *Southmolton*, at *Roborough* near *Barnstaple*, and on *Bratton-down*: such are *Shorsbury*, *S. Stock-Holwell* and *Stock castles*; *Hollyborough* near *Countisbury*, the *castle* near *Braunton*, *Hennaborough* and *Godborough*, the camp at *Daddon*, the *Dichen-works*, † the camp at *Hertland*, *Broadbury-castle*, *Romsdon-castle*, *Brent-torr*, and a camp near *Okehamton*. *Stanbury*, to the north of Stowe, in the hundred of Stratton, bears evidence of the Romans: and the haven of *Bude* ‡ was once too

* "I was particularly curious, (says Badcock) in tracing out some Roman encampments, which form the chain of posts from Voluba to Uxella, and from thence to *Hertland-Point*." What, however, the result of Mr. Badcock's investigation was, I know not. Hearing that a Cornish gentleman of great respectability had visited with Mr. Badcock, some Roman stations in Cornwall, I expected to have received some notes on the subject from that gentleman---(possibly the result of his and Mr. Badcock's correspondence)---I lost no time, therefore, in addressing him on the subject. On which he informed me, that "he very well recollected a conversation he had with the late Mr. Badcock on the subject of the Roman stations; and that in a ride they took together, he pointed out to Mr. B. several heights, on which there are visible remains that shew their original design." "There is certainly (he observed) a chain of them, beginning at or near the Land's-end in Cornwall, westward, and from thence carrying your eye and researches from coast to coast eastward, and also northward, which communicate with each other through Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hants, and, I doubt not, through all the counties on the coast. The whole of our conversation on this subject was conjectural, being furnished with no other materials than what might be drawn from observations on the situation of the different heights, with respect to their bearings with each other."

† A correspondent asserts, that on the *Cliffs of Clovelly*, at this day called *Precipitate*, was the *Ardua* of the Romans. "The *Clovelly-dykes* are Roman: and the town of *Ardua* rose in their vicinity."

‡ Bude isstill called a haven, though at present only a sandy creek for small vessels. And it appears to have

commodious to be overlooked. The camps of *Binnomay* and *Walsburrow*, are § clearly Roman: and if from the north-coast, we take an inland view, we shall find to the west of *Launceston*, and in the neighbourhood of *Trebartha-hall*, a cluster of military works; I mean *Ridgehill*, *Bastreet*, *Caerneglos*, || *Dryworks*, *and Deep-hatches*. ¶ To direct our view still westward. On nearly the highest point of land in *Cardinham* parish, is a circular entrenchment, about two acres, called *Berry-castle*. It is situated on a lingula; the ground declining from it, very abruptly to the east and the south-east. About a mile and a half from Berry-castle, to the south-west, lies the *castle* of *Cardinham*. It stands on considerably lower ground, over a brook; nearly square. On the downs, about a mile south-east of *Bodmin*, (the *Bosvenna*

been formerly a very commodious port. The ground, running up the valley from the creek's mouth, till it comes within half a mile of *Stratton*, is all a flat marsh, and certainly made so by the earth and gravel washed down from the adjoining hills. The river, which is a copious stream, is always charged with slime when encreased by the land-floods: nor can it run off this adventitious matter into the sea, on account of the sands blown in by the northern winds. The sands and slime have considerably accumulated during the last century: and the haven of Bude must have been choaked up long since the Roman times.

§ "There are two square forts near Stratton, one at Binnomay, (in Camden's map, Binaway) where some old brass coins were lately found; the other at Wallsborow. This latter is vulgarly, and, as I think erroneously, called Whalesborow; but more properly Wallsborow; for on the highest part of the tenement, I perceived a very large barrow; and as this place lies not far from the way called the causeway, leading from Stratton to Camelford, raised above the common level high like a wall, (Gual signifying any ridge or vallum) as is plain from the remains of it west of Stratton; I suspect that this place was either called the Barrow on or near the wall, (i. e. Wall's-borow) or from the walled fort there, now visible above the house; gual signifying a fort, (as gual-hen, the old fort, Camden, p. 164); and for one of these reasons, called by the Saxons Walls-borow. Both of these square forts lying so near Stratton, (and in all probability near a Roman way which passed these parts) may not improbably have been little Roman forts, such as they had by the sides of their ways in the other parts of the Kingdom." [At the Roman wall in the north of England, these square forts are from 100 to 130 paces for side of the square. Horsley, p. 113.] *Antiqu.* p. 291.

|| *Caer-nege-glaz*, perhaps, the green-moss-castle. Thus *Car-bean* - - - the little castle; *Carbis*, the castle of stone; *Car-hall-ock* - - - the moor-castle-port; *Carhayes* - - - the enclosed castle; *Carminnow* - - - the little castle or city; *Car-innes* - - - the island city or castle; *Car-ruan* - - - the castle on the river; *Car-varth* - - - the high castle; *Car-vinick* - - - the castle-dwelling; *Car-veth* - - - the city-grave, or castle-burying-place; *Car-vossa* - - - the entrenched castle; *Car-wythen-ick* - - - the castle in a woody place; *Car-win* - - - the white castle; *Castle-dour* - - - the castle near the water; *Car-clare* - - - the grey castle; *Cardew*, *Carthew* - - - the black castle; *Carlisle* - - - the island castle; *Creeg-carrow* - - - the Roman castle-barrow; *Pencarrow* - - - the head Roman castle. The last two words are of questionable derivation. Otherwise, I would say, that we might prove from the very names of our camps, the friendly union of the Britons and Romans. At all events, they were names, that existed before the Danes had visited Cornwall.

¶ In this part of the county, the karnes, the torrs, and the barrows, are innumerable. We have *West-Karne*, *South-Karne*, *Trewint-Karne* - - - *Rowtorr*, *Catshole-torr*, *Fox-torr*, and *Hawk-torr* - - - *Tober-burrow*, *Bracka-burrow*.

of the Roman-Cornish) is a circular camp, containing about fourteen acres. It is called the *Castle*; and imparts its name to the whole downs. There is a fine smooth turf within the entrenchment.* The encampment at † *Pencarrow*, about four miles north-west from Bodmin, is of a circular form. Its foss is very deep and bold. It has four wide entrances, nearly equidistant from each other. It overlooks the river Alan. ‡ In again ascending to the north, we observe, in the parish of *St. Minver*, a Roman camp, on a little tongue of land washed by the river Camel. It is called the *Dinas*. To the west of Padstow, *Carnevas* must attract observation; and near *Lanherne*, § a small camp---its form approaching to a square; as also *Carnanton*, (the seat of Colonel Willyams) and *Carvinach*, in the parish of St. Enoder. ‖ In *St. Allen*, there is a camp, which I attribute to the Irish period. ¶ But at

* "Bodman town, on the east part thereof, on a high mounted hill, hath still extant the ruins of a British treble intrenchment, containing about twelve acres of ground, still commonly called *Castle-Kynock*, alias *Cunock*, synonymous words, signifying the king, or supreme and sovereign castle. *Hals*, p. 21.

† "There is a plain Roman camp, near *Okehamton*, (says a correspondent) with a military road leading towards *Stratton*, which I followed for ten miles together; besides several cross-communications and smaller posts; some of which lead across the Tamar, by a small bridge called *Tamerton-bridge*, and go thence directly to a strong camp, called *Wardsberry*, or *Wardsburrough*, and thence to PENCARROW, where there is also a strong camp, as the very name imports---the word *Pen*, signifying a *high-point*, or *headland*, and *car-row* being no other, than a corruption from *castrum Romanum*." The first mentioned camp, near *Okehamton*, was probably one of the æstiva, that sprung up at this conjuncture.

‡ "*Pencarou*, *Pen-caro*, alias *Pen-carow*, i. e. head deer, or chief deer, formerly part of the Peverells deer-park, and thence so denominated, as some think. But when I further consider, that *Caer-kynock*, or *Kaer-kunock*, is situate on the lands thereof, now called *Castle Kynock*, i.e. the king, prince, or sovereign's castle, extant here long before the Norman Conquest, I take the modern name *Pencarow* only to be a corruption of *Pen-caer-ou*, or *Pen-caer-ow*, i. e. my head castle, city, intrenched or fortified place, according to the artificial and natural circumstances thereof; it being on a high hill, overlooking the contiguous country: the ruins of the largest British camp or intrenchment that ever I saw in Cornwall, containing about one hundred acres of land, and consisting of a fourfold rampire; yet of a great height in some places, with several platforms or counterscarps within the same, for offence and defence, in case of storm or surprize." *Hals*, p. 109. --- "In this parish of Egleshale is *Castle-Killybiry*, or *Killi-birry*; that is to say, the castle of the lost javelin, tuck, broach, or spear, consisting of about six acres of ground upon a well-advanced hill; within a treble intrenchment of earth. The name of which place informs us, that it was once stormed or taken by some enemy from the proprietor thereof; when the besieged either cast down their arms, or ran away and left them in that place, from whence it was denominated Killy-birry; perhaps one of the castles possessed by that arch Pictish traitor Mordred, slain by King Arthur, from whence his soldiers were routed". *Hals*, p. 111.

§ Lord Arundel's, where there is, at present, a nunnery.

‖ There is a *kestle* in Egloshaile and in St. Columb-minor: and in many other parts of Cornwall, are *kestles*---all castles. We have *Rose-kestle*, also, "the valley of the castle."

¶ "*Gwarnike-castle*---a treble intrenchment, lately extant in the woody lands of the manor and barton of Gwarnike, in St. Allen." *Hals*.

St. Agnes, is an entrenchment of such magnitude, as justly to excite the curiosity of the antiquary. From *Porth-chapel combe*, to *Breanick combe*, it runs near two miles in length, and encloses about two thousand acres. "It is called the *Gores* (says Mr. Tonkin) doubtless, a Roman work. A servant of my father turned up, within the vallum, a gold coin of Valentinian, in 1684---which is now in my custody."* Dr. Borlase calls it the *Kledh*, or trench.† It is, doubtless, a *simple* trench; and agrees perfectly well with our notion of the military works of this period; except that it exceeds in magnitude every Roman fortification that has come within our knowlege. But several reasons may be assigned for the more decided exertion of the Romans, on this spot. The Irish were continually making inroads, on the whole line of the north coast of Cornwall, from Bude to the Land's-end. It was natural, therefore, that the

* Transcript from a letter of Mr. Tonkin to Browne Willis, dated Jan. 1732; in the hand-writing of Bishop Lyttelton, for the use of Dean Milles.

† "There is a vast intrenchment in the parish of St. Agnes, which (from Porthchapel-Coom, to Breanik-Coom) extends near two miles in length. In the west, where the sides of Porthchapel-Coom are steep and easily defensible, the ditch is shallow, and the vallum low; but as the Coom wears out into a plain, it grows proportionably larger, and abont two hundred yards above a cot called Gun-vre, appears of its full size, where the ditch, I found to be seventeen feet six inches wide, and from the bottom of the ditch the perpendicular of the vallum is at least twenty feet; from this place I traced and dialled it more than a mile. The work, throughout, I judge to have been executed uniformly according to the measurement above expressed, but in some parts it is now much altered; the ditch has been widened in some places, and levelled in others, to make gardens, and the vallum has been carried off (where it was of clay) to make bricks, and levelled to make room for houses in other places; it is also much defaced by tin-works, but is still a great work. From the westermost point it runs in a straight line due east, then makes another line somewhat to the north of the east, to a village called Bolster, for a quarter of a mile; about 500 yards beyond which it comes into Polbrean-common, running east by north, down to the Vicarage; about 100 yards below which it appears again, keeping very judiciously the brow of the hill, and bearing N. E. by N. till it reaches the Coom, or bottom, below the church-town called Breanik-Coom, which descends to the sea. A work, surely, of equal skill and labour, intended for the defence of St. Agnes beacon, and its rich Bal, inclosing some thousands of acres, by making a line of intrenchment from Porthchapel-Coom, which lies to the west, and Breanick-Coom, which runs down to the sea on the east of this promontory. Within this entrenchment the late Mr. Tonkin (whose paternal-seat makes a part of the land inclosed) says, in a letter to Brown Willis, Esq. that his father's servant, in the year 1684, ploughing, turned up a gold coin of Valentinian, and thinks verily that this was a Roman work; but this single coin is the only reason which he gives, as far as I am at present informed; however, there are much better reasons to be drawn from the work itself; the grandeur of the undertaking, the judgment and conduct of the design, the straightness of the lines, the uniformity of the work in all its parts, the vallum, where not injured, being of one height, the ditch of one breadth, the judicious diminution of the labour, in proportion as the Cooms grow deep, and able of themselves to form some defence; all these are circumstances intimating too much art and military science, for either Britons, Saxons, or Danes; add to this, that to the west of the beacon, on the top of the inclosed hill, is still to be seen, 'the remains of a small square fortification; adjacent to which are three sepulchral barrows,' which, if one may judge by the labour of erecting them on such an eminence, must have been the monuments of some great persons. It is called the *Kledh*, which in Cornish signifies the trench or foss, and by the vulgar, said to be the work of a giant called Bolster." *Antiqu* 292, 293.

Cornish and the Romans should unite their force in opposition to the invaders; concentrating their strength in a situation the most commanding, and the most likely to frustrate the designs of the enemy; and forming a chain of communication along the northern shores. And, perhaps, there is not a more eligible spot in Cornwall for these purposes. The towering beacon of St. Agnes is here effectually secured; and all connection between invaders, on the east and on the west, is broken off decidedly. The peculiar narrowness of the country between the north and the south seas, if a line were drawn from St. Agnes to Carreg-*Rode*, or to Falmouth, would preclude every attempt of the enemy to assist each other, by an inland correspondence. Borlase seems to think, that the defence of the rich *Bal*, or cluster of mines, at the beacon, was one great object in the *Kledh* entrenchment. And this I conceive to be very probable; as the chief attention of the Romans had been engaged by the internal riches of Cornwall.

In the mean time, it may be asked, where are the military works of the invaders? Are there yet any vestiges of such works in Cornwall? I do not scruple to give to the Irish, the greater part of those camps, which have been hitherto deemed Saxon or Danish. It is likely that the Irish were, very soon, familiar with *Padstow* - - - which is a town of great antiquity. Long before the arrival of *St. Patrick*, (to whom it owes its present name) it was called ‡ *Loderic* and *Laffenac* - - - perhaps *Loderic*, (or "the creek of robbers,") from the piratical Irish. From an Irish saint, also, *St. Columb* derives its present appellation. The Pagan Irish, however, were the precursors of the saints. And I doubt not, that St. Columb itself, and the *Castle-an-dinas*, a little to the east of St. Columb, were both Irish, before the existence of Christianity in Cornwall. "Neare to Belowdy (commonly and not improperly termed Beelowzy, says Carew) the top of a hill is environed with deep treble trenches, which leave a large playne space in the midst. They call it *Castellan-Danis*. And it seemeth in times past to have bin a matter of moment; the rather, because a great cawsey (now covered with grasse) doth lead unto it." § - - - The little village at the mouth of

‡ See *Usher's Antiqu. Eccles. Britan.* p. 292. It is, in some old writings, "called *Adelstow*, i.e. *Athelstan's Place*; because King Athelstan was looked upon as the chief donor of its priveleges." *Leland's Itin.* vol. ii.

§ See *Carew*, fol. 143, 144. - - - - "In this parish of St. Columb, stands *Castell-an-Dan-is*, or *Castell-an-*

the river Ganal, which is called *Carantoc* from the saint to whom the parish-church is dedicated, is traditionally reputed to have been once a large town. A religious house at this place, which will hereafter be noticed as the residence of a dean and nine prebendaries, would lead us to suppose, that it was a town of some importance. And it was probably such, in very early times, before the haven was contracted and rendered inconsiderable by the accumulation of sands from the north sea. - - - - The castle, which Borlase describes near *Tehidy*, was, I imagine, Irish. ‖ Between this fortification, indeed, and *Carantoc* and *Castle-an-dinas*, and all the north-eastern castles attributable to Ireland, the chain must have been effectually broken by the *Kledh*. But the *Tehidy* work would communicate with Lelant and St. Ives, and all

Dynes - - - the Castle of Men. It consists of about six acres of ground, within three circles or intrenchments, upon the top of a pyramidal hill; built of turf and unwrought rough stones, after the British manner, without lime, comparatively a hedge; each of these circles or ramparts, rising about eight foot above each other towards the centre of the castle, consisting of about an acre and half of land; in the midst whereof appear the ruins of some old dilapidated houses. Near which is a flat vallum, pit, or tank, wherein rain or cloud water that falls, abides, more or less in quantity as it falls, one half of the year. Which, I suppose, heretofore supplied the soldiers occasions, as no fountain, spring, or river water is within a thousand paces thereof. There were two gates or portals leading to this fort; the one on the east, the other on the west side thereof, which on a stony causey, now covered with grass, conduct you up and down the hill towards Trekyning; that is to say, the king, prince, or ruler's town. Moreover, contiguous with this castle are tenements of land, or fields, named Tre-saddarne; that is to say, the God Saturn's town, a place where the God Saturn was worshipped by the heathen soldiers, who probably had their temple or chapel there before Christianity. As also *Ruthes*, i. e. a multitude, or great number of human creatures; *Cref-toa*, i. e. strong hatche, or poll-ax; *Reterg*, alias *Reteth*, i. e. the exceeding strict charge or command; alias *Reteth*, the exceeding, or too much nipple, teat, or udder; also the two *Tre-wulf-es-es*, alias *Tre-wulves-es*, i. e. the town of help, aid, succour, support, or assistance; and the *Troyes*, the feet or foot-places, where the feet of men or beasts stood, or the horse-troopers of this castle. Now, from the British name thereof and contiguous lands, it plainly shews, that this castle was erected by the Britons or Saxons, not Danes, though by the affinity of the name of this castle it hath given occasion to such as are ignorant of the British tongue so to conjecture." *Hals*, pp. 63, 64.

‖ "The remains of one castle are very remarkable, about half a mile north-west of Tehidhy; they stand now on the very brim of the cliff, and much more than what is now standing, is fallen with the cliff into the sea. This entrenchment consisted of two ditches, and consequently two vallums: the inner and principal ditch next the cliff is now but ninety paces long, and twelve feet wide at the bottom, which being very even, and full of grass, is generally called the bowling-green; it runs near E. and W. at each extremity ending in an inaccessible cliff, enclosing formerly a cape of land which ran into the North sea, and at its northern point turning about to the west, formed a pool where vessels might have had some shelter whilst this cape remained entire, and soldiers, under the fortifications above, might have had tolerable good landing: but the violence of the northern sea has eaten away all the neck of land which joined this cape to the main, so that the land and sea also, which this fortification was intended to secure, are both so altered since they were fortified, that were it not for the remains of the fortification, the place would escape all notice; and on the other hand, unless we could trace this cape, and its alterations in the soft shelfy cliffs, and the remaining rocks below, it would be impossible to guess for what reason such a fortification should be here erected; but the present appearance well considered, illustrates the use and intent of this fortification." *Antiqu.* pp. 313, 314.

the west of Cornwall. *Torcrobm*, in the parish of *Lelant*, is one of our walled castles, on a pretty considerable elevation. That *St. Ives* was occupied by the Irish at this juncture, is not improbable. Here stood, I conceive, the watch-tower mentioned by Orosius. ¶ A little above the vicarage house at *St. Erth*, is a circular castle, doubly trenched, and containing about two acres. It is commonly named *Carn-beggus*, and is supposed to be what Leland calls *Carhan-gives*. It lies on a part of the manor of Cardinham; the only estate in this parish, belonging to that manor. Of the same description of castles with Torcrobm, are * *Castle-an-dinas*; *Castle-horneck*; *Castle-lesgudzhek*; † *Castle-chun*; *Carnidzhek*; *Boscadzhel*; ‡ *Bartine-*

¶ "*St. Jies*, or (as it is vulgarly but corruptly called) *St. Ives*. The coast from the Land's-end to this town is a long tract of sandy banks. It took its name from an Irish female saint, named Jia, and hangs over the sea like a little tongue. It was formerly called *Pendinas*, and the haven below, which receives the river Hale into it, is therefore called by the seamen St. Jies bay. It is now an inconsiderable place, because the bay, which might open a way to trade, lying exposed to the north-west wind, (called by Mr. Somner, Caurus) is so stuffed up with sand, that the people have been forced to remove more than once. Their only trade, and that a poor one too, is with Cornish slates. The cliffs hereabouts have some streaks of a glittering metal like copper, of which mines are found hereabouts. Here also stood the watch-tower mentioned by Orosius, opposite to another in Gallicia. The small isle of Godrevy lies at the entrance of this haven, on the west side." *Magna Britan.* p. 318.

* "Castle-an-dinas, in the parish of Ludgvan, consisted of two stone walls, built one within the other, of a circular form, surrounding the area of the hill. The ruins are now fallen on each side the walls, and shew the work to have been of great height and thickness; there was also a third and outmost wall built more than halfways round, but was left unfinished. Within the walls are many little inclosures of a circular form, about seven yards diameter, with little walls round them of two and three feet high, they appear to me to have been so many huts, erected for the shelter of the garrison; the diameter of the whole fort from east to west, is fourhundred feet, and the principal graff or ditch is sixty feet wide. Towards the south, the sides of this mountain are marked by two large green paths about ten feet wide, which were visibly cleansed by art of their natural roughness, for the more convenient approach to this garrison: near the middle of the area is a well almost choaked with its own ruins, and at a little distance a narrow pit, its sides walled round, probably dug for waser also, but now filled with rubbish: this is on the highest hill in the hundred of Penwith; but as to construction does not materially differ from Caer-bran-castle." *Antiqu.* p. 315.

† Castle-chun shews a military knowlege much superior to that of the Danes. Yet, elaborate as it is, Borlase has attributed it to the Danes; though he has ascribed others to the Danes, on account of their unfinished state. --- "The most regular and curious of this kind is Castle-Chun, in the little parish of Morvah. The entrance faces W. S. W. where having passed the ditch, you enter the outmost wall (five feet thick), which is called the iron gateway, and leave on the left-hand the wall twelve feet thick for strengthening the entrance; on the right there is a wall which traverses the principal ditch, thirty feet wide, till it reaches within three feet of the principal wall, eight feet thick at the present top, but in the foundation thicker, then turns away parallel to it, leaving a narrow passage of three feet wide, as a communication betwixt the entrance and the ditch. The entrance flanked on the right by a wall, and on the left by an opposite wall, admits you by the passage through the great wall into several lodgments, which are formed by a circular line of stone work, about three feet high, parallel to the wall, and several partitions spring as it were from the centre of the whole work, and reaching from the line to the principal wall: these divisions are all thirty feet wide, but of unequal bigness. The area within these works is 125 feet from east to west, and 110 from north to south. The principal foss has four traverses, which secure the entrance, and two more which divide the

castle; § *Caerbran*, or the castle of Brennus; || *castle Treryn*, and several others, in Penwith particularly; of which the remains are not so perfect as those enumerated. About a mile and a half to the west of castle Treryn, the cape called *Tolpedn-penwith* is divided from the main-land by a stone-wall, which, coasting along the brow of the hill, extends from sea to sea. *Caergonin* in Breage, is another walled castle. But except in the hundred of Penwith, I do not consider the Irish as making descents both on the north and south coast. All these, I believe, are rather Irish, than Cornish, Roman, Danish or Saxon; which I think probable, from their *names*, their *general* and *particular situation*, their *structure*, and their *present appearance*. - - - - - With respect to their *names*, we see, I think, sufficient ground for excluding the Saxons and the Danes from the possession of them. If their original names were either Danish or Saxon, those names are all lost; which is surely a singular circumstance.

remaining part of the foss nearly into three equal parts. By the ruins of these walls, I judge that the outermost could not be less than ten feet high, and the innermost about fifteen, but rather more, and both well perfected; the apartments within were probably shelters from the weather. Some rude ones of like use we have taken notice of in other examples; but these are much more regularly disposed, and indeed 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 knowlege superior to that of any other works of this kind, which I have seen in Cornwall." *Antiqu.* pp. 315, 316.

‡ "On the top of Bartine-hill, in the parish of St. Just, may be seen a circular mound of earth with little or no ditch, never of any great strength; perhaps only traced out, begun, and never finished. Within this inclosure was sunk a well, now filled with stones; and the only thing remarkable is, that near the centre of this castle lie three small circles, edged with stones pitched on end, and contiguous to each other, the northern-most nine yards diameter, the others seven. It is uncertain whether these circles were of military or religious erection; if of the first, they were, as I imagine, the apartments, or sepulchres of the commanders; if of the second, places of worship, prior to the fortifying of this hill." *Antiqu.* pp. 314, 315.

§ "*Caer-bran* ('Dinas Bran, that is to say, Brennus's Court or Palace.' *Hum. Lh. Brev. Engl.* p. 53) in the parish of Sancred, a circular fortification on the top of a high hill, consists, first, of a deep ditch, fifteen feet wide, edged with stone, through which you pass to the outer vallum, which is of earth, fifteen feet high, and was well perfected to the north-east, but not so towards the west. Within this vallum, passing a large ditch about fifteen yards wide, you come to a stone-wall, which quite rounded the top of the hill, and seems to have been of considerable strength, but lies now like a ridge of disorderly stones: the diameter of the whole is ninety paces, and the centre of all, a little circle. There are many others of this kind still to be seen, (as Castle-Hornek, and Castle-Lesgoodzhek) and some have been quite destroyed - - - as Roscadzhel and others." *Antiqu.* p. 315.

|| "Castle-Treryn, in the parish of St. Levin, encloses a promontory. This cape shoots forth into the sea, bearing directly south; its farthermost ridge consists of three lofty groupes of rock, to the north of which is a low and narrow neck of land, cross which there runs from the east to the western cliff, a stone wall; the ground then rises pretty quick, and on the brow of the hill there is a vallum of earth, and a ditch without it towards the land, but none within next the sea. This vallum runs also near east and west, reaching from sea to sea, and without it towards the land there is another vallum of earth, of like direction, but lower in point of situation, inclosing in like manner a greater portion of this promontory. To the east of this promontory there is a very commodious creek, called Penberth, and to the west there are many landing places." *Antiqu.* pp. 312, 313.

Had these castles been Saxon or Danish, we should naturally expect one or two traces at least of the Saxon or Danish language. But they are invariably called by British names, both in the east and west of Cornwall. ¶ "What the Danes called them, (says Borlase) we cannot tell; though for distinction-sake, the garrison had, doubtless, different names for the different castles. But the Danish names expired with the possession: and of the Danish language we find no traces, which were owing to the intercourse of the Cornish and the Danes of those times." Here it is admitted, these castles, supposed to be Danish, were at first called by Danish names. To say, then, that the names expired with the possession, is an abrupt mode of getting rid of the difficulty: it is not to untye, but to cut the knot. In *Exeter* and many other names, we can trace the transition, from the British language to the Roman, and from the Roman to the Saxon. I allow, that not a word of the Danish language is discoverable among the Cornish; which, in my opinion, only tends to prove, that there never existed such an intercourse between the Cornish and the Danes, as Borlase and others have imagined. If, then, these castles were neither Saxon nor Danish, shall we give them to the natives, or to the Romans? For their names, they might assuredly, belong to the Cornish, or the Roman-Cornish: but, it will appear, on considering their *situation*, that they are not attributable to any permanent possessors of the country. The claims, therefore, of the Irish remain to be considered - - - those Irish, those primitive Britons, whom I have represented as emigrating from Cornwall into Ireland, and who were now falling back upon their aboriginal country, and infesting our northern shores by their piratical depredations. This was the people who seized upon the promontories, and contiguous hills; and who, speaking a language * in common with ourselves, called them, insultingly, "*the Palace or the Court of Brennus*" - - - "*the Iron Castle*" - - - "*the Castle of the bloody Field*" - - - † names, which the Cornish would not have themselves imposed, though it was natural to retain such original appellations,

¶ *Antiqu.* p. 318.

* The Cornish, the Irish, the Highland Scots, the Welsh, and the Armoricans, had all one and the same language. Even at this moment, after the lapse of so many centuries from their separation, they would have no great difficulty in understanding each other. That a Welshman, a Bretoon, and a Cornishman actually did converse together at Plymouth a few years since, is a well-authenticated fact.

† *Caer-bran* - - - *Castle-hornec* - - - *Castle-lesgud-zhek.*

in memory of the invasions, and with an ironical reference, perhaps, to the fate of the invaders.---From the *situation* of these castles, it is not likely that they owed their existence to the natives. We find a few on the north-east coast; but the greater number in the narrowest and westernmost part of Cornwall. From St. Michael's-mount to the Land's-end, there still remain no less than seven. Some are not one mile, none more than three miles distant from one another: so that, from the first may be seen the second, from the second the third, and so on. From several of them, we have views both of the north and south Channel, but from all of them, either one sea or the other. This narrow spot, on which the castles stand so thick, is no where above six miles from the north to the south sea; in some places not four: and from the western-most castle, to the eastern-most, are not more than eight miles. To attribute these fortifications then, to the Cornish or the Roman-Cornish, would be to suppose, that they preferred the defence of such a little nook, to the more valuable and spacious parts of the county---that they threw up numerous military works to cover their retreat from an enemy, where there could not be room enough for half the people of Cornwall; or, if we allow room enough, whither the invaders on the north-east or south-eastern shores would wish to drive the inhabitants; and having once secured them there, by a line from the north to the south sea, could effectually prevent their ever returning to the east again. These castles were evidently the work of some foreign invader. And that they were rather Irish than Saxon or Danish, I should conceive from their position opposite to Ireland. The north-east coast, where some of them are placed, was very early visited by the Irish missionaries. And it is not improbable, that St. Patrick and St. Columba and their train of followers, were well acquainted with this coast through their military countrymen, before they attempted an emigration. It was in the neghbourhood of Padstow and St. Columb, that the Irish soldiers had entrenched themselves. To fortify, however, the shore or the hills in its vicinity, from St. Columb to St. Ives, or to keep possession at least, of their fortresses, they found utterly impracticable; strongly opposed as they must have been, at every landing, by the natives. But from St. Ives to the Land's-end, they were able to carry on their works at intervals, and for a short period, with little molestation; thinly inhabited as the Bolerium appears to have been, and now, perhaps, little regarded by

the Romans. That the Roman soldiers had penetrated into Penwith, I readily believe: and that the Roman merchants were acquainted with its mines, before Julius Cæsar, seems to be generally admitted. But the mines of Penwith, and of the adjacent Sylleh isles, were now exhausted. And the Romans, if they had ever completely garrisoned this remote part of Cornwall, had probably withdrawn their troops into districts more fertile and populous. Thus Penwith was more accessible to the enemy: and hence the number of Irish castles, both on the cliffs and on the hills. At first, probably, the Irish were accustomed to land in small parties. They, therefore, chose this western part of Cornwall for disembarking their troops and planting their garrisons; since small parties could not be so easily surrounded, forced and cut off here, as in a more extended country. They placed their forts on hills in sight of one another; that signals of distress, or assembling or making ready, might be quickly sent from castle to castle. And they encamped near the sea, that they might readily communicate with their fleet, or discover the ships of the enemy. If we look to the *structure* of these castles, we shall find, that those which include promontories and rocks, have their trenches towards the land; to guard against the enemy expected to come from the land, not the sea; to secure the invader in making a descent, or in retreating to his ships. Near the cliff-castle, there is always a convenient landing-place: and the inner vallum of the castle, next the sea, is generally higher than that without it; that the invader might make a double execution on his adversary, by discharging his arrows, darts, or stones, at the same time, both from above and from below. That these were retiring places for the natives, can never be imagined. The natives pressed by foreigners in possession of the country, and retreating to such rocks and naked capes, would be soon forced to submit, or starve or drown themselves; to say nothing of their wives and children and cattle, for which these castles could afford no shelter, and which they must have abandoned to the mercy of the hostile army. In the mean time, the enemy, from their ships, might easily annoy the natives who had retired to the fastnesses before us; or disembarking, scale the cliffs, without the least obstruction from the fortifications towards the land. Yet these castles were well adapted for invaders. The line being short from cliff to cliff, could be quickly manned: and the invaders, having an easy access to their ships below, for the supply of their wants,

could be neither forced nor starved. Seizing a rocky cape, they entrenched themselves, to prevent surprise: and, under the covert of their entrenchment, some repelled the natives, whilst others were employed in disembarking their troops and necessaries. Marching forward into the land, they left a garrison in the castle, to secure a retreat to their ships. The forts on the hills are all circular: but their circularity will furnish no argument for or against us. The Britons (and consequently the emigrators from Britain) were as much attached to the circular form as the Danes. That they did not belong, however, to the Cornish, is more than probable. In the hill-castles, we observe no accommodation for people of the country, but only some low huts for soldiers; and we see some part of the ditch or the vallum unfinished; which points to the invader, not the native who would have had leisure to compleat the work. That the invader was from Ireland, I have ventured to presume: and what strongly marks the Irish, is the regular stone-wall, whether of the cliff or the hill-castle. The Danes generally preferred earth to stone. For the *present appearance* of these castles, all I have to remark, is, that they are dismantled. This, probably, was done by the Cornish, as soon as the invader had left them: the Cornish would not have destroyed their own fortresses. On a survey of the whole, I cannot but think, that we have abundant reason for attributing these works to the Irish.

On the *third scene* of the Roman operations in Cornwall, I have ascribed a variety of military works to the hostility of the Saxons. From the east of Devon and through the whole extent of the southern shore, we have a strong chain of encampments, but, in general, not sufficiently simple for the earlier Romans. These camps (which have a noble command of the sea, and of the several vallies which lead to it) communicate with others of the same date in different parts of Devonshire and Cornwall; and the whole is connected by a number of *viæ diverticulæ*.‡ On the eastern shores of Devon,

‡ Sir G. Yonge has accurately examined an extent of country for about ten miles square, to the east of Exeter; where he has first marked the Roman camps; next the principal or direct ways leading to such stations, and then the cross communications through the whole. These were found to be all paved, or streetways: sometimes through farm-yards or under houses---through hedges or under them---sometimes forming the parish road or path for horse or foot---sometimes accompanied by a dyke or foss---sometimes used as parish roads---sometimes nearly broken up and destroyed---sometimes tolerably preserved. But one thing he invariably remarked, that they all tend either to some principal or some subordinate post: and, wherever these communications cross each other, they are guarded by a dyke or small entrenchment to defend them. Posts too are found on eminences in the course of their direction---all tending to command the line of way, and to support the whole camp.

the camps of *Oxendown-hill*, *Musbury*, *Membury*, *Dumton*, *Bellbury*, and *Blackbury*, *Berry* in Branscombe, and *Sidbury*, may, perhaps, be ascribed to the Saxon invasions.§ Thus all the vallies leading to the sea, from the eastern boundary to the metropolis of Dannonium, were perfectly under command. And, our vallies and creeks to the south-west, as well as our principal harbours, were guarded in the same manner by military works. Connecting these eastern posts with the encampments to the west, *Woodbury-castle*, in the neighbourhood of Exeter, is one of the boldest works of these times. From this castle, we see, to the east, the Quantock-hills and the isle of Portland; to the south, Berry-point and the heights of Dartmoor; and, for the nearer distances, the fine vale of the Otter, and the banks of the Exe. From *Woodbury*, we may carry our eye to the camps on *Haldon*, *Castle-dyke* at *Ugbrook*, *Milbourne-down*, and *Haccombe*, and *Denbury-castle*. Between Denbury and *Dartmouth*, there are several Roman earthworks: and between Dartmouth and *Modbury*, *Stanborough* and *Blackadon*, ‖ are well worthy observation. Answering to these

§ "*Musbury*, *Membury*, and *Stockland-castle*, on the east and north of the river *Axe*; *Blackbury-castle* on the west; *Hembury Fort*, with *Bellbury-castle*, which command the vale of the river *Otter*; *Sidbury-fort* (the Tidortis of the Romans), which overlooks the vale leading to *Sidmouth*; and *Woodbury-castle* (the *Alauna Sylva* of the Romans), which commands the vale of the river *Otter*, as well as the course of the river *Exe*; from which circumstance it took its name, the British words *Llaun Avon* denoting *plenus-amnis* - - - the names of all these posts are confessedly of British extraction. But that they are Roman, or Roman-British forts, appears from their *structure*, *entrenchment*, *outguards*, and *stations*, and particularly from the Roman coins found in many of them. It cannot however be denied, that they were afterwards used by the *Saxons*, and in process of time by the piratical *Danes*, for what was useful at one period of time, might be equally so at another under similar circumstances; but this is no objection to their being originally *Roman*." *Chapple's MSS.*

‖ Of this camp, (as of many others in the county) I have a very accurate plan. Accompanying this plan, there is a note as follows: "An old camp on *Blackadown*, alias *Blakadon*, in the parish of *Lodeswell*, (said by the country people to be a Danish work) about four miles north of Aveton-Gifford, four miles east from Modbury, and four miles north-east from Churchstow. There is an extensive view from a mount, which I take to be only the remains of a modern beacon. The hills of the Forest of Dartmoor, Maker Church, Hall-down, and the opening to Torbay, all which, near twenty miles distant, are plainly seen from this eminence: as also the churches of East Allington, Portelmouth, Churchstow, Bigberry, Holbeton, Modbury, Ermington, Maker, North Huish, Buckland in the Moor, Moorleigh, Woodleigh, and Loddeswell. - - - The whole content of this camp, including the roads is about eleven statute acres. - - - There is another of the like camps, but not so perfect, called *Stanborough*, which gives name to a hundred so called, in full view of this camp, but about four or five miles distant towards the east." I have received other descriptions of *Blackadon-camp*; which I shall lay before my readers: "About a mile from Woolston, on the top of Heathfield-down, is a strong Roman fortification: the bank twenty-five feet perpendicular, with a ditch forty feet wide: the distance within the bank forty-three yards long, and fourteen yards wide. At the back part of this is a hollow way to pass into a less place of defence, of four yards wide and three yards long, with very strong banks, and a deep ditch. Within this is another place of the same form, about forty feet wide. On the west side is another bank: the ditch about ten feet deep, and between the banks eleven yards wide and ten long. - - -

camps, we should find other * works; if we pursued our route to Plymton-ridgeway, and to the south-west boundary of Devonshire. The earthworks in *Plymwood*, at *St. Budeaux*, and at the *Ramhead*, are links in this great chain; connected with others to the westward.† At *Plymwood* is a small earthwork; and near the lane leading from Eggbuckland through *St. Budeaux* to Saltash-passage, (which is a wide straight lane, undoubtedly Roman) is the *St. Budeaux* encampment. It lies in a field called *Castle-down*, belonging to Whitleigh-barton; now turned into a bowling-green. If we direct our researches up the Tamar, we shall meet with several fortifications, probably of this period, at no great distance from its western banks; particularly a *camp* between *Newton* (the seat of Mr. Helyar) and the town of *Kellington*. In this camp, we have bold and striking vestiges of the Romans. We thence carry our eyes to *Dunterton*, about two miles from Milton-abbot; where, seated on the highest ground in the neighbourhood, is a camp, called *Castle-head*. It is semicircular; and has only a single vallum: the space within the semicircle is rough and wild. The name of Dun points out the promontory---a peninsulated rock, of

Heathfield or Blakey down is about one hundred acres, and stocked in common by five or six farmers of the parish." *From letter to the author.* ---- Sir George Yonge is of opinion, that *Blackadon-camp* is the *Uxella* of Richard. His remarks on this occasion, in the line of antiquity, highly merit the public attention. "In Richard's Itin. (says he) is a station next to the city of *Isca Danmoniorum*, the name of which is omitted, but it is described to be *super Durio Amne*---that is, *on the river Dart*; and there seems little doubt of this being *Totnes* (called by the Romans *Totonese*) on the river *Dart*. The next station is called *Uxella*; and the next *Tamara*. This last, being certainly a station on the river *Tamar*, was probably *Plymouth*, or some where near it. As to the station of *Uxella*, this is not exactly known; but it was probably near *Modbury*; and there is an account delivered in to the Society of Antiquarians, which seems to confirm it. This account says, that about four miles east of *Modbury*, there is a very strong camp, called by the country people a Danish one---and it is not improbable but that the Danes, in their frequent inroads into Devonshire may have posted themselves here---but from the description of it the camp was probably Roman.---It is said to be a very strong camp, with deep ditches, and a keep, or round tower, or mount, at one end, which answers to the quarters, or citadel, usually allotted by the Romans within their camps, to the general---such as is at *Windsor*, *Old Sarum*, and elsewhere. It is on the road to *Totnes*, near *Aveton*, or *Avington*, in the parish of *Lodeswell*, or *Loddeswell*---and the name of the place is called *Blackadon*, or *Blackdown*. There is a drawing of it presented to the society, and a descriptiou of it, which says, that it is placed in a very commanding situation, having a very extensive view of the country, as far as *Halldown* near *Exeter*, and also a distant view of *Torbay*. These circumstances, added to its position between *Totnes* and *Plymouth*, leave very little doubt of its being the *Uxella* of the Itinerary."

* All along the south-west coast, indeed, there are military features---particularly an entrenchment *on the point of Berry-head*; a *semicircular* work in the parish of *South Hewish*, called *Burley-dolts*, and a *large irregular* fortification *on the extremity of the Bolt-head.*

† With respect to the *Ramhead*, the isthmus has, evidently, been fortified by a strong vallum with a deep ditch, uniting the two gullies that come up from the sea on the east and west sides; part of the vallum near the middle of the isthmus being still apparent.

nearly two miles; round which the Tamar winds in a beautiful manner: its isthmus is only a quarter of a mile. On the south-east, the camp descends to a wooded plain, at the river Tamar; and towards Kellington, we look over Sir John Call's summer-house, and are delighted with a most romantic, as well as extensive prospect. The meanderings of the Tamar; the rocky projections that compel the river to take a variety of sudden turns; the fine underwood along its banks; and the venerable forest-trees, apparently the growth of centuries, form altogether, a scenery "to lap the soul in extasies!" In descending towards the shores of the south-west, we meet with a camp called *Bury-castle,* in the parish of Dulo. It lies on Bury-down, and is circular. The *Looes* were now fortified, perhaps; though *Looe* may not be perceptible in *Voluba,* as some conjecture. To the east of Fawy, we have *Castle-mawgan,* and the promontory of *Pencarrow.* The situation of *Fawy* seems to assure us, that it was known to the Romans before the present conjuncture. As it lies about four miles below the Οξιλα of Ptolemy, (now *Lestwithiel*) and at the mouth of the same navigable and spacious river, this town and the coast must have been familiar to the Romans. The Romans, indeed, could not reach Lestwithiel by water, without passing by Fawy. And it is probable, that they had here a station for their ships. For on the other side of the water, about a mile below Fawy, there is an ancient village with a fair cove before it, still called *Polrouan,* or the *Roman pool,* or (as it is sometimes written) *Port-rouan,* or the *Roman cove.* ‡ All the promontory from Portmellin to Car-hayes, was well guarded by military works. It is natural to suppose, indeed, that such a situation as St. Goran would have been occupied by the Romans. And the memory of castles is preserved in the names of several places. - - - In advancing towards Probus, (where are evident traces of the Romans) we may glance at *Car-hayes* to the south of Tregoney, *Carveth* to the north of Tregoney, and *Carlennick* to the north-east of Grampound. At *Wolvedon* in *Probus,* we recognize the Romans. § In the parish of St. Clement, *Condurra* stands at a convenient

‡ "The harbour of Foye aboundeth with deep and navigable waters for ships of the greatest burthen; overlooked with winding and lofty hills, and, though narrow, extendeth itself in several branches three or four miles up the country, and is navigable to Lanlivery and Lestwithiel, St. Wenow, and Laran-bridge." *Hals,* pp. 135, 136.

§ "There is an angular fort on the Barton of Wolvedon, in the parish of Probus, which has a wide deep ditch,

distance from Truro, for a Roman station: and, in the vicinity also of the river *Fale*, *Nancarrow*, *Carlinnick*, *Carmerrance*, and *Carwarthan*, attract our observation; till descending to *St. Mawes*, we hail in that place the *Musidum* of the Carnabii.---Nothing, I think, is more likely than that the *Musidum* of Richard was *St. Mawes*. Though it be now a mean place, the memory of its former dignity seems to be preserved in its consequence in the British senate. But long before the days of parliamentary representation, we must regard it as one of the principal towns in Cornwall. Richard, indeed, gives us the names of two towns only, *Musidum* and *Halangium*, which I take to be *St. Mawes* and *Helston*.‖ There are some who may object, that it is the similarity of sound that prompts my conjecture. But the commanding situation of St. Mawes, would lead us to suppose, that it could never have been neglected, in those ages when the surrounding country was better known to foreigners, than any other part of Cornwall. That the Phenicians, the Greeks and the Romans, were all well acquainted with Falmouth, is more than probable.-----From St. Mawes we carry our eye to *Trefuses*, the walled town, or the fortified place, and thence to *Carclew*, north of Penryn; before we look over to Pendinas, which is admirably well shaped for the defence of a noble harbour, the *Cenionis ostium* of Ptolemy. On this hill, however, the modern fortifications have superseded the old works; though some vestiges of antiquity are discoverable without the present castle. -----Opposite *Pendinas* is the *Little Dinas*,* or *Dinas Vean*. It is a bold promontory, now converted into a warren. Measuring the Dinas, from the west as

the outer edge or counterscarp of which was faced upwards with masonry of thin stones in cement, which had round turrets or buttresses (such as neither Saxons, Danes, or Britons had, as far as I can ever find) of the same masonry, interspersed with the straight lines of the ditch. This is very singular in our country, where most of our ancient fortifications are of a circular plan, without any projections, angular or circular, from the master-line. I can judge this, therefore, neither to be British, Saxon, or Danish, as being like no other works of these people, and from the artful fence of this ditch, as well as from the polygon which the whole forms, I guess it to be a Roman work. There is a large avenue, or way from the north, rising from an adjoining valley." *Antiqu.* 291, 292.

‖ "Urbes habebant, *Musidum* et *Halangium*"---as if these were the only towns of the Carnabii.

* "Among the forts and castles, that are olde and worne out of date, I reckon those appurtayning to the dutchy, as also Tintogal, and djvers round holds on the tops of hills, some single, some double and treble trenched, which are termed *Castellan-denis*, or *Danis*, as raysed by the *Danes*, when they were destined to become our scourge. Moreover, in this ranke, we may muster the *earthen bulwarks*, cast up in divers places on the SOUTH COAST, where any commodity of landing seemeth to invite the enemie; which (I gesse) took their originall from the statute 4. H. 8.

I entered at the warren gate, I found that from this gate to the remains of an encampment, the space was eight hundred feet. Here we have a single ditch, deep and bold, and from the entrance of the camp, descending, on each side, to the water; that is, on the south side to the river Durra, and on the north, to the river Hele. the south side of the foss to the Durra, measured 486 feet; the north to the Hele, 189; the breadth of the foss, at a medium, twenty feet; the depth fifteen. The length of the camp, from its western entrance to its eastern declivity towards the sea, was 640 feet---from that declivity down to the sea, 180 feet. Its width from cliff to cliff was 730 feet. The plane of the Dinas is in length about a quarter of a mile.† To the south of the Durra, on the side ‡ of the hill, at *Gullybowls*, stands an old entrenchment, called the *Round*, or the *Castle*. It is an enclosure containing about half an acre. Corresponding with the Little Dinas, it commands the Durra. About half a mile to the west of the Little Dinas, we approach the village of *Condurra*; where in a field, on the left-hand side of the road, were found a large quantity of Roman coins, in a knapsack. § They were found within the enclosure of a small

and are ever sithence duely repayred, as need requireth, by order to the captaynes of those limits." *Carew's Survey*, fol. 84, 85.---In deriving *Denis* from the *Danes*, Mr. Carew has here fallen into the vulgar error. *Dinas*, (the legitimate word) means a "*fortified place*." Mr. Carew, we see, could not avoid noticing the great number of earth-works on the south-coast, in particular; but he is much mistaken in regard to their origin.

† "We have a Roman fortification at Condorah, in the parish of St. Anthony Menege, where a parcel of coins of Constantine and his sons were found. This hill is washed on each side by the sea, and about a quarter of a mile from the ditch in which the coins were lodged, there runs out a little tongue of land, called Dinas, and (to distinguish it from a much larger fortification, on the other side the bay, called Pendinas, i. e. the principal or head fortification) this is called the Little Dinas, in Cornish, Dinas-vean. This little Dinas has several modern fortifications on its eastern point, (erected in the great rebellion) but nearer to Condorah it has an old vallum stretching from sea to sea, which is the remainder of a very ancient fortification, and in all likelihood, Roman; for it is rightly observed by Mr. Horsley, (*Brit. Rom.* p. 393) 'that the Romans were careful to have their stations (by which he means, I suppose, their camps and forts) placed near a river, and there is no situation which they seem to be so fond of, as a lingula, (little tongue of land) near the confluence of a larger and smaller river.' Here I cannot but observe, that this station at Condorah has every one of these properties; on the right hand, as you front the east, comes down the river Durrah, and with the sea makes a pretty pool, or cove, before St. Anthony's church, in which small vessels may lie with great safety; on the left hand comes down Hel river, at this place near a mile wide, and what would be a very good harbour, but that it is within four miles of Falmouth, reckoned among the best harbours in England. From the front of the hill runs out the lingula of Little Dinas, about five hundred yards long, and two hundred wide at a medium." *Antiqu.* pp. 290, 291.

‡ Formerly the hill was fortified, I suppose, to its very summit; and this was an advanced station, brought down to have a closer view of the river.

§ "On an arm of the sea called Helford Haven, in a tenement called Condora, in the spring of the year 1735,

garden, in a ditch. The hedge and ditch have since been levelled with the field. These coins are somewhat smaller than our common farthings: and they are all of the age of Constantine or his family. From their being found in such a quantity, and being so free from the coins of preceding emperors, I have no doubt that they were brought hither and deposited in the age immediately succeeding Constantine the Great. And from their small size, they must have been incommodious for trade, or for any other purpose than paying the common soldiers, whose daily portions were to be distributed in such small sums as made the carriage of little money absolutely necessary to every separate corps of troops: the vicinity of Condurra, indeed, to Dinas-vean, will confirm the supposition, that they belonged to soldiers. About a quarter of a mile from Condurra, on the way from St. Anthony to Manaccan, we have on the left hand side of the road three fields, called the *Park-warrows*; and on the right side, three little enclosures, called *Crowas-castle*. The latter was formerly one enclosure, nearly square, about an acre and a half. It is a high point of land. It soon slopes away, declining rapidly towards Bosauhan-hill, which seems its counter-part - - - a deep defile lying between them. It has a part of the river Hele or Helford harbour in view. In the old mound, now in the course of the hedge next the road where we enter Crowas-castle, was dug out some years ago, a very large quantity of cockle-shells, many of them closely adhering in masses, and in a state of decay. This seems to prove, that there was once an encampment here, or persons residing on the spot. It is now at some distance from any human habitation. At Manaccan-cross, we find ourselves in quadriviis; and turning to the right, descend to *Treath*, where a late discovery of sepulchres reminds us of the Roman soldiers; and thence visiting *Helford*, view a place with which the Romans were well acquainted. The Hele is at present fordable just under Tremaine, which is more than a mile from Gear bridge, and opposite to Merthan in Constantine. ‖ Above Helford lies *Kestle*, or the Castle; where, however, I can find no military works. On the north side of Helford-

were found twenty-four gallons of the Roman brass money, several of which I have now by me, and many more I have seen, all which were of the age of Constantine and his family, and had either the heads of those emperors, or were of the cities of Rome or Constantinople." *Antiqu.* p. 280.

‖ "*Hailford*, so called of the *fordable* river *Haill*." *Carew*, fol. 151.

haven, below Durgan, and nearly opposite to Condurra, there is a creek still called *Porth-Saussen*, or *Saxon-port*. On the same side of the haven, upon one of the creeks which run up into the parish of *Constantine*, were found forty Roman coins. One of these coins was of the Emperor Valens; which brings this parcel about thirty years later than that which was found at Condurra. ¶ On the heights of Constantine, there are several remains, undoubtedly Roman; particularly an entrenchment at a little distance from Piskey-hall in Bosauhan, which will hereafter be described. - - - - - - Nothing can more happily illustrate the third scene of military action, than those Roman camps, and Roman coins, discovered exactly where, according to my hypothesis, I should have looked for them, with an eye of eager curiosity. The two parcels of coins on the banks of Helford-haven, evidently belonging to the soldiers, and deposited there nearly at the same time, would naturally excite the suspicion, that some signal incident must have turned the attention of the Romans to the south-west shore, at the age assigned to these coins; had the history of the Saxon depredations never occurred to memory. But the "*Porth-Saussen*," or the *Port of the Saxons*, at the mouth of Helford river, confirms all our conjectures; and renders that which was before hypothetical, historically true.* Returning to the south side of the

¶ "Four of the largest size, by the favour of the Rev. Mr. Collins of St. Erth, I have by me. The first of copper, IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XIII. CENS. P. F. A bold impression; head laureated; graceful. Reverse, *Fortunæ Augusti*. S. C. Plenty with her Cornucopia. - - - The second of Trajan: bright brass, IMP. CAES. NERVÆ TRAJANO AUG. GER. DA. Reverse, *Figura Galeata sedens* S. C. *cætera desunt*. - - - The fourth, FAUSTINA DIVA, the younger Faustina. Reverse, *Figura vestita dextra serpentem, sinistra hastata*. The other coins which I have seen found here are of the lower empire, and need not be particularized: the lowest was one of the Emperor Valens. DN. VAL. N. P. AUG. Reverse, *Secu. Republicæ Dat.*" *Antiqu.* pp. 280, 281.

* We have seen, that it was the office of the *Count of the Saxon Shore* (called by Ammianus Marcellinus *Comes tractus Maritimi*) to defend the coasts against the Saxons. And never was his office more necessary, than in the reigns of Valens and Valentinian; when all nations were at war, and the island was infested from one end to the other, by the Picts, the *Saxons*, the *Scots*, and the Attacotti. By a confederacy among these barbarians, says Ammianus Marcellinus, (see lib. 27, 28) Britain was reduced to great misery. And the Romans and such Britons as were faithful to Rome, were diligently employed in repairing the cities and garrison towns, and in strengthening the line of the coasts with *watches* and *entrenchments*. The temporary success of the Roman arms against this confederacy, is thus celebrated by Claudian:

——————— "Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiberne."

Hele, we look to *Porthallas*,† in the parish of St. Keverne; to *Trevallack*, ‡ commanding the church-town, (where, however, there are no military remains); to the great and little Deadman, where tradition speaks of bloody battles; and carrying our views from § *Rosemarder* to *Curply* (perhaps *Caerplas*), in the parish of Manaccan, we trace on very elevated ground the remains of a small square camp, which seems not to have contained more than a quarter of an acre. A few yards within the camp, at the north-east corner, are the foundations of a circular building, once a turret or a watchtower. What remained of its wall, seven or eight feet in height, was lately removed: the space it enclosed, was about seven feet in diameter. Near the turret was, a short time since, an opening to a passage, which ran a great way under ground; how far, was never discovered. In the parish of St. Martin, on an estate, the property of Francis Gregor, Esq. is a strong circumvallation, inclosing at present three fields, called the *Gear*; whence the name of the estate. It is perfectly circular: And the space within the ring, consists of about fourteen statute acres. The greater part of the foss is still very deep. This camp lies about half a mile to the north of Trelowarren. Nothing of antiquity has been found here within the memory of the present occupier; ‖ except a copper coin, quite defaced. That it was a Roman camp of the *Saxon* class, I have little doubt. Its name, the *Gear*, is, I conceive, a corruption of *caer*, castrum: and *Gear*-bridge, below, was, originally, *Caer*-bridge. It was called, indeed, simply *Caer*, by way of distinction; as it is the principal castle; with which other inferior castles correspond. It is one of the largest military works in Meneg. Between this camp and St. Martin-church, about a quarter of a mile from the former, there is another camp, called *Car-vallack*; on an estate, which hence, also, takes its denomination. There can be little doubt that *Car-vallack* is *Caer-vallum - - - the*

† In St. Keverne, on the estate of *Halwyn*, (or the *white moor*) is a circular camp called the *Round*; containing about an acre. It is situated within a mile of a cove, called *Porth-alla*.

‡ *Val*, from *gual*, a wall or fence; *vallack*, fenced. Hence *Trevallack* in St. Keverne; *Trevalscus* in Goran; *Levalscus* in St. Ewe; *Trevalga*, *Trevalgy*, &c. &c.

§ At *Rosemarder*, in the parish of Manaccan, is an entrenchment, consisting of a double foss. It runs parallel with the road that leads from Helston to St. Keverne, defending the pass over Tregidden-bridge.

‖ He shewed me a cannon ball, of about four pounds weight, which was not long since dug up in the foss; and may be referred, perhaps, to the time of Charles the First, when this camp was probably re-occupied.

castle with the deep ditch. It is a perfect circle; the area about an acre. The foss is remarkably deep. Within this circle, there was formerly another; of which not a trace remains: the ground is nearly as level as a bowling-green. From the main foss runs out another, in a straight line, about N. N. W. and crossing the present public road, leads to a well, properly stoned up, for the supply, we suppose, of the camp. - - - - On the top of Gweek wood, about a mile and a half distant from the *Gear*, (or rather the *Caer*) is a small camp. These three fortifications stand in a right line, on high situations, and within one view. At *Gunwallo* we again trace the Romans; ¶ and at *Car-minow*.‖ Near Helston, also, there are old Roman works.* That *Helston* was the *Halangium* of Richard, *Hellas* (one of its ancient names) and *Halan*, (in the furry-song) should put beyond a question. And if so, it was a town of high distinction among the Roman-Cornish. - - - From Helston, we are carried to *Pengersick* in Breage; and thence to † *Marazion*, *Penzance*, ‡ *Mousehole*, and *St. Berian*;§

¶ "Gunwallo-wynn-ton: As for the first compound-name, it signifies the spear or broach wall, vallum, or trench, victorious or conquering town; the second, the fort or fortress, wall, or trench-winning, victorious or conquering town; relating to some camp or walled intrenchment, heretofore within this parish, from whence the soldiers thereof obtained some notable victory over their enemies; perhaps that large circle or camp, called Earth, (or rather Caerth, i. e. castle or city, mentioned by Camden) consisting of rude unwrought stones, about five feet high, placed together in orbicular order, as a wall, without mortar or lime, after the manner of a British camp; wherein doubtless the people or soldiers placed themselves for protection against the sudden assaults of their enemies by night, as was customarily done in Britain and Gaul." *Hals*, p. 148.

‖ There is a tradition that one of the family of CARMINOW distinguished himself, among the Britons who opposed the landing of Julius Cæsar! ! See *Cleaveland's* Account of the Courtenays, p. 240.

* After describing the Lo-pool, below Helston, the writers of the *Magna Britannia* say: "At a little distance from hence there is a military camp, which is called *Erth*, built in a large circumference, with great stones heaped one upon another without mortar, of which sort some others are found up and down the country, supposed to be made in the Danish wars, and not unlike those British fortifications which Tacitus thus describes - - - A rude and confused structure of great stones." p. 810. - - - Bishop Gibson conjectures, that *Erth* is derived from *Arith*, a common name for *lakes*: and "this military fence being placed by a lake, (near the Lo pool) may very well be supposed to have its denomination from thence." *Gibson's Camden*, p. 22.

† At the bottom of *St. Michael' Mount* (says Camden) within the memory of our fathers, as they were digging for tin, were found spearheads, axes and swords of brass, all wrapped up in linen. *Gibson's Camden*, p. 6.

‡ *Mousehole*, in Cornish, is named *Porternis*, or the *island-haven*, from a little island placed before it. *Carew*, fol. 156. - - - *Holinshed* tells us, that, near Mousehole, some tinners, as they were working, found "spear-heads, battle-axes, and swords of copper, wrapped in linen, and little impaired thro' their long lying." See "the bottom of St. Michael's-mount."

§ "In the middle of the barton of *Troue*, in St. Berian, on the top of a hill, is still extant the downfalls of a castle, or trebble intrenchment; in which is a hole leading to a mighty vault under ground. How far it extends no

all which were probably fortified by the Romans; though I doubt much, whether the Roman soldiers remained long in the more western parts of Cornwall.

It hath appeared, that a part of the shore on the north side of Helford-harbour, is called *Porth-saussen*; which confirms our argument, and proves that the coast was, here, much frequented by the Saxons. After enumerating, therefore, the Roman-British camps, that seem to have been raised in opposition to the Saxons, we naturally ask, whether there are any relics of Saxon encampments on our shores? --- It is very difficult to discriminate between the military works of the Britons, Romans, Irish or Saxons, at the decline of the Roman power in Britain: for nothing is more certain, than that they all, *occasionally*, encamped in a similar manner. But, as the name of *Porth-saussen* indicates the *harbour of the Saxons*; so may we find other names to indicate their camps. Accordingly, we are struck by *Tresaussen*, "the dwelling of the Saxons," in the parish of Lanreath --- *Tresaussen*, not far from Probus --- *Car-saussen*, "the Saxon castle," in the neighbourhood of Truro --- *Car-saussen*, in the parish of Milor --- *Bosausack*, "the house of the Saxons at the creek," in the parish of Constantine; and || *Cossaussen*, in the parish of Gwinear, which (even if not a corruption of *Car-saussen*) sufficiently points out the Saxons. This latter place, indeed, is nearer to the north than the south sea: but in the more narrow parts of Cornwall, it was easy to penetrate from the one to the other. And when the Romans were beginning to withdraw their forces from the western extremity of the county, it was over-run, I believe, by the Saxons as well as the Irish.¶

This much for the military works of the Romans and Roman-Cornish.

Before I advert to the religious architecture of the Britons and Roman-Britons of Danmonium, I shall describe one or two of those artificial caves, which, I think, Dr. Borlase, after a due examination of the subject, has well determined to be "places of

man now living can tell, by reason of the damps or thick vapours that are in it. For as soon as you go an arrow's flight, or less, into it, your candles will go out of themselves, or be extinguished for want of air. For what use or end this subterranean vault was made is not certain." *Hals*, p. 43.

|| The *Saxon wood*.

¶ In thus tracing the vestiges of ancient war through Cornwall, it will be perceived, that I have not formed conjectures from *mere names*. Had I been disposed to attend to sound, unaided by history or tradition, I could easily have raised an hypothesis, on *Harrobear (Heiraburro)*, "the place of battle" --- *Treheir*, "the place of battle" --- *Tregeu*, "the place of spears" --- *Trelosk*, "the burnt town," and many other such places in Cornwall.

concealment." In the parish of St. Eval, near Padstow, there is a cave called the *Fogou.* To this, probably, the natives resorted, as a place of concealment for their moveable goods, or provisions; exposed as they were to incursions from Ireland. Borlase has delineated three of these vaults, † all in the hundred of Penwith, and probably intended to guard against the Irish - - - the caves of *Pendeen*, *Bodinar*, and *Bolleit.* ‡ The first, resembling, in some points, an artificial cave in Constantine, may deserve some further notice. " Of all the caves I have seen in Cornwall, (says Borlase) Pendeen *Vau* (by the Welsh pronounced *Fau*) is the most entire and curious. it consists of three galleries: the entrance is four feet six inches wide, and as many high, walled on each side with large stones, with a rude arch on the top. From the entrance we descend six steps, and advance to the N. N. E. the floor dipping all the way. This first gallery is twenty-eight feet long. The sides and roof of the second are formed in the same manner as those of the first - - - the sides the same distance, but the roof only five feet six inches high. Through a square hole, two feet wide, and two feet six inches high, we creep into a third gallery, six feet wide and six feet high - - - neither sides nor roof faced with stone, but the whole dug out of the natural ground; the sides formed regularly and straight, and the arch of the roof a semicircle. We see nothing of this cave, either in the field or garden, till we come to the mouth

† *Antiqu.* pp. 273, 274.

‡ For the caves at Bodinar and Bolleit, (the latter of which is called the *Fogou*, like that of St. Eval) I refer my readers to *Historical Views*, (pp. 42, 43) where other subterraneous retreats are, also, described. In the isles of Scotland, and in Ireland, (to which I resort, as originally peopled like Danmonium, by Asiatic colonies) there are a great number of artificial caverns. In the isle of Skie, are several little stone houses, built under-ground, called earth-houses, " which serve to hide a few people, and their goods, in the time of war" (Martin of the Isles, p. 154). In the isle of Ila, there is a large cave, called Vag-Vearnag, or Man's-cave, which will hold two hundred men. And there are many such caves in Ireland; not only under mounts, forts, and castles, but under plain fields; some winding into little hills and risings, like a volute, or ram's horn; others running zig-zag; others again right forward, connecting cell with cell. That the Asiatics, from whose country the Danmonians are supposed to have emigrated, " made them the dens which are in the mountains, and caves, and strong holds," (Judges, vi. 2) is evident, both from sacred and profane history. There is a remarkable passage in Xenophon, (de exped. Cyri, l. 4) describing the caves of the Armenians. Xenophon informs us, " that the houses of the Armenians were under-ground - - - that the mouth or entrance to these subterraneous habitations was like that of a well, but that underneath, they were wide and spreading - - - that there were ways for the cattle to enter, but that the men went down by stairs." In Armenia, at this day, the people dwell in caverns. " In a narrow valley (says Leonhaut Rauwolf) lying at the bottom of an ascent, we found a great stable, wherein we went. This was quite cut into the hill; and so was that wherein we lodged the night before. So that you could see nothing of it, but only the entrance. For they are commonly so in these hilly countries, under-ground, that the caravans may safely rest there, and defend themselves from the cold in the winter. This stable, twenty-five paces long, and twenty broad, was cut out of a rock."

of it; as much privacy as possible being consulted." In the middle of the second gallery, Dr. Borlase, observing "a low place, caused the floor to be dug; and found there *a round pit*, three feet diameter, and two feet deep, but nothing in it remarkable." I have lately seen three * similar caves; in Constantine, in St. Anthony, and at Trelowarren. The *Constantine* vault, commonly called *Piskey-hall*, is at *Bos-au-an*, where I have mentioned an entrenchment. It is thirty feet long, and five feet wide. It consists of rough stone walls---six feet four inches high, and is covered with rocks, of various dimensions. The whole lies under the surface of the earth; with an aperture at each end. In this vault, also, at one end, is *a round pit*, cut out in the rocky floor; two feet and three inches in diameter, and nine inches deep. This pit was found full of ashes. At *Bodean-veor*, in the parish of St. Anthony, is an artificial cave, of about thirty yards in length. It is merely an excavation of the earth, without any stone for walls or roof, four or five feet under ground. Its situation, on the highest part of the hill, suggests the idea of some military works near it----but none are, at present, discoverable.----The cave at *Trelowarren*, lies about a quarter of a mile to the west of Trelowarren-house, in a field called *Gulegullas*; § but (like Borlase's caves) lies nearly concealed from observation, under the turf and soil, and almost eludes discovery till we stumble on the mouth of it. The mouth opens very near the hedge of what my guide called a meadow: and the meadow, and two little contiguous gardens, are elevated above the level of the field. These three enclosures contain not a quarter of an acre. They are evidently the *barrow* which Borlase || describes, and which, when Borlase saw it, was unenclosed. Sliding down the aperture, and entering the cave to the south-west, on our hands and knees, we proceed under a roof of massy unhewn stones, from four to five feet high; with a wall on either side, composed as roughly of the same materials. Arriving at the end of this passage, we see, on our left, a little opening, like an oven;

* At *Polkanogou*, in St. Keverne, not many yards from the house, was found, some years since, a cave, of a similar construction. The place derives its name partly from the cave---*ogou* in Cornish, meaning a subterranean place or cave.

§ *Gulegullas*, or *golas*; perhaps, from *gual vallum* and *gullas lower*, or *golas*, a *bottom*.

|| See *Antiqu.* pp. 201, 202.---This barrow will soon be introduced among the sepulchral monuments of Cornwall.

through which we creep, but are immediately stopped short, as the ground hath fallen in, and blocked up the avenue. Returning to the entrance, we then explore the north-east passage; which is similar to the other, in its roof and walls, and is, in general, about seven feet high. At the end, as the passage very much contracts itself, we are forced to stoop in entering a kind of doorway; and having entered it, are struck with the appearance of a room rising to the height of at least nine feet, and expanding itself to a considerable size. This room, however, is constructed in the same irregular manner as the rest. It has two cavities or niches on one side. On the other, the roof-work has given way; and we are obstructed in our progress, by a promiscuous heap of rocks, gravel, and earth: so that its original extent cannot be ascertained. The greater part of the stones are granite - - - some worn smooth, as if taken from rivers. This retreat has been commonly called "*the Catacombs.*" Yet I cannot learn that any remains of the dead have been found here; though the barrow contained urns. This, and the cave at Constantine, were probably coeval with *Caer* and *Caervallack,* and other castles on the south-west shores. I have already intimated, that I conceive Dr. Borlase to be founded in his conjecture, that these subterraneous works were chiefly intended for the concealment of property, in the times of trouble and alarm. But the niches in "the Catacombs" and the round pits in "Pendeen-vau," and "Piskey-hall," seem to give them a sepulchral aspect. We may as well conceive, however, that these niches were framed as receptacles of the household gods or amulets of the Cornish,* as of the bones or ashes of their dead. Nor is the supposition improbable. Removing their furniture or treasures into those caves of concealment, the Cornish, or Roman-Cornish, would not forget their sacred penates, however pressed by the enemy - - - Tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque Penates. These, surely, they would wish, above all, to convey into some secret place, and when conveyed, to separate from their profane utensils. With respect to the round pit or

* Whether we consider the Cornish as at this time professing Druidism, Roman Polytheism, or Christianity, they certainly had some "Sacra" in their families - - - some domestic amulets which they prized far above household furniture or money; and for which it was natural to provide a safe repository, in case of danger. The *Teraphim,* which Rachael stole from her father Laban, were little images, I conceive, answering to the *Penates.* - - - And Jacob's household "gave unto Jacob all the *strange gods* which were in their hands, and all *their ear-rings* which were in *their ears:* and Jacob HID THEM under the oak which was by Shechem." *Genesis* xxxv. 4.

cell in Pendeen-vau, Dr. Borlase has not attempted to conjecture. Had there been three or four pits, or as many as might have been conveniently made, within the vault, we should not hesitate to class Pendeen (and in course, the other vaults) among our sepulchral monuments. But it seems unlikely, that a work of so much labour should have been framed for the sole purpose of burying, with only one pit, to receive a single urn, or bones and ashes not inurned. In the mean time, it is a curious circumstance, that Piskey-hall presents us, also, with a single cell. If I may venture to suggest an idea on the subject, these cells, I conceive, might have been used, as temporary receptacles of the ashes of a dead person; which, after the hour of alarm was passed, were inurned and elsewhere buried. No opportunity might have occurred, for the removal of the ashes from the Piskey-hall cell. †

It is now time to advert to the *religious architecture* of the Cornish and Roman-Cornish. Of the Druidical temples, I have given so full a description, in my "History of Devonshire," ‡ that I shall, here, say little on the subject. We recognize the scites of some of our Cornish temples in *Nansadarn*, the valley of Saturn; *Tresadarn*, the town of Saturn; *Tremer*, the town of Mars; *Gun-marr*, the downs of Mercury; *Kelli-marr*, the grove of Mercury. But *Ryddrew*, or the Druid's ford, (like the Drewsteignton of Devon) was one of the most sacred places in Cornwall. § It is difficult to determine, whether the rude *natural rock*, which, from its gigantic massiness might be supposed to strike the crowd with awe, was itself an object of adoration, or a sort of temple round which the people assembled, for the purpose of worship. One of our most famous stones, is a logan-stone in the parish of Sithney called *Men-amber*. It is not, indeed, more remarkable for its figure or properties, than others described by Borlase. But it has attained a great degree of celebrity. ‖ The *Men-an-tol*, or the holed stone, at Lanyon in the parish of Madern,

† It was not unusual in times of peace and security, to lay the urn with the bones in it securely by, covered with transparent linen or silk, *till the sepulchre was ready*.

‡ And "Historical Views" of Devonshire and Cornwall. See section iv.

§ The town about half a mile across the brook, which runs at the bottom of *Karnbre-hill*, was anciently called *Red-drew*, or more rightly *Ryddrew*, i. e, the Druid's ford.

‖ Bryant is of opinion, that the *Main-amber*, and another stone of the same sort called *Pendre-stone*, are monuments "of a very remote age, probably before the time when the Druids were first known. The Grecians called them Πετραι αμβροσιαι: and there are representations of such upon coins. Stonehenge is composed of these

was originally, perhaps, a place of worship. It is numbered by Borlase among our miraculous stones; as, in the opinion of the vulgar, it still possesses the power of curing diseases.* From the *rock* or the *single stone erect*, we pass to the assemblage of *pillars in a circle*; which was the regular temple of the Pagan-Cornish; and the most finished too; as the Druids never proceeded to lay covering stones on their circular pillars. This remained for the Romans. Yet the most inquisitive antiquary, who might look around him for the ruins of a Roman temple, would have his wishes disappointed and his ardor damped; compelled to acknowlege, after all his labour, that not one mouldering fragment---not an atom of a sacred structure, clearly Roman, was traceable even in the metropolis of Danmonium. Such relics, however, have been discovered in Devonshire and Cornwall, as have an intimate connexion with the Roman fane.---The Roman religion was, I conceive, introduced into Exeter, and every town of consequence in Danmonium, soon after Vespasian's conquests: but the principal discovery at Exeter, that bears any relation to a place of worship, was a brass lamp, which I have elsewhere described. It hath a crescent or half-moon, as represented by Montfaucon. It was found on St. David's-hill; where

amber-stones: hence *Ambrosbury*; not from the Roman Ambrosius; for no such person existed, but from the Ambrosial Petræ, in whose vicinity it stands." *Analysis* of ancient Mythol. vol. 3. quart. p. 533.---Norden says, that "*Mainamber* consisted of certayne huge stones, so sett and subtillye combyned, not by art, but by nature, as a child may move the upper stone, being of a huge bigness, with one finger; so equallie balanced it is: and the forces of manie strong men conjoined can do no more in moving it."---- *Pendre-stone*, "is a rock (says Norden) upon the topp of a hill near Bliston, on which standeth a beacon, and on the topp of the rock lyeth a stone, which is three yardes and a haulfe longe, four foote broad, and two and a haulfe thick; and it is equally balanced, that the winde will move it, whereof I have had true experience. And a man with his little finger will easily stirr it, and the strength of many cannot remove it." See *Norden*, pp. 48, 74.---- According to Borlase, *Men-amber* is nothing more than a corruption of *Men-an-bar*, which in the Cornish language signifies the *top-stone*.---"The *top-stone* (Mr. Scawen tells us in his MSS.) was so nicely poised, that a little child could instantly move it: and all travellers that came this way desired to behold it. But, in the time of Cromwell, when all monumental things became despicable, one Shrubsall, then governor of Pendennis, by much ado, caused it to be undermined, and thrown down, to the great grief of the country." It is this incident, which has fixed the idea of *Men-amber* more deeply in the minds of the Cornish since Cromwell, than that of any other logan-stone in Cornwall.

* It was usual, not long since, to creep through this holed stone for pains in the back and limbs; and to draw children through it, for the cure of the rickets. This stone is also deemed oracular. The doctor himself saw two pins carefully laid across each other, "on the top-edge of the holed stone. The over-curious (says he) even at this time, by recurring to such pins, and observing their direction to be the same, or different from what they left them in, or by their being lost or gone, are informed of, and resolve upon some material incident of love or fortune, which they could not know soon enough in a natural way. Of the same kind, and appropriated to the same uses, I look upon *all thin stones*, which have *a large hole in the middle*." *Antiq.* p. 168.

is now a church; but where once, perhaps, was a temple, dedicated to Diana.---- A colossal bust or head of Andromache, of which Dr. Musgrave has given us a very long account,† was, perhaps, an appendage to a Roman temple: but it was brought to Exeter from Bath. And Bath is, in the idea of the antiquary, the true scene of crumbling columns and mutilated gods. In Exeter, it would be vain to speculate on Roman temples. Carew reports, that in the times of Paganism, *Cunedagius* built a temple in Cornwall to Apollo: but "where it stood (says he) I know not." ‡ Hals informs us, that it stood at Bodmin. § There might, possibly, have been a Roman temple there; famous as Bodmin was, at a very early period, for its sacred structures.‖ In *Cargol*, in the parish of Newlyn, we read "*the holy town or edifice*"---a name prior, perhaps, to its connexion with an episcopal see, and referring us to a Pagan temple.

I have already intimated, that, as the Druidical was converted into a Roman temple, so the Roman temple was converted into a church.¶ The latter, indeed,

† Dr. *Stukeley* says, it is a relic of *British* antiquity. "At Exeter (says Stukeley) I saw the *coloss-head* of the *Empress* JULIA DOMNA, (dug up near Bath) in Dr. MUSGRAVE's garden, which his father calls *Andromache*. The head-dress is like that of her times, and her bust at Wilton. It is the noblest relic of British antiquity of this sort that we know. It is twenty-one inches from the top of the attire to the chin, and belonged to a statue of twelve feet proportion, originally set upon some palace or *temple*." See *Musgrave*, vol. i. pp. 212---217---223.

‡ Fol. 81.

§ "Here undoubtedly stood the Temple of Apollo, which our annalists tell us, was built in Cornwall by Cunedage, or Cune-da, synonymous words, (i. e. good king or prince) in the year of the world 3172, especially for that they further inform us, that all the temples in this land, (which comprehended those of the natives and of the Romans) after the conversion of the Britons to Christianity, *Anno Dom.* 180. *Temp.* K. Lucius, were turned to cathedral, or conventional and other churches; and the chief of those, to the number of thirty-one, became the prime seats of so many Christian bishops; and consequently that this Temple of Apollo was the seat of the Cornish bishops, or Druids, (of the Druids before, and the bishops after Christianity) although the list or catalogue of their names be lost, except St. Pedyr, i. e. Peter, who lived about the 5th century, as tradition says; though as Harpsfield and Campian say, *Anno Dom.* 850; and therefore is by them placed as the first bishop among the Cornish." *Hals*, p. 17.

‖ In the parish of *St. Minver*, was found, some years since, what the persons who saw it, called an altar, and attributed to the Druids. It had been buried in the course of ages; but by digging on the spot, was laid open to the day. It was composed of rough unhewn sand-stones, and had four stone pillars to support it. It was soon broken to pieces by unhallowed hands: and of its dimensions, I could procure no accurate account. But the Druids had no such altar. And it was too rude, for an altar of the Romans. I should rather place it among our *sepulchralia*.

* We have a parish called *Temple*, and a place named *Tempellow*, "temples." And I think *Fenton-gollen*, in St. Michael Penkevil, and other holy wells, were not without their sacred edifices.

¶ We use *Lhan* for a church, probably, because the Druids, before Christianity, sacrificed, and buried their dead in a *circle* or enclosure *of stones*. See *Bast. Gloss.* p. 272---and *Wallace* of the *Orcades*, p. 53.

is far more probable. There are several structures in Devonshire and Cornwall, which had probably been the seats of Pagan worship before the introduction of Christianity, and which retain marks of the contest between Polytheism and the true religion. To churches apparently erected on the scite or in the vicinity of Pagan temples, the antiquary would direct his enquiries. Stukeley seems to have followed this clue; which, at Exeter, however, led to no discovery; though amidst his meditations on the modern churches of our metropolis, the doctor was particularly struck with the names of *St. Mary-arches*, and *St. Stephen's-bow*. "*St. Mary-arches church*, and *St. Stephen's-bow*, seem, by their names, (he intimates) to have been built out of *Roman temples*." But a mere name is a fallacious guide. Let us recur to facts. - - - "The first *religious* house which we read of, founded in Cornwall, was that erected by St. Patrick, in the year 432. The place where this house was situate, was called anciently Loderick, the house itself Laffenac; either from the church's being built with stone, (whereas in those early times they were seldom built of such costly materials) or Laffenac, *quasi* Lan-manach, the church of the monks; as Bodvenah, (now Bodmin) from Bod-manach, the house of the monks: it stood on the north sea, at the mouth of a river, called then Heilemuth, (by Malmsbury, lib. ii. Hegelmith): the river was what we now call Alan, formerly known by the name of Hayle, or Heyle, as the parish and church of Egleshayle, situated on its banks, testify. In this church of Laffenac, there was an altar dedicated to St. Patrick, much reverenced in those times, as supposed to be the same on which (according to his legend) that saint swam from Ireland into Cornwall, to avoid the pomp and ceremony with which the Irish continued to teize him. This church was called afterwards by the name of St. Patrick; and I should think that the town was afterwards, in commemoration of this saint, called by the Saxons, Padstow or Patrick-stow: others think it called Padstow from St. Petrock, a disciple of St. Patrick, who settled in the same house, and built here; and after thirty years labour in the word of God, died and was buried here, A. D. 564." † The tomb of St. Patrick was remaining in the east side of the church at Padstow, in Leland's time. ‡ The walls of the ancient § hermitage

† *Antiqu.* pp. 345, 346. ‡ See *Leland's Itin.* vol. ii.

§ Great and Little *Anchor*, (or *Ancar*) in the parish of St. Agnes, were probably so called from hermitages there.

built on the summit of *Roche-rock*, are still very discernible. || In the parish of *Cardinham*, there were anciently two churches; exclusive of the present, comparatively a modern building. One was Cardinham-church, on the scite of old Cardinham castle: of this, there are no vestiges. For the other, we are conducted to the Holy-well, which is walled up and arched with moorstone, and over which, tradition says, there was a church or chapel. These may be classed, I believe, among the first Christian places of worship, particularly the church on the scite of the Roman encampment. --- On the island of Godrevey at the entrance of St. Ives bay, stand the ruins of a chapel, which existed long before the church, and was probably one of the first places of religious worship, after the introduction of Christianity into this county. On the top of an astonishing tumulus of carnes, called Karnbre, on the west side of the parish of St. Just, in Penwith, is situated a very old chapel. Its foundation is about fifteen feet high: and it rises about ten feet higher; walled and arched over with moorstone; having one window in the east, and a door, in the south. It is about fourteen feet in length, and ten broad; shewing several moorstone stairs in decay, and walks round the tumulus, in a ruinous state. Beneath the chapel, on the decline of the hill, is a poor-house, called *Chy-carra-dre*, "the *house* of the *singing town*."

From the sacred edifices, we pass to the sepulchral remains of the Cornish; whether Pagan or Christian. The *barrow*, the *kistvaen* and the *cromleh*, the *plain* columnar *stone*, and the *inscribed*, shall be noticed in their order. The *barrows* in Cornwall are from four to thirty feet high; and from fifteen to one hundred and thirty feet wide. Some consist of *earth** --- others, of stone. Some barrows

|| "Roche (says *Norden*, in his account of Cornwall, p. 62) is a very high, steepe, and craggie rocke, upon the top whereof is placed a cell or hermitage, the walls whereof are wroughte, and that with greate labour, out of the obdurate rock. It standeth upon the wylde moares, farr from common societie, fitteste for such votaries."

* It has been suggested, that in the composition of the barrow, earth has been sometimes brought for a considerable distance from the spot where the barrow was raised. Perhaps, where a person of high character or distinction was interred, all the people of the neighbourhood, might have carried earth to his barrow, out of respect to his memory. And there is a passage in the second book of Kings, which would lead me to suppose, that the friends of a great man, might present him with earth for his sepulchre, previously to his decease. Perhaps, the priests or seers attendant upon his person, might present him with consecrated earth. If there be any historical record to justify this conjecture, a very difficult passage to which I allude, and which has never yet been satisfactorily explained by any commentator, will be most clearly and strikingly elucidated. "Naaman said (to the prophet Elisha) shall there not,

have pillars. Others have *crypta*, or hollows in the top. But a more finished kind of barrow, is that which is edged with a ring of stones, and has, in the middle, a cavity walled on each side, and covered with large flat stones, and over all a tumulus of small stones and earth. The most perfect is the pyramidal barrow, walled round, and containing a vault; the pavement of which is chequered brick. I shall not arrange the barrows, according to these distinctions; but shall cursorily point out a † few, from the east of Cornwall to the Land's-end; and mark their situation, structure, or contents. There are numerous barrows in the neighbourhood of *Rowtor* and *Brownwilley*, and other places in the east of Cornwall. They are, in general, plain in their structure; and probably would not repay the trouble of examination. There are barrows on *St. Austle-downs*, which lie two, three, and sometimes seven in a straight line. These were probably the sepulchres of common soldiers, thrown up in the field of battle.‖ "At Tencreek (in Creed) or Tencruck, i. e. the fire-bank or tumulus, is the sepulchre (says Hals) of one interred there before the sixth century, whose body was burnt to ashes by fire, according to the then accustomed manner of interring the dead, and his bones and ashes laid up in an urn, or earthen pot, in a bank, or burrow, or tumulus, upon some part of the lands of this barton; from which facts it was called Tencreek."§ "In a barrow on Lamburn-downs, in the parish of *Piran-san*, was found¶ an earthen pot, containing about two gallons, wherein were lodged much ashes, some

I pray thee, be given to (me) thy servant, TWO MULES BURDEN OF EARTH (for his barrow)? ---- For thy servant (to render himself worthy of such attention from thee) will henceforth offer neither burnt-offerings, nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord." II. *Kings*, V. 17. *The tomb* of Joseph of Arimathea hewn out of a rock, was originally intended for himself: and the Syrian might have fixed upon his sepulchre long before his interview with Elisha.

† Many places in Cornwall take their denomination from barrows, --- such as *Creegbroaz*, the great barrow, --- *Creegcarrow*, the deer's barrow, or the barrow of the Roman castle, --- *Creeg-glase*, the green barrow, --- *Creegmurion*, the ants barrow, --- *Creegsillick*, the barrow or burrow in open view, --- *Creegvose*, the entrenched barrow, --- *Creegmeer*, the great barrow, --- *Buscreege*, the dwelling by the barrow, --- *Roscreege*, the valley of the barrow, --- *Tencreege*, the town of the barrow. ----

‖ See *Dr. Williams's* dissertation on the St. Austel barrows. *Philos. Transactions*, 1740.

§ *Hals*, p. 76.

¶ *Hals's MSS.*—"In Withiel parish (says Carew) one Gidley, not many yeeres sithence, digged downe a little hillocke, or Borough, called Borsneeuas, in English, Cheapfull, therewith to thicken his other ground. In the bottome of which he found three white stones, triangle-wise (as pillars) supporting another flat one, some two foote

bones in small pieces, and charcoal; and by the side of the said pot were also found two small drinking cups of like clay, with several handles made of the same matter." The drinking cups were Roman *pateræ*, placed in the funeral monument of the person interred. In some of the barrows, on the same downs, have been found pieces of iron and brass money, as Hals also informs us. Possibly the handles might be the ansæ of the simpulum, or of lachrymatories: and the monuments, in which such sacred utensils are found, were probably the sepulchres of priests. "In the parish of St. Agnes, stands Carne Bury-anacht, or Bury-anack (synonymous words, only varied by the dialect) signifying the still or quiet spar-stone grave, or burying-place; where, suitable to the name, and the natural, remote, lofty circumstances thereof, stand three spar-stone tumulusses, consisting of a vast number of those stones, great and small, piled up together, in memory of some once notable human creatures, before the sixth century, interred there."‡ The barrows of *Golvadnek*, and *Karn-menelez* are, I believe, Roman. "In the year 1700, some tinners opening a barrow of stones, called Golvadnek-barrow, between Penryn and Redruth, came at last to some large ones disposed in the nature of a vault, in which they found an urn full of ashes, and a fine chequered brick pavement, which, together with the urn, they ignorantly broke to pieces; they found also, in the same place, several Roman brass coins of the second size, and a small instrument of brass set in ivory, which I suppose the Roman ladies made use of about their hair. The coins were much defaced; two of them, with the instrument, were brought to me; on the first was very legible, Diva Faustina, the head of the elder Faustina; the reverse had only remaining S. C. the other, as well as I could guess, (for the inscription was quite defaced, and the head much spoilt) was of Lucilla, wife of the emperour Verus, daughter to Marcus Antoninus, the philosopher. Since that, I had another given me, found, as well as I can remember, at the same time and place, of the emperour Marcus Antoninus Pius, husband of the elder Faustina, in which Antonin. is plain; reverse, a woman standing

and a halfe squarre, and in the midst betweene them, and vnder it, an earthen pot, halfe full of a blacke slymie, and illsauouring substance, which (doubtlesse) was once the ashes of some notable person, there committed to that manner of buriall." Fol. 148.

‡ *Hals*, p. 3.

with the hasta in her left hand, the rest defaced, all but S. C."* About a furlong from Golvadneck, on the hill of *Karn-me-nelez*, stand two barrows of the same kind; originally, I conceive, pyramidal, and walled round. Here are said to have been found some coins of Julius Cæsar. There is an earthen barrow at Trelowarren; where, in 1751, were found two urns.† From one of the three barrows on Goonhilly-downs, I numbered fifteen barrows.‡ On *Crousa* or *Goongartha downs* are several barrows of earth---one with a ring of rude massy stones. In Mullion is a stone-barrow, near Kinance-cove, or the dog's valley. Warlike instruments, sacrifical vessels, and various other British or Roman remains are frequently found in sepulchres. Borlase describes a *patera*, "the beautiful proportions of which (he says) could only be the result of Roman elegance. I take it (says he) to be a sacrifical patera, to receive the blood of the victim, and convey it as an offering to the altar. This vase is of fine moor-stone, turned and polished, and was found in an old hedge belonging to the glebe of Ludgvan."‖ Near the mansion-house, at Kerris, in the parish of *Paul*, some workmen removing an old hedge, in the year 1723, discovered a vault about eight feet long, and six high, the floor paved with stone, and the roof arched over with the same materials; within it was a fair plain urn, of the finest red clay, full of earth. From the largeness and strength of this vault, the smallness of the urn, and the earth without any bones, this urn

* Letter from Mr. *Tonkin*, dated March 1, 1727.

† "In a field at Trelowarren, there was opened in July 1751, an earthen barrow, very wide in circumference, but not five feet high. As the workmen came to the middle of the barrow, they found a parcel of stones set in some order, which being removed, discovered a cavity about two feet diameter, and of equal height. It was surrounded and covered with stones, and inclosed bones of all sorts, legs, arms, ribs, &c. and intermixed with them some wood-ashes; there was no urn here, but at the distance of a few feet from the central cavity, there were found two urns, one on each side, with their mouths turned downwards, and small bones and ashes inclosed. All the black vegetable mould which covered the place where the urns were found, was industriously cleared off, and the urns inverted, placed on the clean yellow clay, (which, in this field, lyes under the soil); then the black vegetable mould was placed round about the urns, and throughout the whole composition of the barrow, I observed afterwards the same materials, clay, mould, wood-ashes, and rubble stone, mixed very disorderly, so that there can be no doubt, but that the people, who formed this barrow, took indifferently of the mould and clay that lay nearest at hand. Three thin bits of brass, found near the middle, just before I came there, were given me by the workmen; they were covered with ærugo, neither inclosed in the cavity nor in the urns, by which I conjecture, that they were pieces of a sword, or some other instrument, which after having been inserted in the funeral pile, and broke, were thrown into the barrow among the earth, and other materials that were heaped together." *Antiq.* pp. 201, 202.

‡ Mr. James of St. Keverne, opened a barrow on Goonhilly-downs, where he found only scattered fragments of urns and bones, whence he rightly concludes, that it had been opened before.

‖ *Antiqu.* p. 288.

must have contained the ashes of some considerable person. And from its delicate shape, the fine clay of which it is formed, and some coins found with it; it may be justly ranked among the Roman urns. On the top of a barrow, at Boswens, in *Sancred*, there is a pillar. At Sancred was found an urn, which by the neatness of the lace-work round it, is judged to be Roman. In 1754, an urn was found at Karne, in the parish of *Morvah*, under a large barrow; the clay is fine, and well burnt; it is neatly ornamented with double straight lists round the edge and handle, and wavy lists on the sides; its colour cinereous----its shell three-eights of an inch thick. I scarcely know a bolder tumulus than that of *Karnbre*, in St. Just. It consists of a vast heap of carnes, or rude stones, artificially laid together; and may be called by way of distinction, the *Carnbeth*, or the stone-burial-place of Cornwall. Sometimes a whole family were buried in the same barrow. In this case, many urns were placed close one to another. The most remarkable monument of this kind in Cornwall, was one opened by Ralph Williams, yeoman, at Chikarn (in St. Just, Penwith) in 1733, when in removing a barrow, was discovered a great number of urns, and nearer the centre, a stone square chest, or cell in which was also found an urn, finely carved, and full of human bones. As well as could be remembered, there were about fifty urns surrounding the central and principal one; which alone, because it appeared to be neatly carved, Williams carried home to his house: the rest (all which had some remains of bones and earth in them) were thrown away and broken, as of no consequence. From the paved cell, and the urn so finely carved, this barrow and the urns are conceived to be Roman. But the Cornish, if we admit their original want of skill, might have soon learned from the Romans the art of paving a cell, or carving an urn.‡ That which I have called the finished barrow, obtains throughout the Sylleh isles.§ In this research, Dr. Borlase had

‡ Borlase describes two pateræ of talky moorstone, found in the tenement of Leswyn, in St. Just, about 100 yards distant from a large urn.

§ In his "Observations" on the isles of Sylleh, Borlase describes this barrow in a very lively manner. "The ancient sepulchres (says he) in the island of St. Mary, are either caves, or, as they are called by some authors, barrows. Of caves, the giants-cave near Tol's Hill, is the most remarkable; the description of this therefore may give you a just notion of the rest, but that they are neither so large, nor so entire. The mouth of it is four feet six inches wide, thirteen feet eight inches long, and three feet eight inches high; we that were living were forced to creep into it, but it may admit giants when they are dead. It is covered from end to end with large flat stones, which shelter the sheep, and has a tumulus of rubbish on the top of all. ---The barrows, here and in the adjacent island are very numerous, and

only to contemplate the structure of the barrows. He could not find (he says) upon the strictest enquiry, that ever any urn was found in Sylleh.* In his Natural History, however, the Doctor had the pleasure of describing an urn discovered in Sylleh.† I have mentioned the *stone-chest* in the barrow commonly called the *Kistvaen*. But we sometimes discover remains of the dead, where was nothing but a stone-chest, or perhaps side and end stones rudely placed, in the form of a chest or coffin.‡ Mr. Carew describes a curious Roman urn discovered, about the year 1600, in *Trewardreth*-bay; where were found some Roman coins, in possession of Mr. Rashleigh. "Certain hedgers (says Carew) dividing a close, on the sea-side hereabouts, chanced in their

constructed in one manner. The outer ring is composed of large stones pitched on end, and the heap within consists of smaller stones, clay, and earth mixed together: they have generally a cavity of stone-work in the middle covered with flat stones, but the barrows are of various dimensions, and the cavities, which being low and covered with rubble, are scarce apparent in some, consists of such large materials in others, that they make the principal figure in the whole monument. ---- We pitched upon a hill, where there are many of these barrows, and, as the common story goes, giants were buried, with a design to search them, and, having hired some soldiers, proceeded to open them. --- In the first we found no bones, nor urns, but some strong, unctuous earth, which smelt cadaverous. In the middle of this barrow was a large cavity full of earth: there was a passage into it, at the eastern end, one foot eight inches wide, betwixt two stones set on end; the cavity was four feet eight inches wide in the middle, the length of it twenty-two feet; it was walled on each side with masonry and mortar, the walls or sides four feet ten inches high; at the western end it had a large flat stone on its edge, which terminated the cavity; its length bore east and by north, and it was covered from end to end with large flat stones, several of which we removed, and others had been carried off before for building the new pier. ---- Forty-two feet distant to the north, we opened another barrow of the same kind, the cave was less in all respects, the length fourteen feet, bearing north-east by east, the walled sides two feet high; where narrowest, one foot eight inches, in the middle, four feet wide; in the floor was a small round cell dug deeper than the rest. In this we found some earths of different colours from the natural one, but nothing decisive. It was covered with flat stones like the former." *Ancient and present state of the Isles*," pp. 28, 29, 30.

* And (as it appeared to him) the cavities of masonry were so much beyond the size of the human body, that they might contain more bodies than one. The islanders, however, had a notion that they were *giants' graves*; were alarmed at the doctor's boldness in disturbing the giants, and attributed to this circumstance a storm which destroyed all their crops, the night after the doctor's adventure. ---- Had our antiquary been forced to take refuge in one of his newly-discovered cavities, we should not have wondered; but these people seemed to support their loss with much patience.

† "A plain urn, inclosing human bones, was found in Mr. T. Smith's garden, in Newfort, in the isle of St. Mary's, Scilly: it stood upon the natural clay, inclosed in a vault four feet six inches long, two feet three inches wide, about one foot three inches deep; the sides of the vault were faced with stone, its covering, flat stones; the run of the vault N. N. E. This is inserted, as the only one yet discovered in the isles of Scilly, to shew that *these islanders had the same way of burning the dead*, and preserving what the fire *left unconsumed, as other ancient nations*." *Borlase's* Natural History, p. 322.

‡ Coffins of a single stone, hollowed out with a chissel, is an improvement on the Kistvaen, which Mr. Gough attributes to the Romans. These coffins were frequently of marble. Some contained two or more bodies; others only one. In the latter case, they were not unfrequently made to fit the body, with cavities for the reception of the head, arms, &c.

digging upon a great chest of stone, artificially joined, whose cover they (over-greedy for booty) rudely broke, and therewithall, a great earthen pot enclosed, which was gilded and graved with letters, defaced by this misadventure, and full of black earth; the ashes, doubtless, of some famous personage."* At Treath, near Helford, was discovered, about sixteen years ago, a very ancient *burying-place.* On the removal of a part of a garden-terrace, there appeared, about forty feet distant from the house, and about five feet deep, some rude moorstones, which, as they were laid open, had evidently the shape and size of a modern coffin. They were put together without cement, forming sides and ends, and a covering: but the bottom was the fast or *the country*, as we term it; on which lay a black unctuous substance, like that contained in urns, about two or three inches deep. There was no appearance of bones. The moorstone was black, and the earth around it red as if burnt: the former was almost in a decomposed state. Six or seven feet from this coffin was found another, of nearly the same form and dimensions: its contents, too, the ashes of the dead. A third was also discovered; and a fourth, and a fifth - - - all resembling the first, in every point. In the remaining part of the garden or terrace, there is some very old stone work, but not enough to determine, whether it was the wall of a chapel or any other building. On this subject there is no tradition, to throw light: nor will the name of *Treath* be, any way satisfactory. *Tre-veth*, indeed, (contractedly *Tre-eth*, *Treth)* signifies "the place of the grave," or *the burying-place.* But the obvious meaning of *Treath*, is *sand*, or a sand-beach. At the foot of Karnbre-hill, three feet under the surface, were found, together with one pint of Roman coins, the head of an animal in brass, the hinge of a cover, and a concave thin plate full of holes of the same metal. The head is hollow, and I take it for the head of a ram, and to have been the pummel of the handle of some ancient sword or dagger.‡ The hinge needs no explanation. Whether the other was the cover of the mouth of the *simpulum*, or a vessel called the *perianterium*, used to

* Hals, in his Parochial Survey, mentions a Roman coin "found in an urn taken out of a tumulus in this county," and says that the inscription, "Imp. Caes. M. Ant. Gordianus Avg." must be read Cæsar Mantis Gord. and the reverse, Providentia Auguris; not sufficiently informed that Gordianus assumed the title of Marc. Antonius, as many other emperors did, and that Providentia Augusti is a common legend for the reverses of most emperors.

‡ One not very unlike this, may be seen in Montf. (Tom. iv. Plate XXIV. No. 6.).

sprinkle the sacrificers with holy water, or part of a musical instrument, or whether it might have been part of the lid of the *thuribulum*, (the perfume or incense to ascend through the holes) is uncertain: there are scarcely remains enough to decide what it really was. Yet the Roman coins found in this place, induce the persuasion that this brass head, as well as the other things, are of Roman original, though of the times in which arts begun to decline, in that empire; since the workmanship is not at all elegant in either, and the *roma* found among the coins is evidently of the lower empire. In Gwythian parish, about half a mile to the south-west of the church-town, the sea having washed away a piece of the cliff, discovered in 1741, about three feet under the common surface of the land a small cavity about 20 inches wide, and as much high, faced, and covered with stone: the bottom was of one flat stone, and upon it was placed an urn with its mouth downwards, full of human bones, of which the *vertebræ* were very distinct. Round the urn was found a quantity of small dust or earth, which had all the appearances of human ashes, and filled the lower part of the cavity about four inches high from the bottom. In the year 1716, a farmer of the village of *Men*, near the Land's-end, having removed (in order to cleave it for building) a flat stone seven feet long, and six wide, discovered underneath it a cavity, at each end of which was a stone two feet long, and on each side a stone four feet long. In the middle of this square cavity was an urn full of black earth, and round the urn very large human bones not placed in their natural order, but irregularly mixed. Several bits of brass, particularly the point of a sword of brass, were found in this sepulchre.‖ The *Cromleh*, (which I must not pass in silence) is no other than a large kistvaen. Though we have

Carte tells us, that "a little while before he came into Cornwall (which was in the year 1714) a fine Roman urn was discovered, with a cover to it, very large, on a hill opposite to Karnbre: it had ashes in it, and one coin of the bigness of a crown-piece, with an inscription on it very legible, shewing it to be a medal of Augustus Cæsar. - - - - - Within less than ten years before I was there, a quantity of Roman coins (some of which, by the brightness of their colour, seemed to resemble gold) were dug up in one of the barrows in the parish of Illogan. I have seen a great number of the coins found here in searching barrows, but none later than Lucilla, and Faustina, found in those urns and barrows, but in other places down along to Valentinian the third." *Hist. of Engl.* Vol. 1. p. 103.

‖ Carew mentions, as not far from the Land's-end, a little village called *Trebegeen*, or "*the town of the giants grave*," near which, and "within memory (as I have been informed, says Carew) certayne workmen searching for tynne, discovered a long square vault, which contayned the bones of an excessive bigge carkas, and verified this etimology of the name." *Fol.* 159.

but one sepulchral monument of this description in Devonshire,† yet we have several in Cornwall; such as the cromlehs of *Molfra* and *Lanyon*, in Madern, of *Senor* and of *Chun*, in Morvah.* Of our *monuments of two stones erect*, the obvious end, was to distinguish the graves of considerable persons. There is such a monument in the tenement of Dryft, in Sancred. One of the stones stands nine feet high out of the earth, the other somewhat more than seven: they are eighteen feet distant, the line in which they stand pointing north-west. There is another of the same sort in the tenement of Trewen, in Madern, the distance ten feet, the line of their plan lying E. N. E. Upon searching the ground between these two stones, in 1752, the diggers found a pit six feet six long, two feet nine wide, and four feet six deep: near the bottom it was full of black greasy earth, but no bone was to be seen. This grave came close to the westernmost and largest stone, next to which, I imagine, the head of the interred lay. The christians sometimes buryed in this manner, but in compliance with a more ancient Pagan custom.§ King Arthur was buried in the church-yard of Glastonbury, between two pyramids, as the Welsh bard sung to King Henry the II. and as the researches of the antiquary afterwards determined.‖ Erected stones, set in a straight line, are generally conceived to be memorials of battles or combats:¶ and they mark the burial-places of those who fell in battle. On the downs leading from Wadebridge to St. Columb, is such a line of stones, bearing N. E. and S. W. it is called the *nine-maids*.*

† See *History of Devon.* (Vol. I. C. 1. S. 4.) and *Historical Views* (S. 4.). In the composition of the Dissertation on the *Cromleh*, I was more than a twelvemonth employed; which any person may well conceive, if he attentively considers the notes and references to a great variety of authors, consulted for the purpose of illustration.

By the highway, in St. Columb, stands the *Coyt*, a strong tumulus so called. It consists of four long stones of great bigness, perpendicularly pitched in the earth, contiguous with each other, leaving only a small vacancy downwards, but meeting again at the top; over all which is laid a flat stone of prodigious magnitude, bending towards the east in way of adoration, (as Mr. Lhuyd concludes of those coyts elsewhere) as the person therein under it interred did when in the land of the living. *Hals*, p. 64.

‡ Ἤ τιν σημα βροτοιο παλαι καταθνητοιο. Il. 23. ver. 331.

§ "The monk, O Gorgon, is buryed near to this chapel, and there is a stone five feet high at each end of his grave." *Martin* of St. Columbus's chapel in an islet near the Skie, p. 167.

‖ *Speed Chron.* p. 272.

¶ See *Worm.* Mon. Dan. p. 62. *Olaus Magn.* l. i. c. xxxix. *Plot's* Staffordshire, p. 398.

*" Near Retallock burrow, (that is to say, Retallock grave) is a notable tumulus, wherein some human creature of that place was interred, before the sixth century. Re-tallock signifies exceeding, or too much buckler, or target. Not far from which is still extant, in the open downs, nine perpendicular stones, called the nine-maids, in Cornish, *naw-vos*,

Cirques, whether open or enclosed, were often sepulchral. There are some circles near one another, and having their centers in a line; to signify, perhaps, that they were directed to one use. Of this sort, are *the hurlers*, in the parish of St. Clere; oblong, rude, and unhewn stones, pitched on one end. They are supposed by the vulgar, to have been once men, thus transformed as a punishment for their hurling on the Lord's day. This monument once consisted of three circles, from which many stones have been occasionally taken. I consider the hurlers as sepulchral.‡ "Not far from St. Buriens, says Camden, in a place called *Biscaw-woune*, are nineteen stones set in a circle, about twelve feet distant one from another: and in the centre there stands one much larger than the rest. We may conjecture, this to have been some trophy of the Romans, under the later emperors; or of Athelstan the Saxon, after he had subdued Cornwall."§ It was, probably, a sepulchral monument. There are several little circles in the wilds of *Altarnun*, about three yards diameter, more or less. I have no doubt but these were erected in memory of the dead. There are many other such circles in Cornwall, too small to have been intended for any other purpose. From *plain* we come to *inscribed* monuments. The most remarkable inscribed monument in Cornwall, is the *men skryfa*, or "*the written stone*." It lies in a croft about half a mile to the north-west of Lanyon, in the parish of Madern. Its dimensions are nine feet

alias, the nine-sisters, in Cornish, naw-whoors. Which very name informs us that they were sepulchral stones, erected in memory either of nine natural or spiritual sisters of some religious house, and not so many maids turned into stones, for dancing on the sabbath day, as the country people will tell you. These stones are set in order by a line." *Hals*, p. 64.

‡ "In the open downs are to be seen a great number of moorstones, some artificially squared, and in a perpendicular manner, about three feet high, fastened at the bottom in the ground. Eight of them stand much longer, or higher, than the rest, and at a proportionable distance. They, are commonly called the hurlers. For the old wives' tradition says, they formerly [in their life-time, I suppose,] were men, and perhaps clever fellows too, but so very prophane and wicked as to be made exemplary monuments to posterity. For the wretches playing a match at hurling, whirling, or casting a ball upon a Sunday, became objects of God's judgment, and were thus transformed into stones. Did but the ball which those hurlers used, when flesh and blood, appear directly over them, immoveably pendent in the air, one might be apt to credit some little of the tale. But as the case is, I can scarce help thinking but the present stones were always stones, and will to the world's end be so, unless any will be at the pains to pulverize them. I am inclined to guess too, notwithstanding what my grandmother said to the contrary, they were by human art set up, like those others by the highway, as funeral monuments for such pious christian hurlers only as St. Paul himself was; whose spiritual hurling, or race-running, for the eternal prize, his sacred Epistles abound with. I say, from some such circumstances probably those stones might be denominated hurlers, (if from their first erection they were called so) viz. hurlers spiritual, not carnal." *Hals*, pp. 48. 49.

§ *Gibson's Camden*, p. 5.

ten inches long, one foot eight wide, and one foot seven deep, or thick. This stone stood upright. The inscription begins at the top, (after the method of our ancient Cornish inscriptions) and is to be read downwards: Runick inscriptions generally begin at bottom, and are to be read upwards.* The inscription is, *Rialobran--Cunoval--Fil.* which is, at length---*Rialobranus Cunovali filius*---signifying, "*Rialobran* the son of *Cunoval* is buried here." The first name seems to be compounded of *Rialo,* from the British word *rheal, noble,* and *bran* or *bren,* a *prince,* as Brennus, Brendanus: both names are found in the British History.‡ The British emigration into Armorica, in 454,§ was under the conduct of *Rioval.* Harold, son of earl Godwin, had a brother called *Rivallo,* (or *Rywalhon)* whom, with his brother Blegent, he appointed to succeed Griffin, king of Wales, subdued by his arms. For the other name, *Cun* or *Kyn,* is a *head,* a *prince*; and *mawl* (which in composition, the Cornish turned into *vawl)* signifies *to praise.* But we must go beyond the age of Harold, perhaps, of the Armorican Rioval, for the age of this monument. It is very ancient. The lines are well kept in the writing, and the mark for contractions at the end of each word, proper. The inscription existed before the letters of the alphabet were joined by unnatural links, and the down-strokes of one made to serve for two; which corruptions crept into the Roman alphabet (used by the Cornish Britons) gradually, after the Romans left the island, and increased more and more, until the Saxon letters came into use, about Athelstan's conquest. "The most observable deviation (says Borlase) from the Roman orthography in this monument is, that the cross stroke of the Roman N, is not diagonal as it should be, nor yet quite horizontal, (as it is observed by the learned to be under the sixth century||) wherefore I should think it highly probable that this inscription was made before the middle of the sixth century.¶ Mr. E. Lhuyd in a letter to Mr. Tonkin, says: the reading in British [i. e. Welch] is Rhwalhvran map Kynwal, names not unknown in our old Welch pedigrees: I take it to be a thousand years standing." Mr. Moyle* thinks it likely, that *Rialobran* was a heathen. There is certainly no cross at the beginning of this inscription, as we find upon some of

* *Worm. Mon. Danica.* ‡ *Brennin,* (Wallice) a king. *Bren,* (Cornish) supreme. § *Usher.* Prim. p. 1110.

|| See *Bernard's* alphabet of the latin language, and *Moyle,* p. 198. 542; the middle stroke of the N quite horizontal like an H.

¶ See king Arthur's inscription about

* Posthum. Works, p. 199.

our ancient inscribed stones. And, on the whole, I am disposed to think, that this monument was prior to christianity in Cornwall. The *men skryfa* reminds us of "*the written mountains*" in the wilderness of Sinai.† Whether a temple or church were anciently built in the vicinity of this monument, or not, we cannot say: there is at present, no trace of a sacred building near it, though *Lan-yon*, (commonly received for the *furzy-enclosure)* seems to suggest the idea of a church. Pagan temples, however were often built near the burial-places of eminent persons.‡ And pillars in honour of distinguished persons, were often placed near Pagan temples.§ There is a monument of *Isnioc* near the church of St. Clement. It "serves at present (says Borlase) to hang a gate to, on the vicarage of St. Clement's, near Truro. By the purity of the character, I judge it to be one of the most ancient christian sepulchral monuments in this county."---"This stone has at present a large cross on it in bass relief; which is singular: and as several other stones inscribed, not so ancient as this, have no crosses; I question whether the cross may not be of later date than the inscription, and cut on the stone in those times, when it was none of the meanest parts of religion to erect crosses in every church-yard, and at the meeting of highways."‖ In the History of Devonshire,¶ I noticed several monuments, supposed to be Asiatic, or Greek: but I hinted, that they were probably, Roman-British. My readers will recollect the monumental stones at Lustleigh, at Buckland-monachorum, and at Yealmton. These monuments have every appearance of being coeval. They have inscriptions cut in the same manner: and they are similar in their situations. The Lustleigh-monument, is a threshold stone at *Lustleigh-church:* the Buckland-monument, is a pillar close to the *church-yard of Buckland-monachorum*: and the Yealmton-monument is a long stone lying in the *church-yard of Yealmton.* They are alike, sacred.

† See "*Journal from Grand Cairo* to *Mount Sinai*, &c. &c." published by the bishop of Clogher, Second Edit. pp. 45, 70, 158. ‡ Eusebius remarks, that the first temples were built over, or near the burial-places of eminent persons. See *Journal from Grand Cairo*, p. 106. The chapel on Carnbre, in St. Just, is a striking instance of a religious house built on a burial-place.

§ There are a number of places in Cornwall, that have *sepulchral* names, (if I may so express myself)---probably burial-places of the Cornish, before the dead were interred in church-yards, or churches----such are *Dunveth*, the grave's-hill---*Carveth*, the city-grave, or castle-burying-place---*Penbetha*, the head of the graves---*Challacombe*, the valley of jawbones----*Rosveth*, the valley of graves---*Rescorla*, the valley of the burial---*Trebarfut*, (at Poundslock) the town over the vault---*Tresmarrowe*, the town of the graves---*Trevethoe (Betho)* in Lelant, the town of the graves---*Treassow*, the town of ribs and bones. ‖ *Antiqu.* p. 356. ¶ See vol. I p. 152.

To examine one of these three stones, will be sufficient. If one be the monument of a christianized Roman, connected with a religious structure, the others are probably the same. Let us recur then, for a moment, to the Yealmton pillar. I have before had occasion to observe, that the word TOREUS is inscribed on this pillar. And the inscription is in Roman capitals. For the Roman capital letter, indeed, the under dexter stroke of the R in TOREUS, is too short, and too horizontal. Between the pillar before us, and the stone at St. Clement's, which I have described from Borlase, there is a very singular resemblance. The inscription on the St. Clement's stone, is in one line; and if at full length, the words would be these: "ISNIOCUS VITALIS FILIUS TORRICI." There is not the least deviation from the Roman capitals, except that the under dexter stroke of the R, in TORRICI, is too short, and too horizontal. There is another very good argument for the great antiquity of this inscription; which is, that here are two names of the person interred---a thing so common among the Romans, and so seldom met with, during their empire, in the monuments of other nations, that where the character concurs, it may be looked upon as a decisive criterion of a Roman inscription. But this is still more confirmed by the word VITALIS, which is actually a Roman name: so that ISNIOC, the prenomen, is British, and VITALIS, the cognomen, is Roman. To my apprehension, these pillars, considered at one view, bring light out of darkness. In collision, they emit sparks that enlighten the whole region around them. The St. Clement's, and the Yealmton pillars, are unquestionably of the same age, and erected by the same people. The characters on both, are Roman. They deviate a little, indeed, from the Roman capitals: but they deviate in the same instance. The very same letter in TORRICUS and in TOREUS varies from the Roman capital, in the same point. The names on both pillars, TORRICUS and TOREUS, do not greatly differ: and both pillars are placed near churches, in consecrated ground. The St. Clement's stone is inscribed to the memory of VITALIS, the SON OF TORRICUS: and *Vitalis and Torricus* were Romans. The Yealmton-stone is inscribed to the memory of TOREUS. And *Toreus* was as plainly I think, a Roman. What, indeed, is more probable, than that TOREUS was the same person as TORRICUS? VITALIS then, the son of TORRICUS or TOREUS, confessedly a christianized Roman at the close

of the present period, was buried at St. Clement's, where a christian church had been formed out of a Pagan temple, or erected on the scite of it. And TOREUS the father of VITALIS, was buried at Yealmton, near a *church of a similar description.* If Yealmton church, then, was a Pagan temple christianized, or was built on the scite of a Pagan temple, the churches at Lustleigh and at Buckland-monachorum must have stood in the same predicament.

Thus have I in some degree executed what I proposed; though not without much labour, or rather irksomeness, from the various minutiæ which solicited attention, and which it was extremely difficult to bring together into one connected view. The wearisomeness of the task was great: and the unsatisfactoriness of having consumed more time in examining the vestiges of a castle (the existence of which is little regarded in its neighbourhood, or the county in general) than would have been necessary for the discussion of the most interesting topic, will hardly be repaid by the partial approbation of a few, whose minds are turned to this species of research; whilst the pains I have taken, and the value of what I have performed, are equally beyond the comprehension of many who read, and judge, and scrupling not to disseminate their ideas, are able to influence the public opinion.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

WOODLAND, PASTURAGE, AGRICULTURE, GARDENS.

WE have already observed, in surveying the *Jugum Ocrinum,* which runs through the western counties, that the whole length of Cornwall between the north and the south seas, is a chain of mountains---a broken chain indeed; the links of which are of a considerable size in the east, where the country is widest, but are gradually lessened with the land, as they tend to the westward. On each side of this high ridge, the

land spreads itself into a plainer surface, more hilly on the north than on the south, but on both sides declining to the sea. The ridge of hills thus running east and west, intercepts the rains, fogs, and dews, and distributes them in a variety of streams; watering the sea coast on either side, the north coast well, but the south much better ----which I attribute to the rains more frequent on the south side of our hills, than the north. From this disposition of the country, Cornwall has the advantage of many fine rivers; a circumstance extremely propitious to agriculture.----The mountainous land which runs through the middle of the county, is certainly less capable of cultivation, than the lower grounds on each side of it. Even now, it is barren.* This barrenness, however, is the natural consequence of high situations. From these heights, exposed as they are to winds and rains, the soil is perpetually washed off into the vallies and flats below; whilst the rocks and karnes are laid bare, and what remains between them, if tolerable heath, may serve for common pasture, or for fuel.---It will soon appear, that a great part of our mountains were originally covered with wood.--- Near the sea, along the banks of our rivers, and on the flats, Cornwall seems to have been well cultivated from the earliest times; though the south (as I have already intimated) has the advantage over the north; whilst, in the former, the low grounds are more extended and level; in the latter, the land is generally high, and the vallies short, narrow, and quick of descent. 2. Before I descend to the consideration of the natives or the Romans, as employed in the care of cattle, and the culture of the soil, I shall take a transient survey of primeval Cornwall, noticing the district between every river. ----I shall begin with the *Tamar*, on the south-east.--------*Tradition*, the *relics* of *Druidism*, *discoveries* of *fossil-timber*, the names *of places*, and the *present character* of the country, will greatly assist the enquiry, whether a district was originally well wooded, or otherwise: and how far it was capable of cultivation. With respect to the country, which is intersected by the *Tamar*, the *Lynher*, the *Tidi*, the *Seaton*, and the *Looe*, we have reason to think, that not only what remains to this day was overshadowed by forest trees, but that a large district all covered with wood, was submerged under the

* From our great roads that run in this direction, travellers have a very imperfect view of the country, and are apt to entertain an unfavourable idea of it, from a prospect merely partial.

sea.† ---- Between the *Looe* and the *Fawey*, we believe that St. George's island was a part of the continent. --- From the *Fawey* to the *Fal*, we have a fine country; particularly *Roseland*. This is one of the richest parts of Cornwall; though not the *land of roses*,‡ according to the vulgar notion. It was always remarkable for its fertility. ---- Between the *Fal* and the *Hele*, we may judge from the present appearance of several hills and vallies, that there were once very considerable woods. The tract of land between *Michel* and *Truro* was never, perhaps, very productive in timber, if we except the hill called Bishop's-wood and its vicinity. But, like an old British town, *Penryn* was built in a forest.§ Sea-sand procureable in various parts of the district, was a very ancient manure: but the coral sand of Falmouth harbour, and the adjoining shores, is reputed the most valuable.‖ In speaking of manures, however, I cannot omit *marle*, as it was confessedly used in this island before the arrival of the Romans: and marle is found near Michel, in St. Allen, in Feock, and in Constantine. ---- From the *Hele* to the *Lo*, at Helston, we carry our eye over a fine peninsula, which is every way grateful to cultivation, and has, we believe, been such from the earliest times. It is distinguished by the name of *Meneg*; perhaps the *Menna* of Jornandes.¶ Whether

† See *Historical Views of Devon*, the eighth Section.

‡ "*Roseland* (says *Camden*) is a plot of ground lying along the sea-side; so called, from *rosetum* a garden of roses, or rather because it is *ericetum*, a heath. By the industry of the husbandman, it is made rich and fruitful." *Gibson's Camden*, p. 8. It borrows its name from *ros*, a valley.

§ See *Hals*, p. 124. --- Within the borough of Penryn, there remained till very lately, an oak, an ash, and an elm, the venerable memorialists of its ancient woods.

‖ Coral is of the same limy nature as shells, makes a strong effervescence with acids; and, more solid than shells, conveys a greater quantity of fermenting earth, in equal space. And as it dissolves not so soon as shells, its effects are, in course, more lasting. That the calcarious particles of which this coral is composed, are dispersed all over the western shores of Cornwall, is plain from the coralline moss incrustations escheræ sprig and branchy coral, discoverable on the rocks sands and oreweed of Mount's-bay Land's-end and the north channel, but chiefly Falmouth harbour and its vicinities.

¶ "Mr. *Sammes* will have *Meneg* to be of Phenician original, to favour his hypothesis, that this part of England was peopled by the Phenicians, who traded hither; but these are uncertain conjectures, not to be depended on. The whole peninsula is well stocked with little villages, and pretty large. 'Tis thought to be the same with that Menna which Jornandes the Goth, in his Geticks thus describes: "it is the farthest part of Britain, abounding with several sorts of *metal*, affording good pasture, and in general contributing more to the nourishing of cattle than men;" which if it were ever true, as to the plenty of metals, is now not so, for it is quite drained. The mariners call it the Lizard point; and Ptolemy, Damnonium and Ocrinum, from Ocra, a craggy mountain perhaps, or rather from the British word Ochr, an edge, because this promontory is pointed or edged like a cone." *Magna Britan.* p. 310. *Meneg*, is in

Goonhilly-downs in Meneg, was ever a wood, as a MS. history of St. Ruan* seems to intimate, I am much disposed to doubt. The most extensively fertile part of Meneg, is the parish of St. Keverne; where there is a fine loam, which could not have long remained unnoticed by the first colonists. In St. Keverne, also, there is a rich marle.‡ ----From the *Lo* round to the river *Hayle* on the north coast, perhaps more woodland hath from age to age been washed away by the waters, than at present exists in Cornwall. "The hoare rock in the wood," will at once recur to memory.§ On the

Cornish *stony*. Bishop Gibson, however, says: *Meneg* is *Meneog*, "*kept in by the sea.*" *Gibson's Camden*, p. 202. --- "The rivers *Haill* and *Lo*, (says *Carew*) rising not farre asunder, do enclose betweene them as they runne into the sea, a neck of land particularized with the name of Meneag. and in regard of his fruitfulnesse, not unworthy of a severance." *Fol.* 152.

* In the Bodleian library, at Oxford.

‡ And marle has been discovered and tried with success on the land of the Vyvyans, near their seat of Trelowarren.

§ This subject may be illustrated from the Natural History of St. Michael's mount, by the late ingenious Mr. Price of Penzance. "The hill of St. Michael's mount is a conical pile of stone, covered in most places with a thin stratum of vegetable black hungry soil through which, the rocks are every where shewing their heads, and in several parts rising into bare carns, and naked ledges of rocks. The rocks are of the granite kind, and grey colour; and where they appear most prominent, intersected with horizontal and perpendicular fissures." Here I must interpose a curious expression of *Hals*, and an observation on it. "This Mount is, comparatively, a *pyramid*, all of white and grey *kloe* rocks, a sort of marble." Hal'sMSS. There is a grey stone in the parish of St. Meran, of a columnar form; specimens of which may be seen in the ruins of an old church at St. Meran, and in the pillars of the gateway at Place near Padstow. This stone the common people know only by the name of the *Kataclue-stone*, evidently from Κατακλυσμος, diluvium. The *Kloe* stone of the Mount, is the *Klue*, or *Kataclue* stone of St. Meran---- both, probably, basaltic. --- To proceed with Price's MS. "From the top of the hill much stone has been displaced, and thrown down, and still besprinkle the sides, but mostly now on the western side, the largest stones lying nearer to the crags from which they came; the smaller ones and the fragments, at farther distances, a phenomenon, owing to some force,* which unfooting those rocks from their original bed, left the heaviest to fix near, as sinking deep by their own weight into the ground they fell upon; whilst the smaller and lighter became gradually more dispersed to proportionable distances, according to their own weight, and the height they fell and rolled from.----There is another remarkable phenomenon in the interior structure of this hill; for whereas to the north south and west, the edge towards the sea consists of carn, or rubble and clay, with vegetable soil on the top, the north-eastern edge of land is formed of beds of rounded pebbles of all sizes, from gravel, to some two or three feet long, and from three feet under the surface, to unequal depths, covered over with rubble and clay, and then vegetable soil; these heaps of pebbles are some feet above full sea mark, making a stratum not horizontal but rather wavy and in ridges; there is no doubt but they came originally from the adjoining beach, (which is still spread with like materials) and were driven in by the sea, and then covered by deterrations from the hill: but how they came lodged so high above full sea mark, and then covered three feet and more with rubble and soil, it is difficult to say. A violent storm from the north-east, might possibly drive, and heap them higher than the ordinary reach of the sea; or perhaps, the height of these pebbles was that of the sea, in former ages; for the waters of the sea must be allowed to have been perpendicularly higher by several

* Probably that of the universal deluge.

beach between Penzance and the Mount, the sand is thought peculiarly fine as manure.

feet, before the deluge, than ever they reached after it, of which this is not the only probable proof on these coasts. The waters of the flood of Noah, being raised fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, it is not improbable that some part of these waters remained in hollows and plains, and forming lakes and seas there, did not return in its former full quantity to the bed of the ocean, which therefore could never after rise to the height it was of before the flood; and this seems to be the reason, that in several clifts, sea-sand and rounded pebbles are found inserted in horizontal strata, at different depths indeed, as being occasioned by the uneven settlement of the solids after so long an immersion, but generally above full sea mark, unless there was a more than ordinary fall of the strata, which in some circumstances must be acknowleged undeniably.----There is a like dislocation of sea products, in the tenement of Chevellen in the parish of Ludgvan, in the field above Trewall mill, about a mile north of the Mount, where some tinners digging found the strata as follows: under the vegetable soil, a bed of yellow clay, three feet thick, next a floor of small pebbles of a quarter of a pound weight at a medium, mixed in equal proportions with the above yellow clay, about nine feet thick, then a floor of clean pebbles without any clay, of the bigness of goose eggs, generally some larger, even to the weight of two pounds each, some smaller, but in general larger than those of the upper stratum; but this layer of pebbles was little more than six inches deep and is usually called a thin skudd rather than a stratum; next underneath lay a stratum of white sand (of like substance as that on Glasenith green, a mile south next the sea shore) a fathom thick, without any pebbles at all: this stratum of sand lay upon and next to the karn which was of killas, had not been moved to all appearance from the creation, and lay about three fathom deep from the grass; the pebbles here resemble without any difference those on the sea shore, and those on the edge of the Mount before mentioned. The steep sides of the hill spread towards the north (as they descend with a hollow sweep) into a plain of some acres, affording sufficient room for houses cellars and the pier; but if tradition says true, this place was formerly much more considerable and had a wood and a little town upon it, which is now under water.----Much land hereabouts has been swallowed up by the sea; and indeed the many roots trunks branches and leaves of trees found to the westward of the Mount and Penzance establish this tradition, and evince the propriety of the Cornish name.---- On examining the remains of these trees, after a storm on the tenth of January† 1757, in the first pool where they were laid bare, part of the trunk of a tree appeared in the centre nearly of the roots, the whole course of which (roots) was displayed round about in a horizontal manner eighteen feet long, and twelve feet wide: upon spading the ground we found the sand which remained about the roots to be a thin layer only of ten inches deep; and then the natural earth appeared, in which the roots were so firmly fixed, that with a pick and crow of iron we could not get off one piece, but were content to saw off what we could come at; the trunk at the fracture was ragged and uneven, and by the level range of roots which lay round it, was part of the body of three trees just above its first division into roots.----Thirty feet to the west, were discovered the remains of another tree; the ramifications of the roots extended ten feet by six, and as there was no stock in the middle, it must have been part of the under or bottom roots of the tree; fifty feet to the north of the first tree, we found part of a large oak, it was the body of a tree three feet in diameter, its top reclining to the east; we traced this tree as it lay shelving, the length of seven feet, but to what farther depth the body reached we could not discern; the natural earth here, reached within six inches of the surface of the sands, but so firmly rooted was this tree, that no sledge could move it: in another place adjoining, upon endeavouring to cleave off part of a willow tree, one foot and half diameter about two paces from the oak, the earth shook so much under the people that were at work, that they were in some doubt whether they had best to proceed or wholly desist; hard by was a hazle branch with its fat glossy bark on: the earth in all the tried places appeared to be a black cold marshy earth, covered only with a thin layer of sand, but little or nothing intermixed; in it were found fragments of the leaves of juncus aquaticus maximus. To this must be added, as a confirmation of a wood standing here formerly, that on Thursday the twenty-ninth of October 1761, after violent rains and high winds the mouth of the river at Pensandane in the parish of Gulval on the same sands, about half a mile westward of the former discovery, being much torn up by the land floods just at the level of high water mark, and the banks of sea pebbles usually spread there being washed away, the roots of trees plainly mixed with

† Natural History of Cornwall, p. 322.

But few sand beaches of the present day, existed in the remote times of which we are

the leaves of the juncus, appeared inserted horizontally, in a black marshy earth, the remains no doubt of the same wood which tradition places here, and which is so visibly to be traced in the sands lower down towards the sea, at high tides, at least twelve feet under water." ----These are facts not to be accounted for, *by the exhausting power* of the sea. "If it had been produced by the wasting and exhausting power of the sea, then the roots would have been plucked out and torn from the earth they grew in, and found loose and moveable; the earth also, which supplied nourishment to the trees and roots, as being more light and yielding, would have been drawn away from the roots, and being dispersed, leave the roots bare; the trees would have been scattered in all directions, according to the force, and impulse of the waters, and not one of them found erect as to their trunks, or horizontal as to their roots; but here all these circumstances are reversed, and utterly inconsistent with such a gradual process; the earth is found to lie in a horizontal stratuous body, the roots fixed immoveably in it, and the roots of some trees in the same horizontal spread as when the trees were growing, and a large trunk of oak some willows and hazel buried in this earth several feet deep; and what is as remarkable as any thing, great numbers of leaves of the water-rush (things so light, and easily dispersed by inundations) intermixed in the earth, which earth, after high and boisterous tides, is covered only with about a foot thick of sand: all arguments, that the exhausting power of the sea, could never have effected this alteration, and left trunks, roots, leaves, and soil, in the position we now find them. Nor was it owing to the perpendicular rising of the sea. It may therefore be suggested, that the surface of the sea is every day growing higher, and has thrown in its sands so as to overwhelm and cover this pristine wood; in answer to which, I must observe, that it has always been a doubt with naturalists, whether the surface of the sea does really rise perpendicularly and increase in height or not; if it should be allowed, that the surface of the sea is somewhat contracted as to extent, and raised in height by solids washing down into its bed by rain and great rivers and by the exhausted clifts of yielding stone clay and rubble; yet if we consider on the other hand, that great part of the exhalations from the sea are absorbed in the marshy and spongy parts of the earth, and detained in hollows and cavities so as to return no more into the sea; that great part of what is abraded from one shore, is by the same ocean frequently thrown upon another shore,‡ that as the sea is contracted in one part, it extends and widens itself in others, this rise by deterrations is so balanced that it vanishes, and must be a very small if any incrementum to the whole surface of the sea.* And then the whole circumference, or area of the ocean, is so vast in comparison of such little parts, and fragments, as are in the course of time exhausted from the earth, and added to the bottom of the sea; that if the whole island of Britain were swallowed up, it could not raise, I should think, the whole surface of the ocean, so much as one inch: for this is an undeniable truth, that if one part of the ocean rises, there must be an universal rise in every part of the sea, from pole to pole; and in effect, the rise of the waters, from the accretion of the solids, washed down into the sea, from the earliest observations, has hardly been at all perceptible.---Islands, marked in ancient history, continuing so to this day, ports, and cities, noted two thousand years since, and more, still on the same level with, and distance from the sea, as before; nay, lands gaining in height on the sea, (and not the sea on the land) in some places, so that meadow grounds flourish, where there were formerly large, and commodious ports. The Cut, designed to join the Nile and the Red Sea, is as free from water now, as when it was first made many centuries since, which could not have been if the sea had risen; to confirm which, let the above observation be strengthened by one more modern, and made on this spot, viz. that about two hundred and twenty years ago, Leland observes, that the passage to the Mount from the main, was six hours open and six hours full of water,† and tis no more than just the same now; so that in this space of time there is not the least alteration: the Mount is no longer inclosed now than it was in Henry the Eight's time, which, if the sea had risen any thing

‡ "Oceanus terras abaliquo littore abrasas et abreptas defert ad vicina littora." Varen. p. 208. Edit. Cantab.

* Long since my writing this, (viz. March 13, 1769) I find Ray of the same opinion (Theolo. Dict. p. 294.). The "superficies of the sea, (notwithstanding the overwhelming and submersion of islands and the straightness of it about the outlets of rivers and the earth it washes from the shores subsiding and elevating the bottom) seems not to be raised higher nor spread further or bear any greater proportion to that of the land than it did a thousand years ago."

† "The Mount is inclosed with the sea from dim. flud. to dim. ebbe, otherwise men may come to the Mount afoot." Leland, Vol. 7. p. 109.

treating.* It should seem, that ash trees, were once frequent in the hundred of† Penwith, as they, doubtless, are, in some parts of this county: the name of *Penwith*, "the head of the ash trees," if such be its meaning, would determine us in this opinion.‡ The fossil oaks, discovered at *Velindreath*, will bring to our minds,

considerable, must have been the case.----There remains, therefore, but one other cause to which these alterations can be owing, and that is, to a subsidence or sudden sinking of the ground upon which the wood and townlet formerly stood. By some violent confusion crack and giving way of strata the surface fell and sunk and the sea immediately advanced and covered the soil and all that grew in it. What was only a lake formerly, and still retains the name of Guavas lake by this inundation became a harbour; the plain before covered with wood and surrounding the Mount, which occasioned it to be called the grey rock in the wood, and the townlet on the plain below the Mount being sunk is now as far as the sea retreats, a plain of sands; and the remains of the trees which composed the inmost edge of the wood are seldom seen. In short, the land near St. Michael's Mount and between that and Penzance Newlyn and the hills which when there was a wood cannot be estimated at less than six feet above full sea mark having near low water mark sunk; a depth of waters and sand upon it more than twelve feet; and it can be longer disputable, but that this it the reason why the trunks of trees and shrubs formerly growing in the air, are found erect or nearly so; their roots fixed in the soil they first fastened upon and grew in, and the leaves of plants carried down with the same subsidence. It is farther to be observed that their subsidence was sloping, not horizontal, that is, the land dipped more, and sunk deeper towards the south than it did towards the north; for near low water, the vegetable soil and roots of the trees are covered with water twelve feet deep; but at the mouth of Gulval river near high water mark, the same stratum of marsh earth holding also roots of trees, is no more than three feet under high water mark: that these lands are subsided then, is plain. What should make them subside, is the next question, and may easily be answered by observing that any accidental compression of the cavernous parts of the subterraneous strata, any failure of the rocky stamina, which support and keep up the outer surface, must occasion that which is so weakly supported, to drop and sink: these subsidences are therefore sometimes merely the effect of the subterraneous dissolving of the continuity of some rocks, whence they tumble, and the strata above sink in large frustums, but are more frequently the effect of earthquakes, which by fire and vapour extend the caverns of the earth; they crack the shell, the struggling vapours heave, and shake the earth, which sinks again into the caverns below, and the sea flows, and covers what was before safe from inundations by its height above the waves. Carefully distinguished then ought the abrasures of the sea to be from the subsidences of the land. Lands may be washed away by the force of the waves, but then the houses trees and soil must be torn in pieces and dispersed. If the ground they stood upon is discovered intire, in a solid stratum, with the roots fixed, and trunks of trees erect, and in the centre of such roots, then the lands have subsided, and by their subsidence made way for the sea to overflow, and cover them." *Price's MS. History of the Mount, from* p. 45, to p. 62.

* When the sea is smooth, and the north wind blows from the shore, the lightest sand is carried gently forwards into a channel by itself, and the gravel and other heavier substances are left behind. But with a southern wind and a stormy sea, the sand and gravel are mixed together; a very indifferent manure.

† From Karnbre in St. Just, we have a view of the Sylleh Isles, very distinct, through a clear atmosphere. From this hill, the country gradually declining through the parishes of St. Berian, St. Levan, and Senan, towards the sea, is at least forty fathoms lower at Senan, than at this place; a circumstance which should seem to discountenance the opinion, that the land once extended from Senan to the Sylleh Isles; since the fall from Senan into the sea is easy and natural.

‡ *Carew*, Fol. 153.

some idea of the county, as it appeared in the times of the Aborigines.§ In Whitsand bay and Porcurnow cove, the sand has a considerable mixture of shells.---From the *Heyl* to the *Ganal*, we might easily trace the relics of woods; and image to ourselves a district very different from present appearances. About sixty years ago, were discovered on the banks of the Heyl, several pieces of oak; as some think, antediluvian.‡ The black soil on the Heyl is composed, in a great measure, of the wood once growing on its banks. Here is a sparry calcarious sand, of a fertilizing quality.---That the Druid monuments in general stood under the coverture of sacred trees, is a very probable opinion. In support of this idea, the remains of oak groves, are still traceable on *Karnbre*, and its vicinities.----In proceeding to the north-east, we shall again discover marks of ruined woods.¶---Between the *Ganal* and the *Alan*, we have indications of ancient woodland in the name of a place or two; such as* *Cosowarth*, "the high grove." On the west side of the Alan, as well as the east, there must, of necessity, have been good corn land, from the nature of the soil. From the *Alan* to *Bude haven*, we go over an extensive tract of land; the western part of which (such as St. Kew, St. Minver, and St. Endelian) was once sacred to the goddess of harvest, and still supports its ancient character.‖

§ In 1750, John Roberts, of the parish of Senan, digging for tin near *Velindreath*, found at the depth of thirty feet, an entire skeleton, about the size of a large deer, lying on its side. Near it, in a line parallel to its vertebræ, was a prostrate oak tree, twenty feet long, and about the diameter of a man's waste. On the branches, were numerous leaves, the impression of which, was plain in the earth. The tree was very hard at the knots, but so soft in some parts that the shovel stuck into it. Unconnected with the skeleton, though near it, lay part of a deer's horn, two feet and a half long, thicker than a man's arm wrist, with the branched antlers to it. One of the knobs, thicker than a man's fist, as soon as touched crumbled into dust. A tooth was taken from the skeleton. In 1753, were found, twenty feet under the surface, several pieces of deer's, or elk's horn. The stratum in which they lay was, first the shelly sand of the shore, nine feet deep; then a sandy earth intermixed with small stones.----From the sudden subsidence probably of the shelving part of the hill, the animal and the tree were hurried away in one direction, and overwhelmed at the same instant.

‡ They were buried about four feet deep, in the fast clay of a marshy piece of ground, which Mr. Hawkins of Trewinard was then draining. One large stock of a tree, about ten feet long, had no branches: its top part pointed downwards. It was very black, and the timber hard and firm.

¶ "I myself, and many others (says *Hals)* in the moors of Calstock-veor, Calstock-rule, Rees, and *Polgoda*, in *Piran-sands*, have seen and found, deep underground, and far from the sea, in the fens and turf lands, the body and roots of several oak trees, the hearts whereof were firm and solid. Whether those seas were formerly dry land. and the fens the places where these trees grew (none in those parts being now to be seen there) let others resolve." *Hals's MS. Hist. of St. Michael's Mount.*

* "Well stored with trees it hath been, (says Carew) neither is yet altogether destitute." *Fol.* 144.

‖ "Here is a fruitful vein of land." *Carew.*

II. 1. These are rapid glances over† Cornwall: but we pass to its inhabitants. And we may picture the first colonists as engaged in the observation of its climate;‡ its hills§ and its vallies; its woods, and its rivers;‖ and some

† Our hills and vallies are, in general, the reverse of those in the eastern counties. The hills of Cornwall are wide and extensive, and plain with precipitous sides; whence the vallies are deep and narrow. In most other counties, we observe the contrary. It should seem from this contradistinction of hills and vallies, as if Cornwall was the mould in which other counties were cast. Hence our cultivated ground is almost all on the *plains* of the hills or highlands: and there is little appearance of cultivation in the lowlands, except hops on a few spots, and old orchards. In some places, we have a plane just below the top of a mountain; like the τοπος πεδινος, the level spot on the Mount, whence our Saviour addressed his sermon to the multitude.

‡ The lists of Cornish words, that are here and in other places subjoined in reference to the text, were collected from Borlase's and Pryce's vocabularies, and several MSS. and arranged in regular order; not without a great expence of time and thought. I had intended to separate the Aboriginal Cornish, from words of Greek and particularly Latin derivation, as might have been expected in this place. But here at least, the attempt was impracticable. Though the Cornish *Sul*, for instance, so nearly resembles the Latin *Sol*; yet I think the Aborigines were in possession of this (or a word of similar sound) before they had ever heard of Rome. With the Druid astronomers, was the sun without a name? I have set down such greek and latin words as occurred to memory; leaving it to others to determine the point of etymology.

EBRON, YBRON, YBORN, the sky; the firmament.
NEF, NEV, the heaven, the sky.
SUL, SYL, HEUL, HOUL, the sun. (L. SOL.)
SYLLEH, the rocks of the sun.
DINSUL, the hill sacred to the sun.
LOER, LUIR, LUR, the moon. (L. LUNA.)
CANN, the full moon.
REDEGVA, the course of the sun and moon.
STEREN, STERAN, (αστηρ) a star.
BYRLUAN, the morning star.
GYDHIHUAR, the evening star.
GOLOU, light.
GOLEUDER. splendor.
SPLEN, SPLAN, clear, bright. (L. SPLENDOR.)
THUYRAN, the east.
TERRI-ANDZEDH, the break of day.
GODHIHUAR, GOTHUAR, the evening.
NOS, NOYS, NEI, night. (L. NOX.)
OER, an hour. (L. HORA.)
DET, a day. (L. DIES.) DE-ZIL, Sunday, DE-DIN, Monday, DE-MERK, Tuesday, DE-MARHER, Wednesday, DE JEU. Thursday, DE GUENER, Friday, DE ZADARN, Saturday.
BLITHEN, BLEDHAN, the year.
GUAINTOIN, the spring. Now, GUAINTEN, GWAINTEN. GUAR, GWAF, winter.
GUINS, now GIVENZ, the wind. GUINS ADRO, a whirlwind.
KEUAR, a storm. KEUAR-DIUMIS, December.
SICHOR, (L. SITIS.) Drought, dryness,
COMMOL, GORUER, NUIBREN. (L. NUBES.) A cloud.
NIUL, a little cloud, a mist, a fog. (L. NEBULA.)
GLUT, dew.
Gluthening up, gathering into rain; a common expression in Meneg.
GLEU, rain.
CUAS, a shower.
LYV, a deluge. (DILUVIUM.)
COLBRAN, LOUAS, GOLOUAS, LUWET, lightning.
TREDNA, thunder. (L. TONITRU.)
REA, JEY, GLIHI frost.
GLIT, a hoar frost, a rime over the water.
KEZZAR, hail.

§ DOAR, the earth.
NOAR, TIR. (L. TERRA.) TERROZ, TIRRIOU, earths.
TYRETH, a country.
POU, a province, the country POUIZAL, a flat, level country. DEANPOW, a countryman, a clown.
KUR, the coast, or border of a country.
KERNOU, Cornwall.
BRYN, a mountain.
MONEDH, a hill.
RUNEN, RHYNEN, a hillock.
CHEIM, KEIN, the ridge of a hill
GUNBRE, a hill or a down.
LEDR, LEDRA, a steep hill.
GLEN, DOL, a valley, a dale.
AUE, pl. AUEN, *Vallis fontibus rigata.*
DEVRAK, TIR DEVRAK, a marsh, fenny moorish ground.
DEFYTH, DEVETH, a desart.
MEAN, MEN, a stone.
MENEK, stony. [MEINEK, Armorican] hence MENEG, the peninsula.
KERRIG, pl. of CARRICK, rocks.
VOOG, VOOGA, a hollow cavern with earth.
RHYN, a promontory. Gr. ρις
ALS, AULES, a cliff.
UAUSSOW, cliffs.

‖ DOUR, water.
CARROG, a brook.

attention to the pursuit of birds or beasts;† than to pasturage, or the tilling of

Lakka, a well, a rivulet; a *Leat*.
Fenton, Venton, a fountain, or well, pl. Fentiniow.
Nant, a fountain; hence Pennant.
Kren, a spring. Κρηνη.
Stret, a fresh spring. pl. Streyth, and perhaps Strasa, Strassow, pl.
Ruan, a river.
Vy, a river.
Guerthour, a channel of water.
Trot, the bed, or channel of a river.
Ryne, Rin, the same.
Rid, Red, a ford.
Chahen-rit, a land-flood, a torrent.
Lyn, Lo, Lagen, a pond, a pool, a lake.
Stanc, a pool, a pond.
Grelin, a lake.
Doz-mare (pool) the water that ebbs and flows.
Mor, (L. *Mare*) the sea.
Guik, Creeg, a creek of the sea.
Hean, Zanz, a haven, a bay.
Porth, pl. Porthow, a harbour, a port.
Bronanmor, the sea coast.
Arvor, the sea shore.
Torneuan, the shore, or sea side.
Sawan, a hole in the cliff, through which the sea passeth.

† Idhen, Hethen, a bird.
Yolacit, a bird.
Lawan, birds, fowls.
Kulling, a cock, or male of any bird.
Greab, Crib, a comb of a cock, or any bird. Hence the rocks, in many places called Grebs, like the combs of cocks at low water.
Yar, a hen.
Gelvin, a bird's beak or bill. Gelvinak, a curlew, from its long bill. Kyvellak, a woodcock.
Wiy, Oye, (pl. Oyow) an egg.
Melyn-oz, the yoke, (the yellow) of an egg.
Pliskin, an egg-shell.
Idninc, a chick, a young bird.
Idne, Edhanor, a fowler.

Birds, before the Romans.

Er, an eagle.
Scoul, Bargez, a kite, seldom seen in the west of Cornwall.
Bodi-guerni, a buzzard.
Bidnewin, Bideven, a hawk.
Kryssat, a kestrel, or crest-hawk.
Caouen, Hule, an owl. (now Ula).
Frao, the little horned owl.
Stix, a screech-owl.
Berthuan, a screech-owl, or bird of ill omen.
Marburan, a raven. (Hod. Maryran).
Bran, a crow, or rook.
Brandre, a town crow.
Tshauha, a chough, a daw.
Palores, a Cornish daw, or chough.
Chilioc, a cock.
Chilioc-redin, a cock of the ferns.
Kyvelak, a woodcock.
Kio, a snipe.
Girgirik, Grigear, a partridge, a heathpolt.
Rodna-huilen, a lapwing.
Rine, a quail, seldom seen in the W. of Cornwall.
Trodzhen, a starling.
Edhnow-trodzhan, stares, foot-birds.
Suellak, a fieldfare.
Cudon, a wooddove, from Cus, wood.
Tarad y kved, a woodpecker.
Kazek, Coit, the greater green woodpecker.
Gylvan, Golvan, a sparrow.
Golvan-ge, a hedge-sparrow, now Gylvan, Gylvange.
Guennol, Guenbol, a white-belly, a sparrow.
Melhuez, a lark; perhaps Pelhudz, a high flight.
Molenek, goldfinches.
Ruddock a robin red breast.
Stenor, a wagtail.
Tshi-kuk, a swallow, the house cuckoo.
Tskekke'r eithin, a titmouse, the stone-smich, or the furze-chatterer.
Guradnan, a wren.
Elerch, a swan.
Shagga, a cormorant, a shag.
Kerhidh, a heron.
Grew, Garan, (γηρανος) a crane.
Gullan, a gull.
Zethar, a sea-mew, cob, or gull.
Seathor, a diver, a douker-bird.
Clabitter, a bittern.
Godho, Kulliag Godho, a gander, a cock goose.
Guit, Gudh, a goose.
Hoet, Haz, Hawz, a duck. pl. Higi.

Birds said to have been introduced by the Romans.

The Peacock.
Ffesont, a pheasant; now frequent in Stratton. Often seen in Meneg, within the memory of its older inhabitants.
Colom, Kylobman, pigeon.
Troet, a turtle-dove, the plover.
Gog, An Gog, Gok, the cuckow.

Beasts wild in the woods of Cornwall before the Romans.

Keffyl, Kevil, an horse; retained in the names of several places, as Nankevil, Penkevil.
March, a horse. Hod. Marh, Maraek.
Kasak, Cassec, a mare.
Cassiggy, mares.
Zebol, a colt.
Ren, the mane of a horse.
Kynihas, the neighing of a horse.
Udzeon, an ox, a cow.
Gest, Gyst, a dog, a bitch. Gestr. pl.
Blaidth, a wolf, in the Irish Madre Allaidh, or the wild dog.
Lowarn, Lostek, a fox.
Bora, a boar.
Vaez, (L. Verres) a boar pig, whence Veers, young pigs.
Arth, a bear, αρκτος. Hence Lanarth.
Brath-kye, a badger, a gray.
Koitgath, a wild cat, a wood-cat.
The Moose, Deer, or the Segh.

the ground. The first care of the Aborigines, was to domesticate such animals, as might be subservient to their use in hunting. Before the Romans, the hawk and the dog were trained into their service. And various were the birds and beasts which the Cornish chiefs were fond of pursuing, for the table or for the menagerie.* The dogs, (the genuine natives of Cornwall) which they subdued to their will, were the great household dog - - - the bull-dog, † - - - the terrier, ‡ - - - the large slow hound or the southern hound, which is almost extinct in the island § - - - and the fleet but gentle greyhound. ‖ The principal objects of the chace, were the bull, which was gradually brought unto subjection - - - the boar, that was soon made an inhabitant of the farm yard ¶ - - - the bear that continued in the north of England as late as the eighth century; in the south, as late as the conquest - - - the badger - - - the wolf - - - the fox - - - the wild cat - - - the weasel - - - and the polecat; and the moose, which the Britons called the *segh*, or savage deer.* This noble animal could be hunted down by a dog

CARAU, a stag.
DA, a fallow deer.
KIDIORCH, a buck.
LOCH EUHIC, a hind calf, a fawn.
YORCH, a roe
BYK, BOCCA, Boc, a buck, a goat. KYNBYK, a weather goat.
LILL, a goat.
GAVAR, a goat. pl. GEVER, GOUR.
KEVEREL, CHEVEREL, a kid, or little goat. The arms of KEVEREL in St. Martin, by Loo.
MIN, a kid.
LOUENNAN, CODNA-GWIDN, a weasel, a white-neck.
MILGY, a fitchew.
SCOVARNOEG, a hare. (LONG-EARED) Still used in the west of Cornwall.
MIL, an animal, a beast. pl. MILIOW.
ENEVAL, a beast. ENEVALES, a she-beast. ENEVALEN, pl.
EUINKARN, the hoof of a beast.
AGAN, the stomach of an animal. So the Cornish call the stomach of a pig.
FOUIZ, a den of beasts.
HELLIER, HELHWAR,, a hunter, a huntsman.
HOCHWAYW, a hunting-pole, a boar-spear.

Animals introduced by the Romans.

The Ass the ASYN of the Welch, AZEN of the Armoricans, ASAL of the Irish, and ASEN of the Cornish. (L. ASINUS.)
ROUNSAN, an ass.
SENGUIL, a wild ass.
ASENZA, an ass's colt. The MULE, from the ass and the horse. Yoked to the British car. Early used in Cornwall.
The common Hare-hound.
The common Spaniel.
KYNIN, the rabbit.
YEUGEN, (VIVERRA, Roman-Spanish) the ferret.

* I have separated in the last two notes, our native birds and beasts from those introduced by the Romans; though not entirely to my satisfaction.

† "*Magnaque taurorum fracturæ colla Britannæ*," says *Claudian*. *Strabo*, p. 305. *Cyneget*. p. 26. London. 1699.

‡ *Cyneget*, l. 1. § I have seen one or two of these hounds, both in Devonshire and Cornwall.

‖ Martial, lib. xiv. ep. 200. Ovid's Metam. l. 1. Cyneget, p. 123.

¶ See *Strabo*, p. 307. And *Pegge's* coins, for a sow and pigs, described on a British coin. There were wild boars, however, in the woods, long after the extinction of the wolf.

* See *Lhuyd*, on the word. Of this deer, the enormous branchy horns have been found in various parts of the island. But we have seen in Cornwall, AN ENTIRE SKELETON (of this deer perhaps) buried with the trees of its native woods.

only of bulk, strength, and perseverance. Such was our southern hound; hence called the segh-dog. The hare, we know, was held sacred by the Cornish: yet it was taken from its coverts, and kept tame near the houses of the chiefs.† And, perhaps, the greyhound might have been instructed in taking the hare uninjured.‡ In the mean time, it appears that the ancient Cornish left the fish§ to enjoy their native element in security; fearful of disturbing the genii of the waters. And it is a curious fact, that the names of most of our fish, and even of the fisherman himself, were borrowed from the Romans: a fact which proves the veracity of the historian in this notice of Cornish superstition.‖ In Cornwall, the state of the wild

† See *Cesar*, p. 89.---and *Dio*, p. 1006.

‡ "Of badgers, otters, hares, foxes, rabbits, and other wild inferior quadrupeds, Cornwall has its share, but nothing particular: I shall only observe, that they will get rid of their wildness, by time, and gentle usage, of which tame foxes, which have been trained up like spaniels, to attend their master, and rabbits used to chambers, frequently convince us. But the most remarkable instance I have met with of the force of custom in this point, is that of a hare, which had not only shook off its wildness, but the fearfulness so natural to, and almost inseparable from this creature: it was so familiar, that it took bread out of my hand the first time I saw it: it lay down under a chair in the parlour, and was in all respects as gentle, free, and easy as a lap-dog: it went out into the garden now and then, and after regaling itself with the herbage, returned into the house as its proper habitation. The master had an old spaniel, and a greyhound, both so fond of hare hunting, that they would by concert, go out together frequently upon the scent, and had been observed to kill many hares without the direction of an huntsman, or other assistance; the greyhound in particular, was once discovered by a neighbour, following his master, (who knew nothing of it) with a hare in his mouth: with these two dogs, so fond of their usual prey at other times, the tame hare spent his evenings by the same fire, and frequently rested in their bosom." *Natural History*, p. 289.----I have related in the History of Devonshire, a more remarkable instance of the attachment of a greyhound to a hare. A hare and a greyhound had been brought up together: but the former had escaped into the woods. This greyhound, some time afterwards, pursuing a hare, instantly stopt short:---he recognized his old companion. See Hist. of Devon, Vol. 1. pp. 127, 128.

§ *Dio* tells us, that the Britons abstained from fish of every sort. (See *Xiphil. ex Dione, Nicæo in Nerone.)* And in all the poems of Ossian, there is not a single allusion to their art of catching fish. In my opinion, this agreement between the poet and the historian, proves at once, that the poems are genuine, and that the history is authentic. The latin names of our fish is another happy coincidence, which I have mentioned above.

‖ Pisc, a fish. (L. Piscis.)
Trud, a trout. (L. Trutta.)
Zilli, Zillidourgr, an eel, a conger. (L. Anguilla.)
Mehil, a barbel. (L. Mullus.)
Wyan, a bream.
Sew, pl. Sewion, a bream; black: *Carnsew*, the bream-rock. The black rock.
Lobmaz, a lesser sort of bream.
Pengarne, a gurnet. A rock-head, a piper-fish.
Ehoc, a salmon.
Mor-nader, a lamprey, a sea-adder.
Guidnak, Brithel, a mackarel, from Brith, streaked, particoloured.
Llean a pilchard, Hernan, pl. Hearne.
Allec, herrings, pilchards.
Len, a ling-fish. p. Lenesow.
Morkath, a ray---the sea-cat. Its mouth, eyes and tail, resemble those of a cat.
Car-cath, a rock-cat.
Porpez, pl. Porpezou, a porpoise.
Mor-hoch, a porpoise---a sea-hog.
Morgi, the dog-fish, or sea-dog.
Sharkeas, a shark-fish.
Stiffak, the cuttle-fish.
Tahua, a sea-calf, a seal.
Legast, a lobster; a long oyster. (L. Locusta.)
Grill, a crab-fish.
Estren, an oyster, a stranger. (L. Ostreum.) As Estren is a stranger as well as an oyster, it is pos-

huntsman was probably of short duration. No sooner did the Briton observe the habits of certain animals, than he discovered their docility; and exerted his skill and strength in rendering it serviceable to himself. The sheep that had strayed at liberty, as well as the kine of the forest, he drove into his open* pastures, confining them all perhaps, by hurdles,‡ within certain spaces. At what time he claimed the service of the horse, is uncertain. Before the Romans, a *saddle*-horse was unknown.§ Long before, however, the garrons of Scotland, the ponies of Wales, the wild hobbies of several forests in England, the little horses of Exmoor, and those of the north-eastern parts of Cornwall,‖ had been rendered useful in war if not in peace.¶ As their flocks and herds increased, the Cornish were industrious in extending their pasture-grounds;

sible, that oysters might have been introduced by the Romans, from the eastern coast of Britain, to Helford harbour, where the Romans resided.

MESILEN, a muscle. (L. MUSCULUS.)
TREAGE, id.
BESL, id.
KYLIGI, a cockle. (L. COCKLEA.)
BERNIGAN, BRENNICK, limpet, limpets.
GUIHAN, a periwinkle, a wrinkle.
PISCADUR, a fisherman. (L. PISCATOR.)
PISC-LIRI, a fish-pond, or pool.
PISGETTA, a fishing.
HYC, a fish-hook.
RUID. (L. RETE.) a net. Hod. RUZ; pl. RUZOW.

* GOON, DUN, a down.
BIDHIN, VIDN, VETHEN, VYTHYN, a meadow.
LUDIN, a meadow.
LUDNOU, cattle.
GUAIN, a meadow.
GUAINTEN, the spring season.
PRAS, a meadow.
PRATHECK, meadowy. (L. PRATUM.)
MEDI, to mow.
MEDIUD, mowing.
MEDDOU, a meadow.
GUERUELZ, pasture.
GUYRAF, (HOD. Gorha) hay.
POOC, a heap or stack of hay or turf.
PALTOWAT, fruitfulness.
DAVAT, a sheep. pl. DAVES.
EUNOW, sheep, lambs.
LODN or LODON, a wether sheep
OIN, OAN, a lamb. (L. OVIS.)
GLUAN, GLAAN, wool.
PELLAN, a ball of wool.
KNEU-GLAN, a fleece.
TARO, a bull. (L. TAURUS.)
BOS, BOEN, BOWEN, an ox. (L. BOS.)
BUCH, a cow, plur. BEW, BIUH.
TETHAN, an udder.
LOCH, (hod. LEAUCH.) a calf.
LODN, a bullock, or steer.
LOTHMOW, bullocks.
YWEGES, a steer, a young bull, or ox.
LEDZIEK, an heifer.
NOHAN, oxen.
YSKRYBLE, a labouring beast, used in carriage or tillage.
EAL, GUARRHOG, all manner of cattle.
LAIT, (LAC) milk.
DEHAN, cream of milk.
MANYN, AMENEN, EMENEN, bitter.
MEITH, whey, butter-milk.
KEMISKYS, a mixture; the KEMISS of the Tartars.
STEN, a milking pail. STEAN, tin, Tin-buckets are only known, I believe, in Cornwall.
BUKET GUDRA, a milk-pail; or, as we call it in Cornwall, the milking bucket.
TYBISTER, *Tybesta*, the house for kine or cattle.
BEGYL, BYGEL, a shepherd, a herdsman.

‡ Or a ruder sort of wicker-work.---In all sorts of wicker-work, the ancient Briton shewed his dexterity.

§ The saddle (sedile) was Roman.

‖ Of all animals, the most sure-footed and nimble, are these Cornish horses. In the neighbourhood of Tintadgel I have seen them run up and down the most precipitous places with riders on their backs, with an almost wonderful agility. These, probably, are among our Aboriginal horses. The *Goonhilly* (of which not a genuine one is left) was of a late age.

¶ These varieties were, most of them, improved by the Romans into a larger breed.

in laying open the woods on the hills, and clearing the lowlands from their weeds and briars. And the shepherd and the herdsman, who had pastured their flocks and herds upon the heights, to whose songs the Jugum ocrinum had re-echoed, now descended to the vallies - - - - to meadows of luxuriant herbage. To the quality of the pastures, I shall not advert at present; reserving my remarks on our natural and foreign grasses to a future occasion. The spots most favourable to our sheep, are those where the sands are scarcely covered with the sod, the green hillocks or levels of our downs in the vicinity of the sea. We call them *towans*. Here the pasture is old; and the grass very short, and perhaps salt. On these towans, distinguished as they are from very ancient times, the Cornish probably were feeding their sheep, before the Roman explored their country. Such were the towans of Piran-Sand, of Gunwallo, of Gwythian, of Philac, and of Senan-green near the Land's-end; not to mention others in similar situations. The mutton of our little sheep fed on these towans, is certainly the sweetest. But that the flavor of this mutton, is owing to snails coming forth from the sands, and spreading themselves over the verdure in the morning dews, I can hardly conceive; though I have heard it often asserted as a fact. In the same manner, the superiority of the Okehamton mutton has been attributed to the wild thyme of the downs. But sheep refuse thyme. Yet, it seems, they eat snails. The towan appear to derive its nutriciousness, from the oldness and shortness of its grasses, and their impregnation with saline particles. - - - - - There are some, perhaps, who not readily resigning their notion of snail-fed mutton,‖ will yet remain incredulous, when they are told, that their ancestors were acquainted with the turnip husbandry before the invasion of Julius Cæsar. That they were accustomed to feed their cattle with turnips through the winter, I assert on the authority of the accurate Columella.* - - - For our dairy, it was, surely, not contemptible. Butter was a British luxury. It seems, however, to have been appropriated to our chiefs.† 3. Before the Romans, the maritime parts of the

‖ As he informed me, an owner of a towan hath often heard the snails crack beneath the teeth, and seen them on the tongues of his sheep. Till the discovery of them in the stomachs of sheep, I shall suspend my opinion.

* *Lib.* ii. c. 10.

† *Pliny*, lib. xi. c. 41. l. xviii. c. 6. 28. *Herod.* lib. iv. - - - Cheese was Roman. See *Musgrave's* Belgi. Britann. pp. 47, 48.

island, (as observed by various writers) were well cultivated:‖ we may, therefore, presume, that a large part of Devonshire and Cornwall, were in a state of† cultivation. That sand, of which our coasts afford so abundant a supply, was then employed as a manure by the Cornish, we cannot affirm. Yet nothing is more certain, than that marle was so used.¶ It is called in Irish *marla*, in Welch *marle*, in Cornish *marle*. The Greeks indeed, (as Pliny tells) observing the beneficial effects of this manure, introduced it from this into their own country.* I have already particularized several spots in Cornwall, productive of marle.---We are obliged, also, to Pliny for the information, that a light red wheat and barley, were very early in use among the Britons.‡ But perhaps, a sort of grain called *pilez* (and still used in several places) was most frequent in Cornwall.§---According to Diodorus Siculus, the Britons, when they had reaped their corn, by cutting the ears from the stubble, were accustomed to lay it up for preservation in subterraneous caves.‖ And it is not improbable, that some of the Cornish caves (already described) might have been converted to this use. In the Western Isles of Scotland, the practice is not discontinued to this day.*----But be-

‖ See Musgrave's *Belgium Britann.* p. 94. *Cæsar*, de Bell. Gall. l. v. c. 12. *Tacit.* Vit. Agricol. c. 12.

† The island (Richard says) was *cultam* et habitatam.

¶ See *Pliny*, lib. xvii. c. 6.

* *Pliny*, c. 6.

‡ *Pliny*, lib. xviii. c. 7.

§ The seeds we sow are wheat, barley, oats, and rye; besides which, we have the *avena nuda* of Ray, called in Cornwall pilez, which grows in the poorest croft-land that has been tilled two or three seasons before with potatoes, and for the uses of the poor answers all the purposes of oatmeal: it is a small yellow grain of the price of wheat, and for fattening calves, accounted superior to any other nourishment.

‖ *Diod. Sicul.* v. p. 347. Edit. Amstelodam. 1746. And see *Varro de re rustica*. c. 57.

* See *Martin's* description of the Western Isles, p. 204.---The custom is evidently oriental. See *Historical Views* of Devon. section xi.

GUEAL, ERW, a field.
ERI, an acre.
DREVAS, tillage.
HAVREK, fallow ground.
EYS, all manner of corn.
GUANATH, wheat.
PILEZ, bald, bare; hence that sort of grain called PILEZ, because it has no husks---the *avena nuda* of Ray.
HAIZ, HAIDH, original Cornish; BARLIZ, corrupted Cornish; BARLEY. The Cornish very early ate BARLEY bread.
KERGH, oats.
KUER, hemp.
YD, YZ, standing corn.
CULHU, CULIN, a beard of corn, chaff.
ISION, chaff, cornstraw.
ZOUL, stubble; reed to thatch with.
KOILEN, a reed, a stalk, a quill. Now KUILAN.
GWADEGALA, reed of straw.
CANKAR, rust, blasting of corn.
LOSK, corn-smut.
HITADUER, the harvest.
MIDHILL, a reaper, a mower.
MEDGE, to reap.
MEGOUZIAN, reapers.
BERN, rick of corn, hay.
SKIBOR, a barn. pl. SKIBERIO. SCABERIAS, in Probus, and St. Anthony-Meneg, the barn. SKIBERION, in Mawgan, the barns.
KRODDRE, to winnow.
BLEZ, meal, flour.
BLOT, the same.
BRYDNYAN, oatmeal.
TALCH, bran.

fore the Romans, the Cornish were probably improved, in their mode of reaping and of saving their corn. "The cutting of the neck," (or the last handful of wheat) and the dedication of it interwoven with flowers, to the goddess of the harvest, was a very ancient custom.----The *arish*, or the *windmow*, is, also, of high antiquity. In this mow, the sheaves are built up into a regular solid cone, about twelve feet high, the beards all turned inwards, and "*the butt-end*" of the sheaf only exposed to the weather. The whole cone is finished by a sheaf of reed or corn, inverted and tied to the upper rows. This custom may be partly owing to the greater inconstancy and moisture of our weather in Cornwall than elsewhere, and to the use of coarser grain in bread: but whatever the cause is, the consequence justifies the precaution, and the grain is by this means much better preserved. During inclement harvests, our corn is thus guarded from the rain and wind. It is a custom, which obtains, I believe, no where else in England; except at the western extremities of Devonshire. But it is preserved in Wales to this day. Whence I conclude, that it existed before the separation of the Cornish and the Welsh. And, surely, this is a fair conclusion. When the Cornish became a distinct people from the Welsh, it is impossible to conceive that the former borrowed this custom from Wales, or the latter from Cornwall. 4. That the *garden* was an object of some attention with our first natives, is an idea suggested by the fruit-trees originally flourishing in several parts of the western counties; so plentifully as to impart names to places. We are sure, that *Avallon* was the British name of Glastonbury, derived from its apple-orchards; and that the Romans hence called it Avallonia; giving, according to their custom, a latin termination to a British name. This is an ‡ historical fact: and in Cornwall we meet with similar appellations ---such as *Nansavallen*, the valley of apple-trees; *Rosvallen*, the apple-valley; *Tre-*

DYACK, TYACK, a husbandman, a farmer.
GYNNADWUR, a sower, a seeds-man.
DRUSHIER, a thrasher.
TROHAR, the coulter of a plough.
SOCH, ZOH, the ploughshare.
PAL, a spade, a shovel, a mattock.
REV, a shovel.
ZAH, a sack.
RIDARA KAZHER, a sieve, which we still call a CASIER.
NORTH-LENNOW, a winnowing sheet.
GUELDZHOU, a pair of shears.---For ancient implements in husbandry, &c. see *Scriptores rei rusticæ* a Gesnero, edit. Lips. 1735.

‡ *Richard*, p. 19. The first colonies of the natives planted those orchards.

valla, (or *Trevallen)* the apple-town. As history tells us, then, that *Avallon* was so denominated before the Romans; it is more than probable, that Nansavallen, Rosvallen, and Trevallen were prior to the Romans also.§ In contemplating, therefore, the orchards of Cornwall, we have pleasure in the assurance, that they were derived from the highest antiquity. Flourishing and full of fruit as our orchards confessedly were before the Romans; it is the opinion of our best antiquaries, that the Romans first made cyder in this country.‖ From the pressing of the grape, it was an easy transition to that of the apple. Yet, amidst apples too abundant for immediate consumption, and necessarily falling into decay, some sort of cyder-press was an obvious invention.¶ In the mean time, the wild carrot was transplanted into the garden; and others of our esculents taken from their native spots, and improved by culture.*

§ And by induction, we may fairly argue, that as *Avallon*, *Nansavallen*, *Rosvallen*, and *Trevallen*, *exhibiting the discriminative character* of the places, were very ancient; other names, *thus descriptive of places*, were, in general, very ancient, also. That the original names of places in Cornwall were lost, or superseded by others, is an unlikely supposition. In our most ancient maps we find (generally speaking) the present names. And in the Domesday for Cornwall, we have the same names, strangely mutilated, indeed, by the Norman commissioners who understood not the Cornish language. These names were certainly not imposed upon places by the Saxons, or under their influence. They are, therefore, ancient Cornish.

‖ *Cyder* clearly comes from the latin *sicera*, originally *sidera*. See *Hieron.* tom. iv. c 264. Paris, 1706.

¶ Compare *Strabo* (l. iv. p. 200.) with *Tacitus* (vit. Agricol. c. 12.) and *Scriptores* Hist. August. (p. 942.)

* *Pliny*, l. xix. c. 5. *Asparagus*, it is said, was introduced to us by the Romans. But this is by no means so certain as that it grows wild at the Lizard.

BREN, a tree.
GUYTH, GUIDEN, a tree. Now, GUEDHAN, WETHAN, WITHAN.
SERVIC, a shrub.
I'AR, a stalk, a stem.
TRECH, a stem, or trunk of a tree.
SKIRAN, a bough. pl. SKIRAU.
BLEGYOW, boughs.
DELEN, a leaf of a tree.
DELKIO GUER, a green bough.
BOS, BOSNOS, a bush.
LOINOU, bushes.
VEEN, the sharp top, or point of a tree.
BLYNTHEN, the top of a plant.
GUELEN, a twig.
LUWORCHGUIT, a clump of young sprigs growing up together.
RISK, the bark or rind of a tree.
ACH, root of a tree.
SYGAN, sap.
BLODON, a blossom.
COS, COYS, CUS, KUZ. pl. COSOW.
COIT, COID, a wood.
CUNYS, wood, timbers.
PREN, timber, wood.
PRENICK, PRINICK, of wood, woody.
BALI, a high-grown wood.
LHYN, a grove.
CORS, a place full of small wood.
DAR, pl. DERU, an oak.
MESEN, an acorn.
ELAU, an elm. (Ulmus) ULA. pl. ULOWE. I cannot conceive that we owe our elm to the Romans.
ENWEDHAN, ONNEN, pl. Enwith. An ash.
KERDEN, the mountain ash.
AIDLEN, SIBUIT, (hod. ZABAN) a fir-tree.
HIVIN, the yew-tree.
BEDEWEN, the aspin.
GWERN, a place of alder trees; in Devonshire, an ALLERBURY.
HOLM, the holly-tree; whence our *holm*-thrush---The deep green of a fine holly, and its bright red berries, with two or three holm-thrushes feeding on them, (and become so familiar that on my approaching, they fly only to the topmost branches) have amused me, for several autumns, at the door of my library; and are at this moment peculiarly engaging.---- October 23d, 1801.

III. 1. From these views, it appears, that the Cornish had flocks and herds and corn and orchards, before the Romans visited their shores; but it was in subservience to their

BEDHO, BEZO, BEZULA, the birch. (a little hoop or small wheel made of the birch.)

COLWIDAN, GUEDHAN, KNYFAN, a hazle-tree.

GILLY, GILLIS, the wood or grove of hazles.

KYNYPHAN, a nut.

PLYSG, a paring, a shell of a nut.

SPRUS, a grain, a kernel.

AUSILLEN, an osier.

SCAWEN, the elder; much esteemed by the ancient Cornish. ----- The *wood-elder*, spindle-tree, or prick-wood, is scarce in Meneg; where I have observed it in two places only, at *Trezebol*, and on a cliff to the N. of *Coverack*.

IZDIU, hurtle-berry.

IDHIO, the ivy-tree.

SPERNAN, (G. σπιρον) a thorn.

DRAEN, DRANE, a thorn. DREIN, DRAENEN, DREIS, a briar, or bramble.

SPETHES, briars. The *Eglantine* is indigenous. Hedges near the Mount and other places. *Rosa sylvestris foliis odoratis.* Ray. Stirp. Brit. p. 454. 3d. edit.

The ERICA, or common heath improves by its roots the turf for fuel.

EYTHYNNEN, EITHIN, YTHON, furze. *Dwarf-furze*, throughout Meneg ----- *French furze*, E. of Truro. It is remarkable that Britany is similar to Cornwall, in several of its productions and commodities; particularly *furze* & pilchards. See *Saint Pierre's* voyage to the Isle of France; first and third letters.

BAGAZ-EITHIN, a bush of furze.

Fruit Trees, Shrubs, &c.

DZARN, an orchard, a garden.

AVAL, an apple. AVALON, apples. It signifies in Cornish all manner of fruit, as well as apples. A proof, that the apple-tree was indigenous.

SPLUSEN, a pippin.

PLUMAN, AERAN, a plum; probably an original fruit of the Cornish. The Manaccan-plum; improved by garden culture.

SPEZADEN, a gooseberry.

DREIZAN, a raspberry tree.

SEVI, SYVI, a strawberry.

Wild Herbs and Flowers.

LES, an herb, pl. LOSOW, LUZU ---- LYSUAN, id.

MYRGH, a weed.

GUREITAN, now GUREDHAN, a root.

ASPARAGUS PALUSTRIS, or sperage, growing on the cliffs at the Lizard point.

LODES, the herb Artemisia.

TAVAZ-NADAR, adder's tongue.

COICLINAT, the herb archangel.

LES-DUSHOC, betony.

LESSERCHOC, burdock.

BRUNNEN, a bullrush

CARETYS, a carrot.

TRUZ-EBAL, the coltsfoot.

GLEDN, chick weed.

LESENHOC, the clot-bar, the dog's-herb.

BORELES, the herb cumfry; the incrassating herb.

BELER, cresses.

LODOSA, wild saffron, dog's-bane. GOICKENNIU, id.

EDG-DEU, a daisy. NEONIA.

BAIOE, elecampane.

LES-DERTH, fever-few.

RADEN, a fern. The *fern-harvest*, very ancient in Meneg.

REDANAN, a brake of ferns.

The LYCOPODIUM SELAGO, so much venerated by the Druids; frequent on Goonhilly and Croysaz, or Goongartha (the high) downs. "A sort of hedge-hyssop, (says Borlase) resembling the savin." *Pliny*, l. xxiv. c. 11.

KEGAZ, hemlock.

ALAU, white-water lillies.

SAMOLUS, or Marshwort. *Pliny*, l. xxiv. c. 11.

GUTHYL, ALL HEAL. So the ancient Cornish called the misletoe. *Keysler*, 307.

MINFEL, the herb millefolium.

MADERE, the herb madder.

LES-LUIT, mugwort.

LESENGOC, a marygold, the gold-coloured herb.

LINHADEN, a nettle. Hod. LINACHS. KE LINACKS, the nettle-hedge.

LEDANLES, plantain---a broad herb.

RUTE, the herb rue.

GLESIN, the herb sandyx.

ELESBREN, sedge.

ASKALLEN, a thistle. (ASKAL a wing.)

COIFINEL, wild thyme.

MELHY ONEN, a violet, from its sweetness of scent.

GLESYN, the herb woad.

FELEN, wormwood.

COSTE, the herb zedoary.

NINTELL, yarrow.

Herbs and Roots, in Cultivation.

MAGDULANS, the pot-herb; colewort.

UNGLE, a colewort. Hence perhaps TREUNGLE.

CARETYS, a carrot.

PANEZ, a parsnip.

ERVINEN, TURNUPAN. a turnip.

KININ, a leek.

KENIN-EYNOC, garlick.

chieftains and princes. The tracts of land, around their castles, were of great extent: and there, under the lords of the castles, might shepherds have ranged with their flocks, or husbandmen have tilled the grounds. These little territories, the demesne-lands of their several lords, were not divided into regular farms, till the Romans. But before the Romans, they probably gave names to their possessors. And the first Cornish families, deducing their names from their places, seem to have been distinguished by the appellations of ‡ *pen* and *tre*. The *pens*, it is likely, were the more remarkable *hill-pastures*; the *tres*, the *agricultural* spots or *places*. In process of time, each lordship was separated into various farms, by strong and permanent enclosures: and the farms borrowed their respective names from their *scite on high or low ground---their relative situations---their vicinity to rivers and the sea*---from *the forma loci* and *its qualities*---from *woods* and *particular trees and other vegetable productions*---from their *pasture* and *corn*---from *native* animals---from *tame* or *domesticated animals*, and from various circumstances which it would be tedious to enumerate. §

‡ *Camden* says, "tre, *pol* and pen:" but, if *pol* mean *a pool*, it must be classed among the names of places enclosed after the Roman arrival, and can only be referred to husbandry or otherwise, as the syllable or syllables in conjunction with it, may direct. See *Camden's* Remains.

§ ALWED, an enclosure.
HAY, an enclosure. Hence, in Meneg, &c. the church-*hay*.
PARK, (pl. PARKOU) a field, or enclosure.
DURGY, a small turf hedge.
TUBAN-AGGER, a dam, a bank, a rampart.
STIKEDN, a pole, a stake.
CLUIT, CLIFA, a hurdle of rods wattled together.
VOR, a way.
FOUTE, a lane.
FRALERCH, a footpath.
PILIM, (L. PULVIS) flying dust.
LYS, mire.

Farms, so called from their scite on high or low ground.

VRE, a hill.
UHAL, high.
BURNUHAL, in Berian, the high hill.
UTHALL, (UHALL) TREUEHALL, in Sithney, the high town.
GWARTHA, the summit.
GUARHAZ, the summit. The GARRAS in St. Allen, as being the top of the hill.
MUI, great. MEWDEN in Mawnan, the great hill.
TRENARTH, in Mawnan, the high place.
BIN, BYN, a hill. TREVERBYN in St. Austel and Probus, the dwelling on the hill.
TON, a hill. CHENTON (CHYTON) in St. Agnes, the house on the hill.
FRY, the nose, a hill. TREFRY in Lanhydrock, the town on the hill.
VOWN (DOUN) deep, low. TREVOUNANCE in St. Agnes, the deep town in the valley.
GOLAS, a bottom. AN GOLLA in Piran-Sand, the bottom.
IZY, a bottom. ERIZEY, upon the bottom.
MOD, MED, MOT, a place. MODROSE (MEDRAS) in Luxilian, a place in a valley.
RES, (for ros) a valley. Hence RESTORMEL, RESCADZHILL, and other places in vallies.

From their relative Situations

WHAN, higher. TRUAN in St. Columb, the higher town.
UTHAN (UHAN) TRUTHAN in St. Erme, the higher town.
VARTH, higher. TREVARTH in Gwennap, the higher town.
TREWOLLA in Goran, the lower town.
TREVISA in St. Enodor, the lower house.
LAMBOURNE-WIGAN, the little Lanbourne, (LAMBRIGAN.)
Bodean VEOR.
Bodean VEAN.

These names, they imparted, (like the original lordships and manors) to their different possessors or occupiers. The Romans, wherever they settled, permitted the natives, to

From their Vicinity to Springs Rivers Lakes and the Sea.

PENTRASSOW in St. Ewe, the head of the springs.

FENTON-GYMPS in *Piran-Sand*, the continually-overflowing-well.

THOUR, a river, a brook. TRETHOWER in Probus, the town by the river.

TREVYDRAN in Berian, the town by the brambly river.

COTELLE, a wood. Hence CUTTAILE in Calstock, a wood near the river.

TREVYVYAN in Warbstow, the town by the small water

TYWARNHAILE, in Piran-Sand, the house on the salt-water river.

DOUR, water. CHYN-DOWER in Ludgvan, the house on the water.

ROUAN, Roman.

POL-ROUAN, the Roman pool.

LO, a pool, a standing water. Hence the LO POOL. LOOE, id. The towns of east and west LOOE.

PIL, a little hillock; also a sea-ditch; a trench filled at high water. Hence PILL near Truro, and in Lanlivery.

ARDEVORA, upon the lap or bosom, or lake.

LYN, a pond, a pool.

LYNNICK, moist, wet.

GARLYNICK in Creed, the town upon a marsh.

ARWINICK upon the marsh near Falmouth.

RIG HA THRIG, the tide. BODRIGY in Phillack, the house by the tide.

MORVA, a place near the sea. MORVA in Penwith; and MORVAL.

DRIG, the same as Trig. BODRIGE in Phillack, the house by the sea side.

ENNIS (pl. ENESOU, ENEZYS) ENYS, YNYS, YNEZ, INCE. Inland; a peninsula, formed either by a river or the sea.

ZANZ, a bay. Penzance the head of the bay.

From the Forma Loci.

TOR, a mountain or great hill. ROWTOR, the rocky mountain; HELMCANTOR in Lanlivery, the moory stony mountain.

MENER, MENES, MENETH, MENYTH, a mountain.

TREWARVENYTH, in St. Paul.

BRAY, BRE, BREA, a mountain. BRAY in St. Just, and Illogan. CARNBRE, GOONVRA in St. Agnes, the hill downs.

ALSA, high cliff.

ALSTON, high cliff hill.

ALSDUN, open hill.

ALVERTON, the high green hill.

RHYN, a hill. PENRHYN, the head of the hill.

CLOG, CLOGWIN, a steep rock.

CLEGHAR, CLEGGO, a rock, cliff, or downfall. Hence Cleghar in St Agnes, and Cleggo in Gorran.

DEN, a hill. DENICK, THENICK, hilly. Hence Tredinick, *Tredinock*, *Trewarthenick*.

ESKYNNA, an ascent. BOSKENNA in Berian, a house on an ascent.

UTH, HUEDH, a swelling. UTARTH (vulg. EARTH) in St. Stephens's, the high swelling, as seated on a high swelling hill.

CARNE in Veryan, in St. Anthony-Meneg; heap of rocks. (CARNOU pl.)

CARNE-WHIDDEN, the white rock

TOL, a hole. TOLCARNE in St. Just; TOLMEN in Constantine.

KERNICK, rocky; from Karne. KERNICK in St. Stephen's.

CARAK, CARRIK, a rock (pl. CARRIGY) CAR-RAR-ACK, CAR-HIRICK, the long rocky dwelling.

AN GARRIC in Phillac, the rock.

COL, the ridge or neck of a hill.

COLQUITE in St. Mabyn, the neck of the wood.

CODNA, the neck. CODNA-COOS in St. Agnes, the neck of the wood.

BURN-UHAL in St. Berian, the high rising; the well in the moor.

TREKEIN in Creed, the town on the ridge of a hill.

VRYS, a breast; a round hill, like a breast, as TREVRYS in Linkinhorne.

BRONSEHAN, the dry round hill, and LAMBRON, the round hill enclosure, from BRON a breast, both in Piran-Sand.

BOL, a belly. BOLITHO, a hill in Crowan, the great belly.

BOR, fat. BORLASE in St. Wen, the green-rising or bunch.

DOLVA, a breach. PEDN-OLVA in Paul, the head of the breach.

TRON, a nose, a promontory. ANTRON in Sithney, the promontory or nose of land. ALDREN, a promontory.

SEL, SIL, a view, a prospect. SELLICK, in open view. CRUGSELLICK in Veryan, the barrow in open view. ROSILIAN in St. Blazey, the valley in open view.

ROSE, ROSH, a valley. A dale between hills, or attended with a promontory. PENROSE in Sithney, the head of the valley; TREROSE in Mawnan, the town in the valley; ROSWARNE, the valley of elders.

BAR-GUS, over the wood, in Gwennap. ROSBARGUS in Gorran, the valley above the wood.

call every place after the language of the country; adopting the original name with a very slight alteration or addition. Thus, they left the naming of the farms in general

NANCE, NANS, a valley, a level, a dale. NANS in Illogan, the plain, or valley; PENANS in Creed, the head of the valley; TRENANCE in St. Austel, the town in the valley.

UAG, hollow. TREVANION, (anciently TREUAGNIAN) in St. Michael Carhayes, the town in the hollow valley.

HAL, HALE, (pl. HALLOW) a moor. PENHAL in St. Enodor, the head of the moor; PENHALLOW in Philly, the head of the moors.

REESE, DHO REES, to fleet, or slide away. Hence the vulgar expression, COMREESING. Hence, REES in *Piran-Sand*, the fleeting ground; TREREES in Newlyn, the town on the fleeting ground; PENRICE PENREES) in St. Austel, the head of the fleeting ground.

From the Qualities of the Place, or Soil.

WEEK, (HUEG) sweet. TREWEEK, the sweet town

TEAGE, THEK, fair. ROSTEAGE in Gerrans, the fair valley. TRETHEAGE in Stithians, the fair dwelling.

WEN, fair. TREWEN, the fair town.

SADARNE, strong. TRESADARNE, in St. Columb major, the strong town; if not the town of Saturn - - - which I prefer.

VA, a place. TREVYLVA in Veryan, the mean place.

TREGASA, the dirty town.

GUAVAS in Sithney; and TREWAVAS, a winterly place.

JEIN, cold. TREGANIEN, the dwelling with cold.

ALVA-COT, OLUA-COT, the howling cot.

MAES, MEZ, a plain, a field, a down.

MOEL, bare. MOEL-VRE, (MULBERRY) in St. Austel, the bare hill.

RYDH, (now REETH) plain, open. GOONREETH in Gluvias, the open downs.

DRON, a hill. GUNDRON, in Gulval, the downs-hill.

GON, GUN, GOON, WOON, a down. TREGONAN, in St. Ewe; TREGONICK, in St. Germans. GOON-GLAZE, the sea, the green downs.

LAYS, green. GOONGLASE, in St. Agnes, the green downs.

TOWAN, a heap of sand; a hillock, a plain, green, or level place. The situation of many places in Cornwall answers to this last etymology.

GO, little. GO-DOL a little valley. GODOLPHIN, perhaps a little valley of springs. - - - *Go-dol-finee*.

YERTH, green. ROSEVERTH, in Kenwyn, the green valley.

GLASE, green. POLGLASE in St. Erme, the green pool.

NEID, a nest. Hod. NYTH. GLASNYTH in St. Gluvias, the green nest. NYTHYARE, a hen's nest.

SOG, moist. ROSOGAN in St. Stephens, the moist valley.

TEIL, mire. NANTELLAN in Creed, the miry valley.

WINNY, marshy TREWINNY in Mevagissey, the marshy town.

WINNICK, a marsh, a moorish place, pl. WINNOW. THEWINNICK in Mevagissey; TREWINNOW in Creed, the dwelling in the moors.

GUARNICK, marshy, moorish. Hence GUARNICK and GWARNICK in St. Allen.

TIWARNHAL, a house upon the moor.

LOOSE, grey, hoary. CARLOOSE in St. Ewe, the grey rock; CARACLOUSE in St. Merin, the grey rock.

TRAIT, DREETH, TRAITH, TRETH, sand, the sea-shore. TREATH in Manaccan; TYWARDRAITH, the house on the sand, or sea-shore.

DREATH-LENKY, a quicksand, or shelf.

GROU, sand, gravel. Hence the GROUAN, a sort of moorstone of a finer grain, composed of sand, fine gravel, clay, and talc.

GREAN, gravel. POLGREAN in St. Michael-Carhayes, the gravel-pits.

PRI, clay. PUL-PRI, a clay pit. PRIAN, clayed ground; soft clayed veins of tin.

DE, the same as TE, a house. DELABOT in St. Teth, the house in a clayey place.

From Woods or particular Trees, and other Vegetable Productions.

GOD, GODA, GOED, a wood. POLGO-DA in Piran-Sand.

GOSE, GUZ, a wood. TRENGOSE, the town in the wood.

KARAKLUZ EN KUZ, the grey rock in the wood. CARN COOSE AN CLOWSE, the rock hid in the wood, names of St. Michael's Mount. Coeval with the above, was its Pagan name DINSUL, "the hill dedicated to the sun."

CUIT, a wood PENQUITE, the head of the wood.

GLYN, a woody valley. GLYN, in Cardinham.

LANHERCH, a forest, a grove; a lawn; a bare place in a wood, as LANNER in St. Allen.

KELLI, a grove. BO KELLY in St. Kew, the house in the grove; PENGELLY in Breage, the head of the grove. pl. KELLIOW, groves.

MANSAAK, EK, ICK, stony. KILLIMANSEK, the stony grove.

PELHYN, (PELYN) the head of the grove.

GOLS, a bush of hair. Hence perhaps, TREGOLS in St. Clements, from *a bush of trees*.

SKEZ, a shadow. Hence SKEWYS, in Cury, a shady place.

to the Cornish; except, perhaps, in a few instances where the names are partly Cornish and partly Roman. Such are *Trevallack, Trevalscus, Polrouan.* As

WYTHAN, a tree. TREWYTHAN in Probus, the town of trees.

DAR, an oak. pl. DERU. ANDARTON, the oak hill. TRELUDDERO in Newlyn, the dirty town of oaks.

GLASTANEN, the oak, the scarlet oak.

TREGLASTAN, the scarlet oak town.

TRENWITH, by St. Ives, the town of ash-trees.

KILLISALLOWE in Probus, the grove of elms.

KELIN, a holly-tree. KELYNNEK, (in Kea) a place where holly-trees grow.

KERTHEN, KERDEN, the quicken-tree.

LAMBEZO, in Clements. BEZO, (BEDOU) in Piran-arwothal.

GUERNEN, an alder-tree; in composition turned to WARNE, as PENWARNE, the hill or head of alders; ROSWARNE, the valley of alders.

HELIGEN, a willow; HELAK, HELLICK, HELAGAN. Whence the names of several places, HELAGAN the willows. PENHELLICK, the head of the willows.

BOSCAWEN-ROSE in Berian, the house in the elder-tree valley.

FRITH, a hawthorn, a whitethorn. KELLYFRITH, in Kenwyn, the whitethorn grove.

ZANZ-IDGIE (IDHIO) the consecrated ivy.

AVALLEN, an apple-tree, NANSAVALLEN, the valley of apple-trees.

ROSEVALLEN, the apple-valley.

TREVALLA (AVAL) the apple-town.

MORAN, MOYAR, a berry. (L. MORUS.) ROSMOREIN in Gulval, the blackberry valley.

BANATHAL, broom. HOD. Banal. Whence our bannel. BANATHLEK, BENNATHLICK, a place of broom in Constantine.

BONYTHON in Cury, the *furzy* dwelling.

KORSEN, a reed, a stalk. Perhaps, our KORSE or GORSE. PENKORS in St. Enodor, the head of the *Gors*, or *Gorse* moors.

HESCHEN, a bulrush, or sedge, burr-reed; HASKYN, HOSKYN. PENESKYN in Goran, the head of the rushes; GOON-HASKYN in St. Enodor, and GOON-HOSKYN in Piran-Sand, the downs of sedge or rushes.

NEAGE, moss. TREVENEGE in St. Hilary, the dwelling of moss.

BRAHAN, crowbannel.

From their Pastures or Corn.

MEDDAN, a meadow. TRIGAMEDDON (now TRIGAVETHAN) in Kea, the dwellers in the meadows.

TRIG, an inhabitant. TRIGAVETHAN in Kea, the inhabitant of the meadows.

MAGER, maga, the feeding place.

METHIA, to feed, nourish. METHIAN in St. Agnes, a feeding-place.

BOUNDER, feeding grounds. CHY VOUNDER in St. Agnes.

SOA, suet. SOATH, fat. NANSOATH in Ladock, the fat valley.

PETH, PETHOU pl. riches. NANPETHO in St. Agnes, the rich valley. NANPITHO in Gerrans, the same.

BERRI, fatness. TREBERRICK in St. Ewe, the fat or fruitful dwelling.

TREGORTHA, the hay town.

LAITY, the dairy, or milk-house.

BOLEIT, the dairy, or milk-cot.

TYBESTA in Creed, the house of cattle.

TRE-IZACK, the corn-town.

TRENIZICK, the corn-town.

TREZIZE, TREYZ, the place for corn.

IZ; ID, corn, wheat. PORTISICK in Endellian, the port of corn.

BARA, beard of corn.

BARALLAN, corn-field.

BARN, corn-house.

TRELIN, TRELINNO, the place of flax or linen.

KE, KEA, a hedge, an enclosure. KEGWYN in St. Just, the white hedge; KEALINEC, a field of flax.

From native Birds and Beasts, Reptiles, and Insects.

KILLIGREW, the eagle's grove. The Killigrew's Arms, a spread eagle.

KUZ-KARN-NA HUILAN in Berian, the lapwing's rock by a wood.

MOELK, a blackbird. In composition WOELK, WOOF. TREWOOF in Berian, the town of blackbirds; perhaps, the rookery.

PARKEN-VRAHAN, crow's field.

BRENDON, (BRAHAN-DUN) crow's-hill.

VRAHAN, the rookery.

PEN-VRA-HAN, the head of the rookery.

TREFULA, the owl's town.

OWLA-COMB, the owl's-combe.

WINZAR, the marsh frequented by heathcocks or grouse.

MOLLINICK, the place of goldfinches.

MOLENECK, in St. Germans.

ROS-KYMER, the great dog valley. (KYMER, perhaps the southern-hound.)

LEWARN, the fox-place.

LAN-LAWRNE, the fox-lawn.

TRELOWARREN in Mawgan-Meneg, the fox's-town.

BLEIT, a wolf. TREMBLITH in St. Ervan, the wolf's town.

TRENBRETH, TREBATH, the boar's town. TREMOH, the hog's place in Mabe.

BROCKHILL, BROCKS, BRUCKA, badger's hill.

NAN-CARROW, the deer's valley.

enclosures of this description originated in the Romans; so did the commodious farm-house.§ 2. The Romans seem to have been pleased with the mildness of our winter; through which they saw perpetual verdure, a languid sort of spring.* Among our fine natural grasses, they introduced one artificial grass only - - - the *trefoil.*† But they instructed us in the art of draining the low grounds, and narrowing the beds of the rivers. - - - And in pressing the curd into‡ cheese, *(hez, caseus)* they were our masters; unacquainted as they were with butter. 3. In agriculture, we owe much to the Romans. Yet, I cannot applaud the Roman method of burning the soil, which Virgil and others describe, and which, from its being more extensively practised in Devonshire than in any other county, is emphatically called *Denshiring*. Tacitus, (who seems to have received his information from his father-in-law, Agricola) speaks favoura-

NANSAGOLLAN, the hart's valley.
TREKINNIN, the town of rabbits.
TRESARRAT, the hedgehog town.
CARLOGGAS, the mouse-rock. TRELOGGAS, the mice-town.
BOLOGGAS, the mouse-house.
GADLES, GODHLES, the mole's green.
CHE-TOADEN, toad's house.
TREMEAL, the honey town.
MURRIAN, an ant. CREEG-MURRIAN in Philly, the hill of ants.

From Tame or Domesticated Animals.

ELERCHY in Veryan, the swannery, or swan's house.
TREDAVOE, the sheep-town.
DEVIS, sheep's-place.
CORLAN, sheep-fold or cot. ROSCORLA in St. Austel, the valley of the sheep-fold.
TREN-OON, the lamb's cot.
TRELAWN, the wool-town.
CHY-BUCKA, the cow's house.
BERTHY, to bear. TREBERTHA in Veryan, the bearing town.
RETHOKKO, to produce. Hence, RETHOGGA in Gwennap, the bearing or fruitful dwelling.
TRELISSICK, in St. Erth, (if from LEDZHEK, a heifer) the heifer's town.
PENBUGEL, the superior herdsman.
LEMARH, the place of horses.
NANKIVELL, the horse valley.
PENKIVEL, the horse-head.
EBOL, EBAL, a colt. pl. EBILLI.
MENABILLY in Tywardreath, the colt's hill.
TRE-ZEBAL, the colt's town.
ROUNSAN, an ass. GOON ROUNSAN in St. Enodor, the ass's downs.
TRELILL, the goat's town.
HALGAVER, the goat's moor.
WOONBOCCA in Kenwyn, the he-goat's down.
KEVEREL, the place of he-goats.
MIN, a kid. MINGUS in St. Agnes, the kid's wood - - - now MYNNAN.
POLWHEVERELL, the kid's pool.

§ BOSCA, a hut or cottage, a feeding-place. From Βοσκω to feed.
TE, DE, BOD, CHY, DZHY, an house.
TRUZUANDARAZ, the threshold.
FENESTER, PRENEST, a window; from Fenestra. The Cornish had no windows before the Romans.
TSHIMBLA, a chimney. (L CAMINUS.)
TYOR, a helliar, a thatcher.

Animals in and about the House.

CROU-KEI, a dog's kennel.
KI, KEI, a dog. pl. KEN. KEI-HELFIG, a hunting hound. KARN-KEI, in Illogan, the dog's rocks.
MESLAN, a mastiff-dog.
GUILTER, a mastiff.
CROU-MOH, a hog's-stye.
HOCH, a hog.
PORHAL, a barrow-pig, a hog.
HANEU, a sow.
GUIS, an old sow that hath had many pigs.
KLYMIAR and KLOMIAR, a pigeon-house. (COLUMBARIUM.)
CANAL-GUANAN, a bee-hive. KANELH, in Welsh a hamper; in Cornish, a bee-hive. (Lluyd's Compar. Etymol. p. 3.)
GUENENEN, now GUANAN, a bee.
MAM-GWENEN, a stock of bees.
GLEZ, a swarm of bees. HEZ, at this day.
CRIB AN MEL, a honey-comb.
MEL, MEAL, honey. CARNMEAL in St. Agnes, the honey-rock.
MELDER, sweetness.

* See *Tacitus.*
† *Pliny*, lib. xviii. c. 28.
‡ *Pressi copia lactis.* Virgil.

bly of our climate, as I have already intimated. Yet he observes, that the grain ripened here but slowly; which he attributes to our frequent rains, and the humidity of the air and soil. After the Romans had settled in Devonshire and Cornwall, agriculture was seen to flourish more abundantly, from the increasing demand for corn and tin, and the influx of money for paying labourers: It was then, that the interior parts of these counties, wild woodland and pasturage, were turned to better advantage, both by the Danmonian and the Roman agriculturist.§---For grinding their corn, our fathers had, from their first settling in Cornwall, the use of the handmill---the *quern* or *carne*. But to the Romans they owe the *water-mill*; the *muilean* of the Irish, the *mull* and *melin* of the Armoricans, the *melin* of the Welsh and the Cornish---all derived from the Roman *mola* and *molendinum*.* From these Roman mills, a number of places in Cornwall, take their denomination.‡ 4. Passing from agriculture to plantations, we cannot but mark the more obvious trees which the Romans certainly introduced into the island; and probably Cornwall. Cæsar tells us, that the *beech* and the *fir* were strangers to Britain.‖ The British terms for the *beech*---*faighe, faghe, faydh*, from *fagus*, are evidently Roman. And compared with other forest trees, the beech is of rare occurrence both in Devonshire and Cornwall. The *fir*, however, is indigenous. Its British appellation proves it so. The Scots call it *gius*; the Irish *giumhas*; the Welsh *fymniduydh*. In the third century, firs were considered as the Aborigines of the country in Scotland and Ireland. And pieces of fir have been discovered deeply imbedded, even under Roman roads. To the Romans, we are obliged for the *platanus*,

§ ARADAR, from ARATRUM, a plough seems rather to imply, that the Cornish borrowed their art of ploughing from the Romans.

SYGAL, Rye corn. SYGALEK, a field of Rye. (L. SECALE.)

MANAL, a handful. (MANIPULUS.)

FILH, VOULZ, VAULZ, a hook, scythe, or sickle. (L. FALX.)

* *Pliny*, lib. xviii. c. 10.

‡ MELGESS in St. Agnes, and MELYNGISSY, the mill-woods.

BELINCHI, BOLINGY, the mill-house; the water-mill-house

ROSMELLIN, the mill valley.

NANCE-MELLIN, the mill valley.

GORMELLICK, on the mill premises.

LAMELLION, the mill-place.

HALLA-MELLIN, the mill-moor.

PORTMELLYN, the mill-cove.

TRE-PELLEN, (VELLEN MELLIN) mill-town. TREGAMELLIN, the mill-dwelling. TREMELLIN, the mill-town.

TREVELLANCE in Piran-Sand, the town in the mill-valley.

VELLAN-ALSA, the mill by the cliff.

VELLAN-GOOSE, the mill by the wood.

VELLAN-NOWETH, the new mill.

VELLAN-USEN, USION, the chaff-mill.

BELENDER, a miller.

‖ P. 88.

or plane; the *tilia*, or teil; the *buxus*, or box; the *populus*, or poplar, and, it is said, for the *ulmus* or elm. But the common elm was, I think, a native of Cornwall. It fringes many of our creeks and rivers in so wild and natural a manner, that I cannot but conceive it prior to the Romans in this country.† 5. The *fruit*, the *flower*, and the *kitchen* garden of the Roman-Cornish, were all one. The vine brought from Italy into Britain, was the *fionras* of the Irish; the *guin-uydhen* of the Welsh; the *guin-bren* of the Armoricans; and of the Cornish, the *guincen*; all signifying, in the most pleasing simplicity of expression, the *wine-tree*. It was common throughout the island. Bede notices our vineyards in the beginning of the eighth century.‡ And William of Malmesbury, writing of the twelfth century, says, that Gloucester excelled all our counties in its vineyards; whilst, without a vineyard there was scarcely a castle or a monastery.§ In the mean time, the *pyrus* or pear,‖ the *damascene* the *cerasus*, or cherry, the *arbor persica* or peach, the *aprica*, or apricot, the *cydonia* or quince, the *morus, (muyar)* or mulberry, the *ficus, (fic)* or fig, the *sorbus* or serrice, the *mespilus* or medlar, and the *castanea, (Kastanuydh)* or chesnut, were planted here, by our Roman masters.¶ The cherry gardens on each side of the Tamar, may, probably, be traced back to very ancient times.----For our flowers, the *rhos*, rose, *lili*, lily, and *violed*, violet, are generally received as Roman.*---For the kitchen, we are indebted to the Romans, for *tim thyme, rosmari rosemary, pabi poppy, peas, beans, lettuce, bete, radish, fennel.*†

† DALADUR, the *Plane*. BOX, (BUXUS) a box-tree.

‡ *Eccles. Hist.* l. 1. c. 1. *Smith*. § F. 161. *Saville*.

‖ We have at this moment in Meneg, a good cyder-apple, called the *rouan*, which is not a corruption of *Ruan*. Was it an apple brought hither by the Romans? We know that *aval-rouan* is, literally, in Cornish, "the Roman apple."

¶ *Pliny*, lib. xv. c. 11, 12, 13, 20, 23, 24, 25. * *Pliny*, lib. xxi. c. 4, 10.

† *Pliny*, lib. xix. c. 4, 5, 8.

LEWARTH, DZHARN, ERBER, a garden. pl. ERBEROW. HERBARIUM.
GUISUR, a gardener.
SICER, (L. SICERA.) cyder.
GUIN, (VINUM) wine. GUIN-BREN, a wine-tree, a vine.
PER, a pear. (PYRUS.)
PIRBREN, a pear-tree.
GALA, a fig.
MOYR-BREN, (L. MORUS.) a bramble bush; a mulberry-tree.
FIC-BREN, a fig-tree.
FIGEZ, figs. FICUS.
The APRICOT, scarce and short-lived in Cornwall.
LILIE, a lily. (L. LILIUM.)
ROS, a rose. (L. ROSA.) BREILU.
CAUL, colewort, all sorts of pot-herbs.

IV. Thus I have considered Cornwall as very respectable, on a view of its pastures, corn, and gardens, even in the days of the Roman-Cornish; though, according to Carte, Devonshire and Cornwall received little or no advantages from cultivation, till one hundred and fifty years after the conquest.‡ Yet, wherever the Romans settled, great attention was paid to the cultivation of the soil. Among the Roman taxes, the principal were those, which were imposed on pasturage and agriculture. Whilst the Romans taxed our pasture-grounds and our meadows, they exacted a certain proportion of the produce of all our arable lands. This was the origin of our land-tax. And such was the flourishing state of agriculture in Roman-Britain, that by means of this land-tax, more corn was collected than could be consumed by all the Roman troops in the island.§ In the mean time, the‖ high tax that the Romans imposed on orchards, seems to prove the little labour with which they were cultivated. But had not orchards been long familiar to the Britons, the process of cultivation would have been difficult, from the unskilfulness of the planters: nor would the Britons have been able to pay so exorbitant a tax as the fifth part of the produce of their orchards.

KAVATSH, cabbage.
FAVAN, a bean. p. FAVA. (L. FABA.)
FENOCHEL FUNIL, fennel. (L. FÆNICULUM.)
MENTE, the herb mint. (MENTHA.)
EYSYTH, hyssop.

‡ "Devonshire and Cornwall (says he) were all in a manner a *wild forest* at the coming of the Belgæ; as they continued to be in a great degree till one hundred and fifty years after the conquest. Somersetshire was the same for the most part. And Dorsetshire, too, was full of the like forests. And in these counties seem to have been the parts, where the Belgæ first settled." *Carte, vol.* i. p. 24. All this, as Mr. Whitaker justly remarks, is false. "The southern coast of the island, must naturally have been the best inhabited of any. And the islands of Cornwall actually carried on a commerce with the Phenicians before the Belgæ arrived. Devonshire, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, were inhabited by no less than five tribes, and were planted with many towns of the Britons before the Romans came, and had all a considerable number of modern towns after they came. And if these counties were full of forests before the Belgæ came, and even remained so afterwards, the settlements of the Belgæ must have very little affected the condition of the country. But, as the Belgæ settled, not merely in these counties, but all along the southern shore, (see *Cesar*) so they carried on a great trade from Hampshire and the Isle of Wight." *Whitaker's* Manchester, (quarto Edition) Vol. 1. pp. 466, 467.

§ *Lipsius* de magnitud. Rom. l. ii. c. 1.

‖ *Heineccius* Antiq. Rom. l. i.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

MINING.

THAT the mines of Danmonium were not disregarded by the* Romans, appears from the testimony of many ancient writers.† The Romans, we shall see, traded hither for tin: but they did more. After they had fixed their military stations in Danmonium, they directed their attention to mining. For the mining-district, on this side of the Tamar, we are assured, that the high lands on the east bordering upon Devon, particularly the parish of Linkinhorn, and Hengsten (or Hingston) downs, were famous for tin in the earliest times.‡ And from St. Austel, westward, to Kenwyn, Gwenap, Stythians, Wendron, and Breage, on the south, and to St. Agnes, Redruth, Illogan, Camborne, Gwinear, in a straight line through Lelant, Senor and Morva, to the parish of St. Just, on the north, the mining grounds§ maintain a breadth of about seven miles at a medium. Nor are we to forget the Sylleh Isles.¶

* For the state of our mines before the Romans, see *Hist. of Devon.* Vol. 1. and *Hist. Views*, Sect. 6.

† *Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Polybius, Pliny:*

‡ There is now very little tin, east of St. Austel.

§ At present, tin and copper.

¶ See *Strabo*, p. 265.---*Cesar*, p. 88.---*Diodorus*, p. 347---*Pliny*, l. xxxiv. c. 16.----It is remarkable, that in Meneg, there have never been mines, either ancient or modern. "Mr. *Sammes*, in his *Brit.* p. 59. would have it of a *Phenician* original, from *Meneog* signifying kept in by the sea; but if he had but asked any one of the meanest old inhabitants there, they would have told him that it signifyed, *a deaf stone*, from *mean* a stone, and *ake*, deaf, or fruitless (as we say a deaf nut) because through these are severall veins, or loads, in this tract of land, seemingly rich in metall, yet on tryal they are found to have none in them, but are totally deaf and barren, so that they have a proverb among them, that no metall will run within the sound of *St. Kevern* bell; which they attribute to a curse pronounced against them by that saint, for their irreligion, and disrespect towards him. Mr. *Camden* therefore justly observes, *that, whatever Jornandes in his Geticks says of it, (for, says he, it must be the same with what he calls Menna) that it is in the furthest part of Britain, abounding with several sorts of metall, &c. it is now so far from it, that it seems long since to have been quite drained.* But indeed there are not the least signs of any workings there, nor ever were any.---Neither does the other part of *Jornandes* his character better agree with it---

It is the prevailing opinion, that all the tin discovered in the primitive ages, was in *sand* and *slime*, in *shode*, or in *stream*.‖ There are some, however, who maintain, that the Romans introduced *stopes* or *shammels* into Danmonium, or the method of working by an open mine, where, cutting through a hill, they followed the lode as far and to as great a depth as they were able to pursue it. That even working by shafts* was a method not unknown to the Romans, is no improbable presumption. But, according to Dr. Pryce and others, the shaft-work was not introduced into Devon and Cornwall above three hundred years ago. Yet it is strange, that adits to which the Romans were so much accustomed, had not suggested the idea of working by shafts.‡ As to the marks of Roman tin-mining in Devon and Cornwall, we can say nothing with certainty. The old stream-works in particular, on Dartmoor and Bovey-Heathfield and those of Cornwall, were rather *British*, perhaps, than *Roman-British*. The *shammel-working* indeed, which appears in several places between Bovey and Dartmoor, and on the moor itself, where large channels are cut through the hills, may be considered as relics of the Romans. There is only one clue by which we may investigate an ancient mine as *Roman*, with some degree of confidence, I mean, Roman coins or working utensils, or, in short, any other relics evidently Roman, discovered in the mine or its vicinity. Such a discovery will prove

that it affords good pasture; and (in general) contributes more to the nourishment of cattle than men;---since it abounds with all sorts of grain, especially barley, of which last it is usual for them to have from twenty to thirty bushels on an acre, of our measure, which is three Winchester bushels to the bushell." *Tonkin's* Account of all the Parishes in Cornwall, in MS. p. 295.

‖ In some creeks of Falmouth harbour, tin is found among the *slime and sands*: And, in the Mount's Bay, it is sometimes thrown in, by the sea, in a pulverised state.---Tin, disseminated on the sides of hills, in single stones, we call *Shodes*. Such stones, found together in great numbers, making a continued course from one to ten feet deep, we call a *Stream*. There are streams of tin, in St. Stephen's Branel, in St Ewe, St. Blazy, St. Austel-moor, St. Just-Penwith and other places That of St. Austel-moor is the most considerable, and was probably known to the Romans.

* The Romans worked their gold mines in Spain by adits; undermining, and propping the mountains with wooden props, and setting these on fire, to make the whole tumble in. Amidst this rubbish, they collected their ore. This might have been the method of mining in the Cassiterides; which will account for the little appearance of mines in those islands at the present day. The Sylleh isles might have contained mountains of ore like the copper mountains of Anglesea: and when the mines worked in the manner I have mentioned, by the Aborigines Phenicians Greeks and Romans, were exhausted, the vestiges of the mountain might have disappeared; as the remaining rubbish was probably carried off for other purposes.

‡ In forming the Roman aqueducts and the cloacae for the city of Rome, adits were driven through mountains; The *cloacae* existed eight hundred years before Pliny.

(at least in concurrence with a very slight probability, beside) that the Romans worked the mine in question, themselves, or superintended the workmen, or had some connexion with the miners.§ In St. Agnes-Bal, near which the *gold Valentinian* was found, are the remains of very ancient mines.* There were ancient mines near Karn-

§ In determining this point, I lay very little stress upon names---such as *stean*, tin; *pulstean*, a tin-pit; *huelstean*, a tin-work; *stener*, a tinner, pl. *stennerion*; *trewheela*, a dwelling by the works or mines.

* The following observations on the subject, from a MS. of Tonkin's, entitled "an Alphabet. Account of all the Parishes in Cornwall" (under St. Agnes) pp. 9, 10. are ingenious and amusing: "To the west of *Breanick*, riseth, by a gentle ascent, the great hill, commonly called *St. Agnes* beacon, and *Carne Breanick*, from the three great heaps of stones upon it (for *Carne* signifyes properly, an heap of stones)---and its neighbourhood to *Breanick*, tho' it be parcell of the waste lands of the manor of *Trevaunance*. As for the name which Mr. *Halse* gives it of *Carne-Burianick*, or *Byrganik*, that is a made one of his own, purposely to support his wild notions, and etymologies. That these three stony burrows were erected to the memory of some notable persons there interr'd, there is no doubt; for to the west of that which serves now for a beacon, is still the remainder of a small square fortification;(1) and at the bottom of the hill is a large intrenchment, or foss, which runs from *Porth-Chapell*-Coom to *Breanick* or the Church Town Coom, and incloses the whole manor of *Trevaunance*, being more than one thousand acres of land. This trench is in most places very entire, in some places only about six foot high, in most about twelve, and in some at least twenty; and the ditch itself about twenty foot broad, of which, part is an high way, and part taken up by my father's tenants, for orchards and gardens. It is near two miles in length, and was doubtless a work of the *Romans*; for, about the year 1684, as a servant of my father's was ploughing a large field to the north of the hill, called the New Downs, parcell of a tenement called the inner *Goonbrey* or *Goonvrey*, i. e. the Hill Downs, he turned up with the plough a very fair gold coin of the emperor *Valentinian* the 1st (now in my custody) having on the one side D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG. *Caput Imperatoris Cum Diademate*. On the reverse RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICÆ. ANT. A. *Imperator Paludatus stans, dextra Labarum cum Monogrammate Christi, Sinistra Globum cum Victoriola*. And had the fellow been so careful as to mark the place, where he turn'd it up, perhaps more might have been found; but that not having been done, it was in vain to seek for any in so large a piece of ground. This *Vallum* the countrey people call the *Gorres*, perhaps from *guriz*, a girdle, because it, as it were, girds round the hill; and fable it to have been the work of a famous *wrath*, or giant, called *Bolster*, who lived at a place of the same name, thro' which this *Vallum* passeth (perhaps an abbreviation of *Bolla-ter*, land intrenched, or cast up; for *Bolla* signifyes an intrenching, or cutting up) and who, they tell you, oblig'd *St. Agnes* to lease or gather up the stones on his tenement of *Bolster*, which in three apron-fulls she carried up to the top of the hill, and made with them the three burrows before mentioned. For they will have it that she escap'd out of the prison at *Rome*, and taking shipping, landed at *St. Piran Arwothall*, from whence she travelled on foot to *St. Agnes* parish; but being severall times tempted by the devill on her way, as often as she turn'd about to rebuke him, she turn'd him into a stone; and indeed there are still to be seen on the downs, between that *St. Piran* and *St. Agnes*, severall large moor stones, pitch'd on end, in a strait line about a quarter of a mile distant one from the other, doubtless put there on some remarkable account, but for what, it being long since unknown, has given rise to the foolish legend. At last the *wrath* attempting her chastity, she pretended to yield to him, provided he would fill a hole with his blood, which she show'd him, and which he having consented to doe, not knowing it open'd into the sea, she bled him to death, and then tumbled him over cliffe. This they still call the *wrath's* hole, which is on the top of the cliff, not far from her chapell and well, and enlarging itself as it goe's downward, opens into a cave fretted in by the sea, to be seen only at spring tides, and from the nature of the stone, being streak'd all over with bright red streaks like blood, this no doubt gave occasion to this fiction. After this she liv'd some time here, and then dyed, having first built her chapell (now

(1) As likewise to the south of it making the point of the hill, is a great rock called *Garder-Wartha*, or the higher, and under it another called *Garder-Wolla*, or the lower *Garder*. The meaning of which word I take to be no other than that of *Kader*---of which see the additions to *Camden* in *Monmouthshire*, by Mr. *Edw. Lhwyd*, pag. 603."

bre in Illogan. On the south-side towards the forest we have a cluster of old works called Karn-kei. On the north-west, in Illogan and Camborne, are many of the same kind; and some in the sides of Karnbre-hill.¶ There are some very ancient mines in the wilds of Wendron. And it is not easy to conceive, what could have induced the Romans to reside and bury their dead, in such an inhospitable region, but the pursuit of subterranean treasures. That the Romans, however, buried their dead here, hath been already proved, in the examination of Godvadneck-barrow, in which were found coins and other relics of the Romans. Near this barrow there are old heaps of workings. In the parish of St. Just, Penwith, were very ancient mines; where, on Boscadzhel were found about sixty years ago, nearly a hundred copper coins of the Romans. This coast, is within sight of the Cassiterides.‖ That the Jews very early worked our mines, is agreed, on all hands; but when they came hither, we cannot say: Carew intimates, that they were introduced into Cornwall by the Flavian family.§

in ruines) and well of excellent water, the pavement of which they tell you is colour'd with her own blood, and the more you rub it, the more it shows, it being indeed the nature of the stone; she likewise left the mark of her foot on a rock, not far from it, still called *St. Agnes* foot, which they tell you will fitt a foot of any size, and indeed it is large enough so to doe; but of these monkish stories more than enough, which however caus'd a great resort here in former days, and many cures pretended to have been done by the water of this well, so bless'd by her miraculous blood."

¶ Mr. Collins, rector of Redruth, was possest of some coins found near the village on the eastern end of the hill, among which was an *Antoninus*, large size, of the ancient lead; its reverse, a triumphal arch---a *Faustina* probably ---a third, *Divo Constantio Pio*---a fourth, *Severus Alexander*. In the year 1749, Mr. Bevan of Redruth discovered, at the foot of the same hill, three feet under the surface, the quantity of one pint of copper Roman coins. And a few years before, Mr. Stephens of the same town, found about a quart of Roman coins in the same place.

‖ That the Romans worked our Cornish mines, is extremely probable in Borlase's opinion. "Having found out the way to the Cassiterides more than two hundred years before Julius Cæsar, it is not to be supposed (says he) *that they ever quitted* that profitable trade." *Antiqu.* p. 279. Yet, in another place, he maintains, that Cornwall was utterly unknown to the Romans, till Agricola.

§ "Albeit the tynne (says Carew) lay couched at first in certaine strakes amongst the rockes, like a tree, or the veines in a mans bodie, from the depth whereof the maine *load* spreadeth out his branches, vntill they approach the open ayre: yet they haue now two kinds of tynne workes, *stream*, and *load*: for (say they) the floud, carried together with the moued rockes and earth, so much of the *load* as was inclosed therein, and at the asswaging, left the same scattered here and there in the vallies and ryuers, where it passed; which being sought and digged, is called *stream-worke*: under this title, they comprise also the moore workes, growing from the like occasion. They maintaine these workes, to haue beene verie auncient, and first wrought by the *Iewes* with pickaxes of holme, boxe, and harts horne: they prooue this by the name of those places yet enduring, to wit, *Attall Sarazin*, in English, the *Iewes offcast*, and by those tooles daily found amongst the rubble of such workes. And it may well be, that as akornes made good bread, before *Ceres* taught the vse of corne; and sharpe stones serued the *Indians* for kniues, vntill the *Spaniards* brought them iron: so in the infancie of knowledge, these poore instruments for want of better did supplie a turne. There are also taken vp in such works, certaine little tooles heads of brasse, which some terme thunder-axes,

In the mean time, the gold intermixed with our stream tin, was sufficiently alluring to the Roman eye. If the words of Tacitus be true, *aurum pretium victoriæ*, gold was certainly found in the western counties, and from the old universal method of streaming, great quantities of gold were probably found, in those early times.*

Iron is found in most parts of Cornwall; but chiefly in Lanevet, Temple, St. Dye, Piran-Sand, Gwinear, the Lizard-point, Morval, and St. Just-Penwith.†. With respect to our iron-mines, we have undoubted proofs that the Romans wrought them. This appears from their medals and iron coins, found fresh and rough‡ in several parts of the island, amidst large heaps of slags and cinders. And some of these iron-works of the Romans, have been advantageously wrought over again, in modern times; the first melters having not sufficiently extracted the metal from the ore.§

but they make small shew of any profitable vse. Neither were the *Romanes* ignorant of this trade, as may appeare by a brasse coyne of *Domitian's*, found in one of these workes, and fallen into my hands: and perhaps vnder one of those *Flauians*, the *Iewish* workmen made here their first arriuall." F. 8. On the above Mr. Tonkin remarks, as follows: "That our stream-works are very ancient, I see no reason to question, especially as we have the authority of Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the reign of Augustus. And that the Phenicians traded here for tin, we have Strabo's testimony, also (lib. iii. Geogr. towards the end.) It is likewise, almost certain, that tin was first sought for in the stream-works; as the prodigious workings throughout the county of that kind, and the nature of the thing do plainly show. And, on the failure of the stream, they were forced to have recourse to the lode or *meine* (i. e. the stone or rock) as they call it. - - - As for the name of the castaways, *Atal Sarazin*, it does not signify the Jews offcast, but the leavings of the Saracens. This Mr. Camden truely observes, (Brit. c. 3.) and thence infers, that the Saxons (who had never any firm footing in this county) seem not to have medled with them, or at most to have only employed the Saracens. These old works are also called by their more ancient name *Wheal an Jethewon*, the works of the Jews, whose aqueducts, levels, &c. are to be seen all over those parts of the country where tin is found; particularly in Piran-Sands and St. Agnes. So that it is very probable, as Mr. Carew says, that these Jewish workmen were brought over here by the Flavian family, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and their general dispersion. - - - Had Mr. Carew given us the inscription and reverse of his coin of Domitian, it might have thrown light on the time of the Roman arrival here: but I suppose it was, when Julius Agricola was L. General. And here I cannot but notice what the Bp. of London has inserted in his new edition of Camden (Britan. Colum. 12.) that the Romans are supposed to have been never in Cornwall. His words are these: "If the Romans never passed the Tamar; as, indeed, there are neither ways nor coins to prove that they did." And he quotes for it, in a marginal note, comments upon the monument of Julius Vitalis by Dr. Musgrave. But the passage is very far from proving what it is quoted for; since, whatever may become of the Roman ways in Cornwall, it is most certain, that great quantities of Roman coins and urns, &c. &c have been found from one end of the county to the other." *Tonkin's* MS. Hist. and Antiqu. of Cornwall Illustrat. vol. i. pp. 21, 22.

* See *Pryce's* Mineral, p. 52. The gold coins of *Karnbre*, (see *Historical Views)* were probably of Cornish gold.

† See *Woodward's* Catal. Vol. i. pp. 220, 232. Vol. ii. pp. 37, 86.

‡ See *Musgrave's* Antiqu. Vol. i. p. 156, and *Plot's* Stafford. p. 159. - - - - For such iron coins found in Cornwall, see chapt. 8.

§ "*Nascitur ibi* (says Cesar) *plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum: sed ejus exiguæ est copia.* Cesar, here, expressly says, that *iron* was produced (though in no great plenty) in the *maritime districts,*

For the refining of their metals in general, and of their tin in particular, I have only to intimate, that Diodorus Siculus is left (through the ravages of time*) the solitary historian of our Danmonian smelters.‡ Whether the Danmonian method of dressing the tin and smelting it, and casting it into blocks, was improved or not, by the Romans, is a question on which we can only conjecture.§

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

MANUFACTURES.

THE Romans, from the extent of their empire, had acquired a knowlege of a great variety of arts both useful and ornamental. And it was their pride to impart this knowlege to the countries which they subdued. It may naturally be supposed, therefore, that they greatly improved our manufactures, and introduced arts into the island, before unknown.

With respect to the cloathing arts, it appears from the "*Notitia Imperii*," that an imperial manufactory of woollen and linen cloth, was established at Venta Belgarum, the

as opposed to the *plumbum album* of the *midland country*. This exactly agrees with the facts I have stated. And in Cesar's time, the Romans knew where iron was to be found. The Roman-Cornish, therefore, could not have been ignorant where to search for this metal: they would naturally have directed their pursuit of it to the maritime parts of the county, and as readily have discovered it.

* Which swept away that regretted treatise of Polybius, where, probably, the mining of the Aboriginal Britons and of the Romans in Cornwallwas described, with minuteness and accuracy.

‡ The *blowing of tin*, or melting it with wood fire or charcoal, (as well as the works of the iron mines) was the great cause of the diminution of our woods in Cornwall. - - - See *Historical Views*; where Diodorus Siculus is quoted at large, explained and illustrated.

§ There is a street in Bodmin (says Hals) called Cassiter or Κασσιτερος-street.

modern Winchester, for the use of the Roman army in Britain. And it is likely that such a manufactory was set up at Exeter, if not on this side of the Tamar, under the inspection of the Romans.* The asbestos was very rare among the ancients; insomuch that it was procureable only by the rich, for cloathing the dead bodies of their friends when burnt on the funeral pile. But it was found in various parts of Cornwall---- particularly in St. Clere near Leskeard, in St. Keverne and in Landawedneck. Nothing, therefore, is more probable, than that the Romans (who were acquainted with this substance) instructed the Cornish in working it into cloths, or that incombustible linen so highly prized by those who burned the dead. In the arts of the carpenter and the joiner, the Danmonians made a considerable progress under the Roman artificers.† In the arts of working metals, they were peculiarly ingenious. Their tin, in particular, the Danmonians probably formed into cups, basons‡ and pitchers. That the Romans in Cornwall used their metal for the purposes I have mentioned, is proved by the transmission of Roman-Cornish tin-cups§ and pitchers to the present age. For manufacturing arms,‖ tools, and various utensils of iron, the Romans established forges in every part of the island where they settled.¶ The art of working* gold and silver in Danmonium, received, perhaps, some improvement from the Romans; though the great number of gold chains that were taken from Caractacus, must prove its existence in Britain, independent on Rome. In the potter's art, the Danmonians were sufficiently skilful: and the Romans were particularly curious.‡ The vestiges of

* See *Cod. Theod. Tom.* 3. l. 10. tit. 20. p. 504. Du Cange Gloss. in voce gynæceum.---- *Camden's Brit.* vol. i. p. 139.

† See *Pliny*, l. xvi. c. 42, 43---for proofs of the ingenuity of the Roman artificers.

‡ *Phil. Trans.* 1759. Plate I. p. 13.

§ A pewterer was, in ancient Cornish, *stynnar*.

‖ The *celts* found on the west side of the Tamar, were chiefly a celt dug up near Looe, and now in possession of Mr. James of St. Keverne; and several found at Karnbre, and at St. Michael's-mount.

¶ *Musgrave's* Belg. Brit. p. 64. *Horsley's* Brit. Rom. p. 323.

* Some years ago a thin piece of metal, of a circular form, was found in the village of Manaccan, by a person digging the road, and given to the late Mr. Hoskin, the vicar. It is lost: but a gentleman who saw it, considers it as "Druidical---a light breastplate of mixed metal." It had a loop; and an inscription round it---in characters not to be decyphered, but much resembling the Persian.

‡ *Strabo*, l. 3. *sub. fin.*

Roman pottery are still discernible in this island:‖ and it has already appeared that urns of earthen ware, Roman as well as British, have been often found in the barrows both of Cornwall and Devon.

In short, the Roman artificers proceeded, on the most generous principles; ready to instruct the natives in every branch of the mechanical (as well as the liberal) arts, yet never discouraging them in their old pursuits, or restraining them in the exercise of their peculiar talents.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

COMMERCE.

OF the Danmonians as trading with the Phenicians, Greeks and Romans before Cesar, I have spoken so much at large in another work,* that I shall here touch only a few leading points, whilst I advert to the Roman influence on the commercial transactions of Cornwall. For the diffusion of our commodities through Cornwall, and the conveyance of such articles to our harbours, roads were undoubtedly formed, before the Roman arrival. The Romans, however, greatly improved the British roads, and struck out new ways, firm if not spacious, and built bridges, though they were more attached to fords: and thus our land-carriage was rendered more easy and convenient. On this subject, I could wish that the Itinerary of Antoninus had been less ambiguous. In that Itinerary, *Bomio* has been supposed to mean *Bamton:* but it has, also, been conjectured

‖ *Phil. Trans.* No. 269. * The Historical Views.

to mean BODMIN.* With respect to the *British marts of* trade, we learn from Tacitus, that the city of *London*, so early as the reign of Nero, had become famous for the number of its merchants and the extent of its commerce. *Clausentum* (or old Southamton) is supposed to have been a British seaport, in the time of the Romans: *Rutupae* or *Richborough*, is known to have been such. In the mean time, Exeter had a conspicuous share in the commercial transactions of the island. And, for the Cornish harbours,‡ on the south and north coast, we know that *Falmouth* was one of the earliest ports, and presume that Bude-haven was scarcely less frequented.§

* Such I have often conjectured: but I have never been able to dispose of *Nido* and several other places in the twelfth Itinerary of Antoninus, to my satisfaction. The commentators all disagree on this subject: and one hypothesis is almost as good as another. Nothing, however, is more evident than that the Romans were long resident in Cornwall. It is very singular that any person at all acquainted with history and possessing the least degree of sagacity, should believe the contrary. Yet the contrary has been believed and maintained: and the source of this error was a mere notion of the fanciful Dr. Musgrave. This notion was communicated to bishop Gibson, the editor of Camden: and bishop Gibson adopted it, unexamined; reposing on the authority of Musgrave. At the conclusion of this book, I shall sum up the principal evidence for and against Roman-Cornwall; where this subject will be curiously illustrated by a correspondence between bishop Gibson and Mr. Tonkin, the latter of whom was one of the most enlightened antiquaries of his day, and infinitely superior to every other writer on Cornish history or antiquity from Carew to the present moment.

‡ See dissertation on the isle of St. Nicholas, in *Historical Views*.

§ I shall here take occasion to describe our rivers and harbours; avoiding (as far as I can) the notice of bridges, churches, and other buildings on those rivers or in their vicinity, as being of posterior date to the Romans. From this circumstance, however, I cannot be always exact in marking distances.----The Tamar, at the distance of ten miles from its source,(1) becomes considerable enough to give name to the small parish and village of North Tamarton,(2) where leaving a bridge of stone, it continues on to the south till it enters the parish of St. Stephen,(3) at the corner of which parish it receives a very plentiful stream, called Werington river. About a mile and half farther down it receives the Aterey(4) river (which runs under the walls of Launceston), and becomes soon after, at Polstun bridge,(5) a considerable, wide, and rapid stream. Hence it coasts on nearly south, receiving the brooks from each side, till it has passed Graistun(6) bridge,(7) a mile below which, it receives the Lowley river, and soon after a more plentiful stream from Altarnun, Lewanic, and Lezant parishes, called the Inny-and, at the place where it joins the Tamar, called Inny-foot.(8) The Tamar increasing still, has a high, strong, stone bridge, in Stokelymsland, called commonly Horse bridge, but by Leland(9) Hawtebrig; that is, High bridge. The last bridge

(1) For a more particular description of the Tamar, see Hist. of Devon, vol. i. pp. 26, 27.

(2) The Tamara of Ptolemy, as is supposed. Camden, p. 25. (3) By Launceston.

(4) "A broke renning in the botom in the suburb, caullid Aterey." Leland, Itin. vol. iii. p. 115.

(5) A large and fair building of stone, built, as Leland says, (ib.) by the Abbey of Tavystock.

(6) So in Leland, (ib.) for Greystone.

(7) A light, handsome work of stone, consisting of nine arches; 318 feet long, 12 feet wide between the walls, and twenty-seven high from the water in summer.

(8) The same river gives name, also, to a wood in the manor of Lawhitton, called Inny-ham wood.

(9) Vol. ii. p. 78.

From the peninsularity of their country, it is natural to suppose, that the Cornish *

on this river is in the parish of Calstok.(10) Five miles farther down, the Tamar receives the Tavy on the east, and, having made a creek into the parishes of Botsfleming and Landulph on the west, becomes a spacious harbour, and washing the foot of the borough of Saltash within half a mile, is joined by the Lynher creek and river, then passing straight forward forms the noble harbour of Hamoze,(12) once Tamerworth;(13) where, making two large creeks, one called St. John's, the other Millbrook at the west, and Stonehouse creek at the east, (after a course of about forty miles, nearly south) the Tamar passes into the sea, having Mount Edgcumbe for its western, and the lands of Stone-house and St. Nicholas island, in Plymouth sound, for its eastern boundary.---The *Lynher* is so called from the lake it makes before it joins the Tamar and Hamoze.(14) It rises on the hills of Altarnun, about eight miles west of Launceston, coasts down to the south-south east through the parishes of North-hill, Linkinhorn, and South-hill; and passing about a mile from Kellington, by Pillaton and Lanrake comes to Natter or Nodettor bridge,(15) where it is navigable, and, by the help of the sea, begins Lynher creek: hence continuing its course four miles farther, between the parishes of Cheviock and St. Stephens, it then turns to the east, and, agreeably to its name Lynher,(1) making a fair haven between East Anthony and St. Stephens, joins the Tamar, after a course of about twenty-four miles. The river *Tidi* rises on the south side of Caradon hill near Leskeard, enters the parish of St. German near Molinic, about two miles lower becomes navigable at a place called Tidiford, and joins the Lynher at St. German's creek. The *Seaton* rises in St. Clere, about four miles to the north-east of Leskeard, and falls into the sea, at Seaton, after a course of about twelve miles. I have already mentioned the ancient town, which once stood at the mouth of this river. The *Looe* or *East Looe*, (in the Cornish *Luh*, a pool) rises also in the highlands of St. Clere; divides the parish of Keyne from Leskeard, then Morval from Dulo; and becoming navigable at Sandplace, empties itself about three miles below, between the two little boroughs of East and West Looe, after a course of about ten miles. It is so called from the large *pool* which it makes, every full tide, between the two towns. One mile below Sandplace, the Looe is joined by the Dulo, or the *Black Water*. This river rises in the parish of St. Pinok; and coasting nearly south, becomes navigable at Trelaun-wear, about two miles from the sea: its whole course is about seven miles. The Fowey (or rather *Fawey* from *fau* fovea, and *wy* aqua) rises in *Fawey-moor* at a place called *Fawey-well*, in the parish of Altarnun, not far from Brownwilly. After receiving into its stream the rivulets of St. Neot, Warlegan, and Cardinham, it runs on to the Cornish-Roman town of Lestwithiel. In these early times, it met the sea before it reached Lestwithiel. After receiving Pelyn brook from the west, and the water of Leryn rivers and creek from the east, it becomes a deep and wide haven. It then salutes the town of Fawey on its western bank; and joined by *Polrouan*-creek and brook from the east, opens into the sea, after a course of twenty-six miles.(2) The *Fal* rises at *Fenton-Val*, about two miles west of Roche-hills. At Grampound, it becomes a plentiful stream. Below Tregoney, its waters spread considerably; and

* In the Cornish language, *schamon*, a ship. *Aire*, *airos*, the poop or stern. *Guern*, a mast. Masts of the smaller ships were formerly made of alder-trees. *Scath*, a boat. pl. *scatha*. *Portscatha* in Gerans, the port of boats. *Ruif*, an oar.

(10) Begun, says Leland, by Sir Perse Edgcumbe, p. 78.

(11) It is sometimes called Newbridge, sometimes Caulstoke bridge. See Leland, vol. iii. p. 23.

(12) Saxon name Ham-oze; that is, the wet oozy habitation, circuit, or enclosure.

(13) Camden, p. 26.

(14) See Leland Itin. vol. 5. p. 79.

(15) Leland, vol. iii. p. 98. calls it Natter; and so again, ib. 29. Carew, p. 54. calls it Noddeter bridge.

(1) Lyn in the Cornubritish signifies a lake, it being not unusual to denominate rivers from the extraordinary spread of water they make in some particular place. Thus we have in this county three rivers called Lo, from their making a lake at their mouth.

(2) This river is said to be the largest body of water in Cornwall, except the Tamar.

were not deficient in the arts of ship-building and navigation. In these arts, the

assisted by the tide and many little brooks, form the creek of Lamoran. Having washed the southern side of Tregothnan, it is joined by Truro-creek---a fine body of water to which the rivers of *Kenwyn* (the *Kenion* of Ptolemy) and St. Allan give rise, and meeting at times make with the tide a navigable channel for ships of one hundred ton burthen. Truro creek and St. Clement's, (the latter of which is navigable for barges to the east as far as Tresilian) at their meeting make Morpas rode; and meet the Fal at the mouth of Lamoran-creek; whence they all together, under the name of Fal, reach Carreg-rode. Hither flows from the west, Tretheage-river, and with some brooks from the north forms the creek of Restronget. After Milor creek, comes the great harbour called King's rode which has Flushing to the east and Falmouth to the west, and is navigable up to Penryn, for ships of one hundred ton or more. The creeks on the east bank of this harbour, are those of St. Just and St. Mawes. After the union of all these branches in Carreg-rode (four miles long, above a mile wide, and fourteen fathom deep) the Fal runs into the sea, between Pendinas on the western bank, and St. Mawes and St. Anthony point on the east. The opening here into the ocean, is near a mile wide and the channel deep; but near the middle is a large rock called *Caregroyne*, or "the Seal rock."---"In old time a town, which the ancients called Voluba, stood on this river; but that being destroyed long since, another is risen in its room at a little distance, which retains something of the old name, and is called Falmouth, or Volemouth, which is a spacious and excellent haven, altogether as noble as Brundusium in Italy, and rival'd by Plimouth only, made by the falling of the river Fale into it. It is so large, that one hundred ships may ride in its winding bays, at such a distance that from no one of them shall be *seen* the *top of the others main-mast*. The creeks, which rise on all sides, are a sure defence for the ships against all storms and winds, which makes it much frequented. At the entrance into this haven there is an high uneven rock, called by the inhabitants Crag." *Magna Britann.* pp. 310, 311. The *Hele* rises on the hills of Wendron, near *Penhal Guy*; and runs about three miles to Gweek, (whither by the help of the tide barges go up) on the south, is joined a mile further down by the creek of Mawgan, three miles further by that of Helford, and at its mouth, three miles further by Gillan. On the north, it has Polpenrith or Polpere, and Polwevorel creeks, and a mile further down, the creek of Chielow, or Calmansake. [See *Leland*, v. iii. p. 13. *Kilmanach*, the monk's cell; *Chielow*, the cell or house on the lake.] The haven of Helford, within a mile of its mouth, is secure for ships of two hundred tons; and at its passage into the sea, is about a mile wide. The *Lo* rises on the highest north part of Wendron; whence in about five miles it reaches Helston, and about a mile below the town, forms a lake called the Lo-pool. [In *Speed's* and *Camden's* maps, and *Norden*, p. 22, this river is called the *Cober*; certainly a mistake for *Lobar* or the bar of the *Lo*---a sandy pebbly bank thrown up by the sea at the mouth of this river, and serving as a dam to form the lake.]

This much for the rivers descending to the southern shore, and our creeks or harbours. Steering our course round the Land's end to the north, the first river we meet with worth notice is the *Heyl*. Four brooks give rise to this river; and uniting at Relubbas, from a western course turn to the north, and in three miles reach St. Erth, or St. Ercy bridge, of three stone arches, and a raised causey well walled on each side, reaching across the valley. The bridge has been built somewhat more than four hundred years, before which time there was a ferry here, and ships of great burden came up to it. The valley, above the bridge, has been much raised by the sands and earth, washed down from the hills and mines; and the haven below, has suffered the same misfortune, from the sands of the northern sea; so that lighters only come within a bow-shot of the bridge; and that with the tide of flood, which at spring tides flows near a mile above the bridge. Here the land of Cornwall, is at its narrowest dimension; so that from the full sea mark at Heyl on the north sea, to the full sea-mark at Marazion in Mount's Bay on the south sea, the distance is but three miles. From St. Erth the Heyl bears directly north, spreading an area of sand, of half a mile wide at a medium, and two miles long, but navigable only in the channel of the river, which admits small ships a mile inwards from the sea under the village of Lelant. Near it's mouth, the Heyl is joined by a brook from the east, which, under the parochial church of Philac, makes a branch of this haven for ships of one hundred tons. The sea has not only almost filled this small harbour with sand, but forms a bar also at it's mouth, over which ships of eighty and one hundred ton only can come in at the height of a spring tide; and the bed of the whole is so raised, that it admits the tide in only six hours in twelve: and, whilst in harbours open to the sea, the tide flows six hours, and ebbs six hours; the tide has flowed three hours before it can enter Heyl, and it ebbs three hours in the

Romans were peculiarly assiduous in instructing and encouraging their subjects: and

open sea after the tide has quite disappeared in Heyl: it is therefore but a half-tide(8) haven. The creek of Ganal(9) runs up into the land from the north sea, about two miles, where it meets the river which rises in the parish of Newlyn, near Trerice. This water was more considerable formerly, but, like our other little havens on the north sea, has suffered much from the plenty of sea-sand, with which the north channel so much abounds, that every storm from the west and north throws it in more or less upon the creeks and havens, and in many places upon the hills. At the mouth of the Ganal stands a little village, called Carantoc. Tradition says, that it was anciently a large town. Sloops of thirty tons can only frequent this creek.------The greatest river on the north of Cornwall is the *Alan*; at present commonly called the Camel (or the crooked river), from the many turnings in its course, especially from the sharp angle it makes near Bodmin, where, from a south-south-west course of twelve miles or more, it bears for the sea north-north-west. It was called in Leland's time(1) Dunmere; that is, the water of the hills; and the bridge over it, near Bodmin, is still called Dunmere bridge. It was also called Cablan in some histories;(2) but this is only a contraction of Cabm Alan, that is, the crooked Alan; (not Camblan, as in Camden),(3) the b being inserted before the m by the Cornish idiom;(4) for Alan is indeed the proper name.(5) It rises about two miles north of Camelford. Hence, after a run of twelve miles, it becomes navigable for sand-barges at Parbrok; and at Egleshaile, receives a plentiful addition to its stream from the river Laine.(6) After making two small creeks on the east, it keeps to the north west, and supplies two creeks on the west bank, which run up into St. Issy and Little Petrock. Reaching Padstow, it is near a mile wide. At the mouth of the harbour, about two miles below the town, the sea, as in all our harbours on the north channel, has acted against itself, and thrown a bar of sand across the haven, which prevents ships of more than two hundred tons from coming in at all, and makes it hazardous even for the smaller ships to come in, but when the tides are high and the weather fair. Farther up on the north side of Cornwall, the creeks of *Portisic* and *Botreaux* castle are very inconsiderable: and so is *Bude haven* at the present day; though in the times of the Romans, it was a good retreat for shipping. What seems anciently to have been the haven, is now all morass and meadow ground; reaching from the barton of Whalesborough nearly to the town of Stratton, about two miles long, and little less wide. In the middle of this morass runs the river; which, with the tide, makes the present creek, and opens into the sea by a narrow passage. Such are our *rivers, creeks,* and *harbours,* as existing at this moment. That all our rivers and creeks were navigable in former days, and particularly in the times of the Romans in Cornwall, much higher up than they are at present, I have not the slightest doubt. The beds of our rivers have certainly been raised many feet perpendicular by the earth, sand,(7) and gravel, from

(8) Yet, it is a place of considerable trade for iron, and Bristol wares, but more especially Welsh coal, for which at present there is such a demand for fire engines, melting houses, and the home consumption of a populous neighbourhood, that usually there are above five hundred, oftentimes a thousand horses, which come to carry off coals, for some purpose or other, six days in the week. The fire engines, which take off the greatest quantity of coal from this harbour, are still increasing in number, and the trade here must proportionably advance.

(9) Kanal, or Ganal, is a word borrowed by the Cornish from the latin Canalis, signifying a channel, creek, or narrow arm of the sea. Thus there is Kanal Idzhy, in the parish of St. Issy, signifying St. Issy's creek; and here is Kanal in a like situation. Mr. Lhuyd says, that the Cornish use the word Shanol for Canalis (Compar. Etymol. in voce). Here it is Kanal or Ganal, the k being often changed into g.

(1) Vol. vii. p. 106. (2) Says Leland, ib. (3) Last Edition, p. 23. (4) As crobm for crom, &c. (5) Leland, ibid.

(6) Perhaps Elaine, Hinnulus - - - from the swiftness of its course.

(7) In Cornwall the natural sea-sand is found more plentiful in the north channel, than in the south. On the north, from the mouth of Heyl (in Penwith) to Bude-haven, Cornwall has lost a large quantity of arable ground by means of the blown sea-sand, which is still increasing in the parishes of St. Ives, Lelant, Philac, Gwythien, St. Agnes, Piran Sand, Carantoc, Cuthbert, Padstow: and the sand spreads every where, but where the height of the cliff protects the lands from its invasion. On the south, we have no lands over-run by the sand: so that either more sand is lodged in the north channel than in the south, or the Severn brings down, with its muddy waters, an abundance of earth and natural sand: and whilst the earth is dissipated, or rests in sheltered beds, the sand is driven by the tide and wind upon the shores, and thence upon the land. In the south channel there is no such quantity, or at least such continual accretion of sand; and therefore no such desolation. See Tonkin's (Tehidy) MSS.

the emperor Claudius bestowed several privileges by law, on those who constructed

the hills. This is natural in all places, in proportion to the quantity of rain, the declivity of ground, and the largeness of rivers. But in Cornwall, their beds have been raised not only by those substances, but by our metals also: which are dug and streamed for, stamped and dressed at the water-side; and the refuse of which has been all washed into the rivers, and thence into our harbours.(1) Of the rivers, pools, or lakes, or harbours, which in the Roman-British era, were navigable farther up than at present, or whose mouths were open to the sea, though now obstructed or shut up, may be mentioned the *Tamar*; the *Fawey*; the *Swan-pool*, and the *Lo-pool*; and all the northern rivers and ports. It appears from Leland, that the tide almost reached Calstock bridge in the time of Henry the VIII, but was navigable no farther than Morleham, about two miles below; to which small barks still come, vol. iii. p. 29. In former ages the sea ebbed and flowed above Lestwithiel (See *Leland*, vol. iii. p. 23.) and, according to *Camden*, brought up vessels of good burden. At present, laden barges scarcely come within a mile of it. The *Swan-pool* and the *Lo-pool* at present accounted lakes,(2) were certainly not so in the time of the Romans. They were separated from the sea; as Bude haven is now almost separated, and as *Heyl* and *Padstow*(3) will probably be separated in the course of a few ages. The bar of sand, which severs the (4) *Swan-pool* from the sea, was certainly not existing in the times of the Romans. The *Lo-pool*(5) now separated from the sea by a bar of sand, was, (as some writers think) a harbour, in the Roman times. See *Magna Britannia*, p. 310. In ancient times, the lowest part of the Mount had a little town upon it (as an old legend of St. Michael says) now defaced and lying under water. *Price's MS. History of the Mount*, p. 38. With respect to Heyle and Padstow, in the north, the opinion of most writers is, that though they are at present havens for small craft only, yet in the Roman-British period, they were harbours of great importance. "Whether the great road through Stratton comes from Exeter, or (as I am more apt to imagine) comes into the north of Devonshire from Somersetshire, crossing the river Ex above Bampton, thence to Romans-Leigh, and near Burrington, or Chimleigh (fors. Cheminleigh) passes on to Torrington, I leave to other gentlemen, and future enquiry, as not concerning the design of these papers; but, I think, that the navigable rivers on which the two considerable trading towns, *Barnstaple and Biddeford* now stand, will abundantly justify the Romans for bringing their publick road so far north directly from Somersetshire, a way here in the north being altogether requisite for subduing this part of the island, as well as opening a communication with Ireland; to this I must add, that Bude haven, (as it is still called, though now only a sandy creek for small vessels) appears to have been formerly much more commodious for shipping than it is now: for the ground running up the valley from the creek's-mouth, (till it comes within half a mile, or thereabouts, of Stratton) is all a flat marsh, and most certainly made so by the earth and gravel washed down from the hills adjoining: the river here being a plentiful stream, always comes down charged with slime, when it is encreased by the land-floods, and has not the liberty to run it off into the sea, by reason of the sands blown in by the northern winds: the sands increasing every age as the present generation well remembers, must have choaked this haven long since the Roman times. Nor is this a singular case; deterrations have had elsewhere the same effect on some of the ancient harbours, of which no one can doubt, who has read the judicious observations of Dr. Battely's *Monumenta Rhutupiana*. So that before this marsh was formed, the harbour of Bude must have been a very pretty, and secure one, being a mile and half long, and in many places more than half a mile over, the sea at spring-tides, even now reaching up more than a mile from the present mouth of the haven, and covering all this marsh as it comes along. If Stratton then is an inconsiderable place at present, and, seemingly, not worthy of a Roman way, 'tis because its harbour is choaked up, and it wants that resort which trade naturally produces; but there is reason to suppose that it was formerly reckoned a post of great consequence upon the account of its haven, and opposition to the Irish coast." *Antiqu.* p. 308, 309. Thus it appears, that in all ages, Cornwall has derived advantages from the *sea*, which in a commercial light, are incalculable. The sea-coast spreads itself along the south and north parts of Cornwall to such a degree, that if we estimate the curvatures of the south and north coast, and make also a just allowance for the much fewer curvatures of the boundary towards *Devonshire*, we shall find, that four parts in five of the out-line of Cornwall are exposed to the sea. It is this, which fills our bays and harbours, makes a number of fishing creeks, brings our native products, sand, ore-weed, and fish, (as well as foreign merchandize) home to our doors in a multitude of places, exports our tin and fish with great convenience; from vapours generates and feeds our brooks, and softens the air; from cliffs so

ships for the purpose of trade.† Of the Danmonian exports, tin still continued

near on either hand facilitates the drains of mines; opens the treasures of metals, useful earths, and minerals, to the inquisitive eye; and in short, procures plenty, and promotes trade and employment in a variety of shapes unknown to the more inland counties. From some circumstances, however, our natural situation has its disadvantages, our coast is not only extended greatly in proportion to the area of land, but it has many promontories jutting out on each side, which necessarily make deep bays, and unhappily augment the distresses of sailors in stormy weather. Another inconvenience of our sea-situation is, that as the land shoots out sharp like a wedge into the Atlantic ocean, ships oftentimes mistake one channel for another, or are drawn aside from their true course by the inequality of the tides. And the tides, irregular from the prominence of the head-lands, are rendered more so at the extremity of Cornwall, by the Sylleh isles, which narrow the channel (whether the tide sets to the north or the south) and, consequently, increasing the velocity of the current, occasion a more than ordinary indraught into both channels. The tide of flood at the Land's-end rises, on the top of a common spring, eighteen feet, and from that to twenty-four, according to wind and weather; insomuch, that in stormy weather, from the south-west, it has risen to the height of thirty feet; but at the common neap tides only thirteen feet usually, and at a very dead neap it has not risen above ten feet. During the flood, the tide at the Land's-end sets inward from the south near nine hours: its run is eight hours in most places between Sylleh and the Land's-end; but the ebb continues only between three and four hours. This is a very dangerous singularity, if not known, and properly regarded. But the greatest difficulty of our maritime situation is, that an accurate survey of our shores, and a precise determination of our latitude and longitude, have never yet been taken, not so much as of the Lizard, the first land usually made by ships homeward-bound, and the southernmost point of England, from which most ships outward-bound to the southward begin their reckoning: here a false step is made at first setting out, and unless rectified by repeated observations, it may be of fatal consequence. To have the longitude and latitude ascertained at the extremity of the island where ships begin and end their reckonings, is certainly a matter of the greatest moment to commerce, and should be performed by a variety of the best instruments, at subsequent times, and by more than one skilful hand. This has never yet been done; nor will probably, but by the interposition of the government, whose attention and nomination of proper persons, and provision of a sufficient apparatus of astronomical instruments, (an expence seldom within the reach of a private purse) this matter indisputably deserves. Another circumstance claims the attention of our countrymen. Our harbours are generally at the mouths of rivers, and not very distant from the hills where they rise, and of course not so long or deep as where the rivers and creeks run farther up into the land: they are, therefore, more apt to be choaked with sands and rubbish than in other situations. Too much care, then, cannot be taken that ships discharge not their ballast in improper places, so as to obstruct the navigable channel, a grievance of which many intelligent traders are apprehensive. The highest tide, in equal circumstances, is about two days and a half clear after the new and full moon. The tide is later than at London bridge one hour and fifty-five minutes.

(1) "This is a growing evil, complained of by Leland, and Carew, (p. 27) but still unredressed; and as there are many more mines now than formerly, the beds of our rivers will rise proportionably quicker than in former times, and make it still more difficult to continue the navigation even upon its present footing. There was an act of parliament made in the 22d of Henry VIII, "that none should labour in tin-works near the Devon and Cornish havens" (Carew, p. 27); and though this act is obsolete, it might possibly be re-enacted upon proper application, and be made more effectual to answer the salutary purposes intended." *Nat. Hist.* p. 49.

(2) The only lake in Cornwall, in earlier times, was Dozmery pool; of which Borlase thus speaks. "Four miles north of the church of St. Neot's, about fourteen miles from Loo, on the south sea, and as many from the head lands of St. Gennys, on the north sea, the waters of the hills adjoining gather into a bason, and make a small lake of about a mile in compass, called Dozmery pool: Leland says, it was reckoned fourteen or fifteen fathom deep; but Mr. Carew, p. 112 (better informed by experience) says, that upon trial, no place in it was found deeper than nine feet, and no fish but eels."

to be one of the most valuable articles. Cesar, Mela, Solinus and other Roman authors

(3) "It is much to be feared, that we shall have more in time, at the two northern ports; I mean, Heyl and Padstow: there are sandy bars already crossing their mouths, upon which at neap tides the water is very shallow; and if a few violent repeated storms should at any time raise those sands above full sea-mark, (no improbable supposition where sand is in such plenty) throwing in shingle and stones withal, Heyl and Padstow (to the irreparable detriment of Cornwall) will become what the Lo is now."

(4) "Betwixt the parish of Budoc, in the hundred of Kerrier, and that of Falmouth, a small creek, not half a mile long, nor a quarter wide, is sever'd from the sea by a bar of sand and shingle. This is now called the Swan-pool; (from the swans kept here some years since by the Killigrews, lords of the soil) but in Leland's time, Levine Prisklo, alias Levine Pool. The eels of this water are reckoned extremely good." Borlase's Nat. Hist. p. 50.

(5) "The most considerable lake we have in Cornwall is the Lo-pool, betwixt the parish of Sithney on the west, and those of Helston, and Maugan on the east. The lake is about two miles long, and a furlong wide, formed by a bar of pebbles, sand, and shingle, forced up against the mouth of this creek by the south-west winds; the valley here betwixt high lands on each side giving vent to, and thereby increasing the force and velocity of the winds from this quarter. This bar dams up the water which comes down principally from the Lo river, till it comes to a stone bridge, (from an hospital of the templars dedicated to St. John) called St. John's bridge, but is fed also in some measure, by a few brooks below. Scarcely a mile below the bridge, the lake begins to overspread the whole valley; and in half a mile more, gaining in depth from three to ten feet, makes a little creek into Penros: from this creek the pool deepens, and from ten becomes twenty-two and twenty-six feet deep, till it is within a furlong and half of the bar, when it rises gradually from twenty-six to ten feet at its brim, being a mile and quarter long, and a furlong wide at a medium. Not being able to proceed farther to the south, the water winds away at the east, and fills Carminow creek, half a mile long, and half a furlong wide at a medium. These are the dimensions of the Lo-pool in summer, the superfluous water draining through the bar into the sea; but in winter the whole valley is oftentimes spread with water from the town of Helston to the brink of the sea; and when the town mills at St. John's bridge have their wheels stopped by this swelling of the lake, the mayor of Helston applies himself to the lord of Penros, and on presenting him with a few halfpence in a leather purse, has a right to cut through the bar, that the redundant waters of the lake may pass away, and the mills be no longer impeded. 'If this bar might be always kept open, it would be a goodly haven up to Helston.' The cliffs round this lake are moderately high, and betwixt them there is a very distinct echo: but the same circumstances which please and amuse in a calm, frighten in a tempest; and when the south and south-west winds from Mount's Bay get in betwixt the steep sides of the lake, their roaring is heard at a great distance, and thought to presage stormy weather. This lake is remarkable for an excellent and peculiar trout." *Nat. Hist.* p. 50, 51.

• The remedy indeed, or rather the preventive is easy; if the lords of harbours, (Falmouth for instance) instead of exacting a price for ballast taken up from the bed of the harbour, were to encourage the dredging by a bounty.

† "I suppose, 'tis evident (says *Hals)* what Mr. Carew in his Survey saith, of this excellent harbour of Falmouth, that an hundred ships may lie at anchor within the same, and none of them see the others main-tops; the reason of which is, because of the steep hills and long windings of the several channels or branches thereof. In further praise of which famous port may the reader accept these rhymes: ----

In the calm south Valubia harbour stands,
Where Vale with sea doth join its purer hands;
'Twixt which to ships commodious port is shown,
That makes the riches of the world its own.
Ike-ta and Vale, the Britons chiefest pride,
Glory of them, and all the world beside,
In sending round the treasures of its tide.
Greeks and Phœnicians here of old have been;
Fetching from hence furs, hides, pure corn, and tin,
Before great Cæsar fought Cassibelyn." ----

Ptolemy is generally supposed to call this place "Ostium Kenionis fluvii." But may not Κενιονος mean, the mouth of Kenwyn river? "Most probably Mr. *Camden* did not know that there was a place at the head of one of the rivers, which fall into this haven, called *Kenwin,* from whence the change to *Kenion* is so easy; for if he had, he

mention the great quantity of tin brought from Danmonium into Italy, and various parts of the Roman empire. Whether Pliny be right or not, in thinking that Spain and Portugal had a share with Danmonium in supplying the Romans with tin, I cannot determine.---Lead was, certainly, a considerable article of the British trade; though by no means confined to the west of Britain. And after the Romans had been for some time settled in this island, our iron became very plentiful. The hides of horned cattle and the skins and fleeces continued also to be exported from this country: and several other British exports are mentioned by the ancients.* As to the *foreign*

would not have derived the name of a river, from its mouth. And that this place gave name to the haven in *Ptolemy's* time, whoever will take a considerate view of it, will soon be convinc'd of; and I wonder how it came to escape *Leland's* accurate diligence, especially since he mentions *Kenwen*, in his account of *Truro*. For as you enter *Falmouth* haven, that part of it which leadeth up to *Truro*, opens directly to your view, and is much deeper and navigable up along to the town; whereas that, which leadeth up to *Tregony* and *Grandpont* (which by the by is the true river *Vale*, and therefore one of these two towns must be the *Voluba* of the *Romans)* cometh in with an elbow from the east, and is not seen till you turn *Talvorne* point; neither is it so deep, and by consequence so fit for traffick or navigation. And that there was an antient place called *Kenwin*, before *Truro* was built, I shall prove when I come to treat of that town; there being still a place between *Truro*, and *Kenwyn* church called HENDRA, i. e. the old town. But the river *Vale* being by much the most considerable stream which falls into this haven, and the *Romans* having built their *Voluba* upon its banks, *Kenwin* began to decay; and the poor little brook *Kenwin*, or *Kenion*, was forgotten, and swallowed up in the greater name of *Falmouth*. Yet we may suppose, that upon the declension of the *Roman* power in this island, the advantageous situation of *Kenwin* invited merchants to resort there again (especially on the *Fale* or *Vale*, being choak'd up with the stream-works, tho' it be plain from it's scite, that it could never have so deep a channel as the other) and to build the town lower down for the conveniency of the port, where now stands the town of *Truro*, so called from it's three principal streets; the mayor and magistrates of which still claim the jurisdiction over the whole haven, and enjoy it to this day." *Tonkin's* MS. Alphabetical Account, &c. (under Falmouth) p. 352. ---KENWYN, from *Eskynna*, to ascend, signifies the "fair ascent," which suits its situation. Thus *Boskenna* (the seat of the Painters) means "the house on the ascent."

* At the time of the Roman arrival, the British exports in general, were as follows: *tin* (in great quantities) *gold*, silver, *iron* and *lead*; hides, cattle, corn and slaves; dogs, gems, and *muscle-pearls*;(1) polished horsebits of bone, horse-collars, amber-toys, and glass vessels. And, after the Roman conquest, the additional articles were, agates or jet, *marle*, chalk, *bears* for the foreign amphitheatres, *baskets*,(2) *salt*,(3) corn,(4) and oysters.(5) What share Cornwall had in the supply of these articles is uncertain. *Gold*, possibly, from our stream-works, was produced more plentifully here than in other parts of Britain. And *pearls* were found perhaps in considerable quantities, on the coasts of Danmonium. But they were pearls of no great price.

(1) Cesar, Aelian, and many other ancient writers have mentioned our British pearls. But they seem to agree in this, that these pearls were not remarkable either for their size or the clearness of their colours. Yet the Romans did not disdain our pearls even in ornamenting their Venus: and Dr. Musgrave intimates, that he has seen pearls at Exeter, the product of this county, neither so small nor so ill-tinted as to disgrace the goddess of beauty.

(2) The willows of the marshes, for the basket, Bascauda. Basket-down, a handbasket; an original British word. "Barbara de Pictis veni Bascauda Britannis." Restrail in Cornwall, the town for mats, made of sedges or rushes---or the tapestry-town.

(3) Halan, Haloin, salt; Haloiner, a salt-maker. (αλς)

(4) Barapill, the corn harbour; Portysick, the corn port.

ports† the trade from the continent into Britain, (as Strabo tells us,) was chiefly carried on from the mouths of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne: thence, the British goods were sent, partly by water and partly by land-carriage, into the interior parts of the Roman empire: and goods for the British market were received through the same channel. After the Britons had begun to imitate the luxury of their conquerors, their demand for the productions and manufactures of the continent was greatly increased. Of the *British imports*, however, few articles are noticed, by the ancients. Strabo mentions only ivory-bridles, gold-chains, cups of amber, and drinking glasses.‡ The Romans, as soon as the British trade was thus established under their auspices, appointed publicans, or officers for collecting the duties on merchandize, in all our trading towns. Strabo informs us, indeed, that even so early as Augustus, the Romans drew considerable revenues from Britain; by imposing customs or duties on all the goods exported from Britain to the continent, and imported from the continent into Britain. These were measures, which so happily contributed to the success of our commerce, that all our articles of trade were quickly spread through the country: and, for the convenience both of the buyer and the seller, fairs and markets were now held in many of our inland and maritime towns;§ particularly at MARKET-JEW.

(5) Oysters are not to be ranked among the Cornish exports. But cod-fish, pilchards, and herrings were, probably, articles of commerce. Barfusy, in the Cornish, cod-fish, is the plural of Barvas a cod, i. e. a bearded fish. Pedn Barvas, a cod's head. To the pilchard-fishery, the people of Britany have paid great attention for ages; which, as they were a colony from Cornwall, seems to indicate its antiquity.

† When Julius Cesar became acquainted with our island, the intercourse between the natives that were settled along the south-east coast of Britain, and the Gauls on the opposite shore was open and frequent. Very few, however, except merchants, visited Britain, at the time of Cesar's arrival: and even the merchants were acquainted only with the sea-coasts, and countries opposite to Gaul. And the British trade was confined to that side of the island which lies along the British channel, between the mouth of the Thames on the east, and the Land's-end on the west.

‡ Brass had been long an article of trade: and it continued to be imported into the island, both wrought and in bullion.

§ MARHAS, a market. *Marghesan vose* (vul. *Marasanvose)* in Piran Sand, the maid's market. MERKIU, says Camden, the market of Jupiter. Carew calls *Market-jew*, *Marhas-diow*, or the Thursday's market. - - - - - But MARKET-JEW, synonymous with MARAZION, undoubtedly, means the *Market* of *the Jews*. Mr. Whitaker, in proving that "the *Jews* applied to themselves the appellation of *Saracens*," has gratified the public with a most ingenious discussion of the very point before us. "The Jews (says this admirable writer) were formerly very numerous in Cornwall; attracted by the lucrative commerce of tin, and engaged in managing the mines of it In

In the mean time, the Roman-British commerce, which was prosecuted with such uncommon vigor, and diffused to so great an extent, was surely carried on by

the windows of the church of St. Neot there, says an author, 'are several pictures *relating to some particular traditions of the Jews*, which are *exactly delivered* in a *Cornish* book, now in the public library at Oxford, Archiv. B. 31: it is probable, *they had these traditions immediately from the Jews themselves*, who were here in great numbers about the tin."(1) This is in the east of the county. In the west we have an evidence still more remarkable. We have a *town* denominated expressly from the Jews, MARAZION and MARKET-JEW; *Marghas-Jewe* being in its charter of the 37th of Elizabeth described, as a trading town of great note before it was taken and destroyed by the traitors of Edward the 6th; *Markesion* or *Markasion*, as denominated in the endowment of the vicarage of St. Hilary, A. D. 1261, and in the bishop's approbation of it, A. D. 1313, being evidently Marghas-Sion; and both appellations being apparently derived to the Cornish, from the relation of its inhabitants to the *Sion* of Jerusalem, and from the Jews who had established a *Marghas*, *Marhas*, or *Market*, in it. There is accordingly a tradition in the town, that there was a market of the Jews formerly there, and that it was held on the western strand of the sea. Under such a settlement of Jews in Cornwall; when they had raised themselves a humble Sion, on the brink of the western ocean; and when the natives had become so far connected with them, as to listen to their *traditions*, to record them in *writings*, to exhibit them in *paintings*, and even to *mix* them with the facts of scripture itself; we cannot wonder at this Jewish appellation of *Saracens* from the Jews, which had gone on like a subterraneous current for ages, breaking out so strongly as it does in Britain. That the Jews were once the monopolists of the tin of Cornwall, there is the strongest tradition in the west of the county. When the present tinners also discover the remains of an old smelting-place for tin, they always denominate it *a Jews house*. Old blocks of tin, too, are occasionally found of a peculiar configuration; and are constantly called *Jews pieces*. And the stream-works of tin, that have been formerly deserted by the labourers, are now stiled in English JEWS works, and were used to be stiled in Cornish 'Attal SARASIN,' or 'the leavings of the SARACENS.(2) The Jews therefore denominated themselves, and were denominated by the Britons of Cornwall, SARACENS, as the genuine progeny of Sarah." *Origin of Arianism*, pp. 329,.....335.

(1) Gibson in his Camden, c. 19. edit. 3d. But, as a late author says, "none of these windows have any other relation to the Jews, than as they contain a portion of the scripture history of the Old Testament;—and require no other explication, than the Latin inscription still remaining under each compartment.—The windows—are *seventeen* in number. *Two* contain the Old Testament history, from the creation to the death of Noah, in different compartments; with an inscription under each, explaining its subject. *Thirteen* either have, or plainly have had, full-length figures of saints. *Two* contain the acts of St. George and of St. Neot" (From *some account of the church and windows of St. Neot's in Cornwall, London, printed by H. and E. Ledger. Maze-pond. Southwark.* 1786; and drawn up for private inspection only, by an ingenious and judicious clergyman in the neighbourhood.) According to this representation, then, the windows are not charged with any tale of Jewish traditions at all. And the express reference to "a Cornish book, now in the public library at Oxford," and so specifically pointed out as "Archiv. B. 31" there, for these "particular traditions" being "exactly delivered" in it; forms an authority merely calculated to deceive. On examination of the Cornish book, the reference to it is found to be a most unaccountable mistake. "Archiv. B. 31" is indeed a Cornish work, yet is only an *ordinale* or scriptural interlude, which exhibits the creation of the world, and the history of it to the deluge; and was written by "William Jordan" of Helston, so late as "the xii of August, A. D. 1611." To this sacred drama of Cornwall, which was written in order to be acted in one of those amphitheatres, that still remain under the name of *Rounds*; are many notes and directions, in the prevalence of a new and encroaching language at the time, set down in *English*. Thus does it begin:

"The creation of the world, the first daie of playe——;

"The Father in Heaven. Ego sum Alpha et Omega. Heb. allathe na dowethva. } Pur wyz me eo. { The Father must be in a cloude, and when he speaketh of Heaven, let theys open."

How this was to be done with the poor machinery of a Cornish round, I do not understand. Perhaps it would

money, not barter, as many have supposed. Prusatagus, king of the Iceni, died

puzzle our London theatres, in all their amplitude of expedients, to do it. It was done however, we may be very sure, with no great dexterity of manner. But there are some notes relating to the death of Adam, that are particularly worthy our notice. "Death" appears to Adam, "smytith hem with hes spear, and he falleth upon a bed;" he makes a speech, "Devylls" come, but back "they go to Hell with great noyes;" then "an Angell conveyeth Adams soole to lymbo," and "lett Adam be buried in a fayre tombe with some churche songs at his buryall;" next "an Angell goeth to the tree of lyfe, and breaketh an apple, and taketh iii coores," pips or seeds, "and giveth yt. to Seyth; afterwards Seyth goes to his father with the coores, and yt hem," and, adds a note, "the 3 kernells put in his mouthe and nostrells." All this presents us with some idea, of those extraordinary Dramas of our British ancestors, which the Cornish called *Guary-meers* or Great Plays, and *Guare-mirkl* or Miracle Plays. But all shows much more the wildness of Bishop Gibson's reference to this work, for any account of the windows at St. Neot's, and of "particular traditions of the Jews" delineated on them. This work is merely a play, founded on realities and embellished with fictions. And the Bishop must have been strangely imposed upon, in his reference.----Yet he is perfectly right in his assertion, and perfectly just in his language, concerning the *windows* themselves. On a closer inspection of these by the judicious and ingenious gentleman above, there appear in the eastern window of the south ayle, which is the most perfect of any in its preservation, and the most rich in its colouring; three lights pointed at the top, ornamented with tracery, and containing each three ranges, with five histories in each range. In the first history is God represented, planning the work of the creation, just going to give our world its magnitude and its form, and, what is singularly curious, furnished exactly as Milton describes him, with *a pair of compasses*.

> ..... In his hand
> He took THE GOLDEN COMPASSES, prepared
> In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
> This universe and all created things:
> One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
> Round through the vast profundity obscure,
> And said, Thus far extend, thus far, thy bounds,
> This be thy just circumference, O World.

But whence did Milton derive an idea, so judicious in itself, and so poetically apposite for bodying forth the operations of a spiritual Being upon the universe of matter? "The thought of the golden compasses," says Addison, "is conceived altogether in Homer's spirit;" and "the golden compasses" themselves "appear a very natural instrument, in the hand of him whom Plato somewhere calls the Divine Geometrician." Yet Milton drew not the imagination, from either Plato, Homer, or himself. He adopted it from Solomon, who says expressly of God and the chaos at the creation, "He set a *compass* upon the face of the *depth*" (Prov. viii. 27.) And the coincidence of the Cornish window with Milton, *that* delineating in general what *this* describes in particular; serves happily to confirm the derivation of the idea, from one common source of intelligence to the painter and the poet, the fountain of Jewish traditions. Then come twelve histories purely scriptural. But the thirteenth has this inscription, "Hic Lameeh sagittat Cayn;" and the fourteenth this, "Hic Seth ponit tria ova sub lingua Adæ." Both these, consequently, are painted from the stores of Jewish tradition. The tradition concerning Lameeh's killing Cain, as I find from the private information of a Jew, is still believed among the Jews; and is traceable in Ant. Un. Hist. i. 159, up to St. Jerome for Lameeh's killing him with a *stone*, and up to *Rabbi Gedaliah* for his killing him (as *here*) with an *arrow*. But of Seth and the eggs I can find no trace. Only there is a story in Ant. Un. Hist. i. 167, very similar to this; which has been fathered upon some *Jews*, by Cornelius a Lapide citing Pinedo, and which is actually repeated with some little variation, in the Cornish Interlude above; that Seth, at the command of an Angel, put into Adam's mouth when he was dead, a seed of the Tree of *Knowledge*, or (as the Interlude more properly says) some seeds of the Tree of *Life*. But, what comes closer to the painting, I find it is a custom still among the Jews, for the nearest relation to the deceased, as Seth was to Adam, to live upon *eggs* for the thirty days of mourning; for the deceased himself to have one *egg*, one slice of bread, and a bason of water, placed near him and upon one side of his head, in the

possest of very great wealth:* and his wealth was, for the most part, treasures of British money. To several states in the *south*, and within a few years after their reduction, Seneca the philosopher lent more than four hundred and eighty thousand pounds of our money upon good security, and upon exorbitant interest.† On comparing this passage with the accounts of our mines, it is plain that considerable *sums of money* must have been lent and remitted to the Danmonii; and that this people must have greatly advanced in their commerce during the Roman period from their improved agriculture, their mining, and their various manufactures. The Roman settlements in Gaul and Spain were probably supplied from this island with corn and other commodities; and the whole Roman empire with the tin of Danmonium. To carry on improvements in agriculture for supplying Gaul, and to extend the working of mines for Europe, required at first a capital; and the Romans knew how to pay themselves for what they lent, from our exports. To the Romans the corn was necessary, and the tin a very desirable article. To the Britons these exports brought all kinds of foreign commodities and a balance of money in return. To suppose that,

room where he is laid out during the short time previous to the funeral; and for all persons, perhaps derivatively from these customs, perhaps (as the Jews themselves think) from some original combination of ideas, to consider *eggs* as *an emblem of mortality*. And, just so, does Seth in the window put *three* eggs, into the mouth and under the tongue of the deceased Adam; as the same person in the Interlude, with a more elevated pitch of thought, puts *three* seeds of the Tree of *Life*, one into the mouth, and one into each nostril, as an equal emblem of *im*-mortality.--- Thus are there still "in the windows" of St. Neot's church, whatever Mr. Gough has finally said to the contrary, in his late edition of Camden's Britannia; and precisely, as Bishop Gibson had written before; "*several* pictures relating to *some* particular traditions among the Jews." Mr. Gough was misled by the pamphlet above, to which he was a subscriber. The windows actually contain *traditional* and *Jewish* histories, as well as Scriptural. Even the Bishop's reference to the Cornish Interlude, as *explanatory* of the *Jewish traditions* in the windows, is so far just; that the windows and the Interlude run parallel each with the other, in general design and in particular execution; in the general derivation of the history from Scripture, and in the particular intermixture of Jewish traditions with it. They are even *very similar*, in one of the traditions. And so the painting and the play unite together at last, to show the intimate acquaintance of the Cornish, with the popular traditions of the Jews concerning their Scriptural narratives; and to prove the readiness which the Cornish had imbibed from the Jews, for mingling these traditions with the narratives themselves, inserting them equally in the biography of the Patriarchs, and placing them in the same rank of reality with the very incidents of Scripture.

(2) From the information of Mr. Hitchings, vicar of St. Hilary, near Marazion, and composer of the Nautical Almanack for the Board of Longitude; Borlase's Natural History, p. 168...164 and 190; Camden, c. 4. Gibson, &c. All this proves the Jews to have been the managers of the mines, not merely (as is said by Borlase and others) for the reign of John, but for a very long period.

* *Tacit. Ann.* l. 14. c. 31

† *Dio*, p. 1003.

amidst these money-transactions, the British and Roman-British coins were not struck for the purpose of circulation in trade, seems an absurdity too ridiculous to need a single comment. As the Britons‡ advanced in the art of coining, they begun to represent the heads of their princes on their coins; which was certainly prior to the time of Cæsar. But their legends or inscriptions, expressing the names of the princes whose heads were thus represented, was an improvement not long before their acquaintance with the Romans. The coins§ of Cunobeline appear to have been struck by the authority of this prince, between the first and second Roman invasion: Of these coins Mr. Pegge has published a complete collection.----That we had *iron* money in circulation is more than probable, from the discoveries of plates of iron, (indisputably *money)* in Cornwall. In the course of his correspondence with *Tonkin*, Lhuyd describes two iron plates, of which several horseloads (he says) were found; and intimates his opinion, that they were the British money mentioned by Cesar. "*Nummo utuntur parvo & aereo, aut ferreis laminis pro nummo.*¶ Our coin underwent a total change after the establishment of the Roman colonies in this island. Britain (says Gildas) after it was subdued and rendered tributary to the Romans, ought rather

‡ The gold coins found at Karnbre are described by Borlase, in the *Antiquities*, pp. 242,.....263.---in the *Natural History*, pp. 322, 328. What I thought worth attention on this subject, may be seen in my *Historical Views*.

§ "There is reason to think the British mints, properly so called, continued but a short time. The only king whose name certainly occurs upon British coins is Cunobeline, and the places at which they were struck, are confined to two, Camulodunum, and Verolamium, the one in Herts, the other in Essex: consequently they bear no relation to your county. We have no account of *any*(1) *Roman-British mints* during the time the Romans held the island; but from the great number of gold, silver, and copper Roman coins, that are found here, particularly at the legionary stations, we justly conclude, they had a general currency amongst us. It will be only necessary for your history, to mention in what particular parts of your county a quantity of those coins has been found, and to what emperors they belong. The series of Roman coins found amongst us includes a period, beginning at the time of Augustus, and ending with Honorius. But I would recommend to you only a very general description of such numismatic fossils, as they are published in many works appropriated to the Roman coins." *Extract from a Letter to the Author, from the late Mr. Southgate.*

¶ "I am now inclined to believe, says *Tonkin*, that this was, as Mr. *Lhuyd* seems to think, the *British* money mentioned by *Cæsar*, though once I had a doubt of it; for in all the editions of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, which I have seen, except in the notes of *Hottomanus* (who reads it—*aut laminis ferreis*, and this would agree exactly with these figures) *Cæsar's* words are—*Utuntur aut æro, aut Taleis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo*—Now we generally translate—*Taleis ferreis*—rings of iron; but though these are pierced in the middle, they will scarce come under that denomination: yet as several authors translate this passage *brass plates, and iron rings*, and that it is

(1) At Exeter we had a Roman-British mint.

to have been called a Roman than a British island; as all its gold, silver, and copper money was stamped with the image of Cæsar. With respect to our Danmonian coinage, we have a silver coin ascribed to Arviragus, on which is exprest the British wheel, formed by eight detached studs, and a horse, rather rudely described. Of Roman coins a vast number have been discovered in Danmonium: and it is a circumstance well worthy the attention of the antiquary, that we had a Roman-British mint at Exeter; which is proved by the S ISC---SIGNATA ISCÆ marked upon two coins of Gratian. Of the Roman-Cornish coins I have only to observe, that a much greater number of the lower than of the higher empire have been found in Cornwall.‖ This was the case, also, in the more eastern, and, indeed, all parts of the kingdom; which is chiefly to be attributed to the more frequent resort of the Roman emperors and soldiers to this island, during the time of the lower empire, than in the reigns of the more early Cæsars.

From all this view, it is sufficiently clear, that the Romans were established in every part of Danmonium, with the concurrence of the natives. The commercial interests of the Danmonians and their conquerors were intimately interwoven. Our exports and imports all passed under the Roman eye: our navigation flourished under the inspection of the Romans: our coins were stamped with the image of Rome. And thus circumstanced, the Danmonians discovered neither a spirit of obstinate resistance, nor the weakness of a timid submission. In short, we see the natives and the Romans coalescing, to their mutual advantage. Yet such a coalition could never have existed between a highly polished and a barbarous people. The Romans were highly polished: but the Danmonians were not barbarous.

reasonable to imagine that they might as well be *iron plates* too, (since I cannot find the word—*Talcis*—any where else made use of in any sense applicable to this) I believe it as reasonable to translate it here *iron plates* too; and cannot imagine to what other use these here found could be put.---In 1730 as some workmen were pulling down the great tower and some very old buildings at Boconnoc, the seat of the late Lord Mohun, above a peck of the same sort, but larger than Mr. L.'s, were found in part of an old wall there." *Tonkin's MS.*

‖ "Leland (says *Harrison*) supposeth the *Alan* to be the same *Camblan*, where ARTHUR fought his last and fatal conflict: for to this daie men that doo eare the ground there, doo oft plow up bones of a large size, and great store of armour; or else it may be (as I rather conjecture) that the Romans had some dield (or castra) thereabout. For not long since (and in the remembrance of man) *a brasse pot full of Romane coine* was found there, as I have often heard." *Harrison's Descrip. of Brit.* annexed to *Holingshed's* Chronicle, vol. i. p. 61.

CHAPTER THE NINTH.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, LEARNED MEN.

THE original British language (diffused over a great part of the island) had been suffering by various corruptions; particularly from the barbarous tongue of the Belgæ, every way uncongenial with this Asiatic dialect. But it was still to experience some innovations from the Romans, and at length to be superseded by the Saxon and the Norman tongues. In the present period, it was so much changed in the eastern parts of Britain, where the Romans had more firmly established themselves, that it was doomed, as the *Cornubritish*, to take refuge in *Danmonium*; as the *Welch*, to court the retirement of the *Cambrian* mountains; and even to cross the seas and seek the Continent, starting up a *new dialect* on the shores of *Armorica*.* In the Cornubritish we have few latin words,† com-

* "The *Welch* (says Howell) is the maternal tongue of this island. Nor could any of the four conquests of the island by *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Dane* or *Norman* ever extinguish it. A dialect of the same vernacular or independent tongue is the *Cornish*; as also the *Armorican*, or the language spoken by the inhabitants of Britany in France, whither a colony was sent over from hence in the time of the Romans.---There are some who believe, that the *Irish* is but a dialect of the British: and I observed by a collection which I made, that great number of the Irish radical words are the same with the Welsh, both for sense and sound." See *Howell's* Familiar Letters, p. 368, 369.

† For names of places, BRITAIN is said to be derived from BRITH, painted, and TANIA, a region (See *Camden*, *Speed*, p. 9, *Lhuyd*, Arch. p. 20) CORNWALL, from KERN or Korn, *Cornu* and *wallia*; MENEG, stony, from MEN, a stone; SYLLEH from SUL, the sun; whilst PENWITH is, perhaps, a corruption of FENWITH, in Cornish, *the end*. ----Among the names of Cornish places to be found in Palestine are BOCHYM, CARMEL *(Carnmel)* in Britany, TREVANION, CARHAYES.----According to Sammes *(Brit.* p. 59.) "this county had its original name from the Phenicians. *Cheron* in their language being a horn. And the form depending upon the increase or decrease of the sea-coast, sailors might better discover that at a distance than the inhabitants could do by land, or by the assistance of their little boats, with which they plied only upon the very shores." Tonkin seems to think, however, that "before the Saxons, this county had no other name than Danmonium, which it shared with Devonshire. And Danmonium, if not from *moina*, mines, may come from the Britons dwelling under mountains: for through the whole county, they live low and in vallies. So says Camden. The bishop derives Danmonium from *dun* a hill, and *moina* mines; led astray, I fancy, by the late Dr. Musgrave. For spite of the best authors, the doctor writes *Dun*monii for *Dan-*

paratively speaking - - - few idioms of the latin. We chiefly trace the language of Rome in the termination of British words. Thus *Danmon*, the primitive name of the western territory, was converted into *Danmonium*; the Cornish *Armoric*, into *Armorica*; ‡ our *Isc*, was the *Isca* of Rome; our metropolis on the banks of the *Isc*, (distinguished by several British names) was *Isca-Danmoniorum*; and *Moridun* was the Roman *Moridunum*. Instances of this kind, might easily be multiplied. As the Romans were long resident in Danmonium, § latin words, also, of various description, must have casually dropped into the language: But the *Cornubritish* seems to have retained its idioms, unmixed with those of Rome. In the mean time, the people of Wales were as tenacious of their original tongue, as the inhabitants of Cornwall. The *Welsh*, indeed, seem to have admitted less changes into their dialect, than the Cornish. The guttural roughness of the Chaldee is, at this day, characteristic of the *Welch*. Whilst the Cornubritish had insensibly stolen a softer cadence from the Phenician and the Greek; the Welch, still guarded against innovation, retained all its primeval harshness, nor lost an echo of those guttural sounds, which were produced by the numerous combinations of its consonants. But a branch of our original language was now beginning to flourish in Armorica; where, it had obtained shelter from the storm. And, through the lapse of successive ages, the *Cornish*, the *Welch*, and the *Armoric*-British, have preserved the strongest features of affinity. ||

monii;" says *Tonkin*. - - - - Bishop *Gibson*, in his additions to Camden, derives *corn* in Cornwall, from *carne* a rock: and this opinion, which is Mr. Norden's (Descr. p. 3.) is confirmed in his lordship's idea by our many rocky hills retaining the name of Carn, as Carn-innes, Carn-chy, Carn-mergh, Carn-bre, Carn-ulack. But doth not Wales itself much more abound in such rocky hills? - - - - Mr. Carew's etymology is certainly right; as Cornwall was called by the ancient Cornish Kernow, and by the Welsh, Kerniow - - - the plural for cornua, horns, *corn* and not *kern* being the singular for horn. And that no doubt, from its many crooked and horned promontories. This is likewise confirmed by the Latin name Cornwallia and *Cornubia*. *Tonkin's* MSS.

‡ The Cornish, we presume, had gone into Britany before the Romans, or at the time of the Romans in Cornwall, from its name *Armorica*, which is Cornish, with a Roman termination. *Armor* in Cornish, is a wave of the *sea* - - - *Armoric* a country situated upon the sea. So that the Cornish had given it the name of Armoric, and the Romans *Armorica*. It is very unlikely that the Romans would have originally given it a Cornish name.

§ See Cornish words in the notes to chapter the fifth, and various other places of this work.

|| The language of *Armorica* or Bretagne has been, always, a different language from that of *France* in general; as different from the *French*, as the *Irish*, *Erse*, *Cornubritish* and *Welch* from the *English*. From the day of their first settlement in Armorica (which happened as I have stated, in the period before us) to the present hour, the Armoricans or Bretons have been a distinct people from the Gauls or the French. As the first *Danmonians* (or the

With respect to the *literature* of Danmonium, it is well known that from the reduction of our island by the Romans, the British learning very rapidly declined,¶ as it was deprived of its only support, the patronage and discipline of the Druids. In the mean time the Romans paid very little attention to literature. That Vespasian recommended the study of the Roman language, and arts and sciences to the Danmonians, is not improbable, from his ingenuous disposition: and the liberal character of the natives of Cornwall must have ensured success to his recommendations. We

primitive inhabitants of Danmon) the original *Highlanders* and the *Irish* were unmixt orientals; so the *Cornish*, the *Welsh* and the *Armoricans* were orientals more or less degenerated. But they were all a race of people, far superior in the scale of human perfection, to the Gaulish or the Celtic breed. Between the *Asiatic* race, and the *European* breed, there was a striking contrast: the discriminating lines of character were deep. And even to this day, there are bold features of distinction between the Irish or *Highlanders*, or *Welsh* (if not the *Cornish)* and the *English*; as well as between the *Bretons* and the *French*. Had not the races of people established in Britain and France, during the British and Roman-British periods, been absolutely *two different races* at the time of their original settlement in Europe, it is impossible, that amidst the vast and various fluctuation of human affairs, they could have retained those features of distinction, to the present hour. Though living far asunder, separated even by mountains and seas, denied all intercourse with each other (and thus detached, indeed, for ages) the *Orientals* yet preserve their original traits of resemblance: and, in their *language* (the present subject of consideration) they disagree much less than the Cornish miners and the eastern Devonians, in the dialect of the tin-mines, and that of the east of Devon. In truth, the Cornish but a few years since, were able to converse with the Bretons: so that the Cornu-British and Armoric scarcely differed at all: and the same might be said of the Cornish and the Welch. At this moment, the Welsh and the Bretons have no difficulty in conversing. In the mean time, the *Orientals*, in some instances surrounded by *Celts*, having regularly communicated with these Celts for ages, and still obliged to mingle with them in the common intercourse of life, yet in their language, are essentially different from the Celts. The *Armoricans*, for instance, had they not been a very different race of people, would have been long ago incorporated with the French. They would have been lost in the great body of the Gaulish nation. But they have age after age, been opposed to the French, in various points of dissimilarity. And while they thus differ from the Gauls *their neighbours*, they resemble the Cornish and Welsh, though *remote* and separated from them by seas and mountains. In the same manner, the Cornish and the Welsh differ from their *neighbours*; and resemble the *distant* Bretons.

¶ The learning of Cornwall depended upon the Druids; and with the Druids was deprest, though not destroyed. Our poetry was religious. "After the example of the antients, (the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Assyrians) the Druids comprised all the particulars of their religion, and morality in hymns, the number of which, as Mr. Martine(1) says, was so great that the verses which composed them amounted to twenty thousand. In justification of this part of their discipline, it must be observed, that the subject matter of verses is easier learnt by means of the metre, and more easily retained, than what is expressed in prose. Of the particular sorts of verses which the bards used, there is an account in the ingenious Dr. John David Rhys's Rudiments, &c. of the British language;(2) and Mr. E. Lhuyd is there of opinion, "that the oldest kind of British verse is that called by Rhys's Grammar Englyn Milur," and "that it was in this sort of metre the Druids taught their disciples, of which there are some traditional remains to this day in Wales, Cornwall, and Scotland, and a farther testimony the verses themselves bear to this truth, in that they generally contain some divine or moral doctrine. As the bards (an inferior class of Druids) were remarkable for an extraordinary talent of memory; this teaching memoriter, and by verse, was likely their office, whilst the superiors of the order were employed in higher speculations, or the more secret and solemn parts of duty." *Borlase's Antiqu.* pp. 83, 84.

(1) La Relig. de Gaul. iii. p. 59.

(2) See Archæol. Brit. p. 250.

have no authority, however, to say, that the Roman learning was generally introduced into this country till the time of Agricola. Agricola, as soon as the island was submitted to his government, began to enforce the study of the Latin language among our youth, though not with a view to supersede the British language. That the Romans, however strenuous they might have been to disseminate their own language, had no intention of eradicating the British, seems plain from their manner of naming places.‡

In the mean time, the study of oratory and philosophy, and of various arts and sciences, was enforced throughout the island. But on this subject, we know nothing that particularly relates to Danmonium. In respect to the establishment of *schools* in Britain for the propagation of the Roman learning, the Theodosian code furnishes us with a variety of curious edicts. By an edict of the emperor Gratian, such seminaries are ordered to be established in all the considerable towns of every province. We may be assured, therefore, that the metropolis of Cornwall at this time enjoyed the advantages of a Roman school; if such an institution did not exist in our capital, long before Gratian.*

If any learned men are mentioned as flourishing in Danmonium during this present period, we are scarcely authorised in adverting to their history; as it is mostly fabulous. About the latter end of this period, when christianity begun to be preached in Danmonium, we are presented with St. Kebius, St. Corantine, St. Piran, and many other saints, as instructed in the learning of the times: but these personages are only to be classed among the saints. Kebius indeed, probably the eldest son of the duke of Danmonium, is said to have been more sedulous in acquiring learning, than in securing to himself his father's wealth. With the view of cultivating the acquaintance of learned men, he travelled into France, and was introduced to St. Hilarius, the famous bishop of Poictiers, with whom he lived several years. And, as a proof of his sanctity (though not perhaps of his erudition) "God conferred on him the grace of miracles, so that he gave sight to the blind, cleansed the leprous, and

‡ See Whitaker's Manchester, vol. i. p. 314.

* The Cornish soon became attached to the Roman arts and sciences. See *Tacitus* Agric. Vit. c. 21. and *Martial.* who says: "Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus." *Dio* informs us (p. 1007) that the Britons, instructed by the Romans, were, in a short time, well acquainted with general history.

healed those who were dumb, sick of the palsy, and possessed with devils." After some time, the holy man was admonished, by an angel it seems, to return into his own country. On being consecrated a bishop by St. Hilarius, he placed his see in the isle of Anglesey, and instructed by his example and doctrines, the northern people of Wales. On his arrival in Armorica, he was requested to undertake the principality of western Danmonium; but he refused to accept any worldly authority or power. That he wrote several things, has been asserted: but I find mention only of epistles to his friend the bishop of Poictiers. With such memoirs of our literary saints, it would be easy to swell the pages of the history.

CHAPTER THE TENTH.

INHABITANTS, POPULATION.

DURING their residence in Britain, for several centuries, the Romans must, doubtless, have been connected in every situation with the original natives. And, from this connection must have resulted some change in the figure, complexion, and population, as well as in the manners and usages, of the Britons. In regard to Danmonium, an ingenious friend* of the author, affirms, that "more Roman blood runs in the veins of the people of Cornwall at this day, than in those of any other nation in Europe." Nothing, however, on this point, can be decisively advanced. The many Roman families that settled at Exeter, and in other towns in Devonshire and Cornwall, that were possest of landed property in these counties, that were con-

* General Simcoe, in a letter to the author.

cerned in the British manufactures and commerce, and that in process of time formed the most intimate alliances with the natives, afford us, perhaps, some shew of reason, to boast of Roman blood still flowing in our veins. Towards the close of this period, we have records of frequent marriages between the natives and Romans of the highest quality of the empire.† But this is a point on which I venture not to enlarge. To attempt to discover in a Cornish-Briton the likeness of a Roman, in consequence of the alliances I have mentioned, would be ridiculously fanciful. With respect to the population of Danmonium, history gives us no exact information. That the island was extremely well peopled, we should infer from the expressions of Diodorus and Cæsar.‡ πολυανθρωπος νησος, says the former: and, here, says the latter, "Hominum est infinita multitudo." Yet, at the beginning of this period, according to Anderson, there were only three hundred and sixty thousand persons in Britain.§ At the close of this period, however, the native Romans must have been nearly half a million of men.‖

CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH.

MANNERS AND USAGES.

1. OF the manners of the ancient Cornish, Diodorus has given us an outline; which I have already endeavoured to fill up in my History of Devon. Hospitality* seems

† "When I consider (says *Camden)* that the Roman empire in Britain lasted four hundred and seventy-six years, I cannot but reflect on the numerous colonies of Romans transplanted hither in so long a time - - - and the great number of soldiers and others continually sent from Rome for garrisons, all dispatched hither to negotiate either public or their own private affairs, who intermarrying with the Britons, seated themselves here, and multiplied their families. For wherever (says Seneca) the Romans conquered, they inhabited." - - - *Gibson's Camden*, p. lxxxvii.

‡ P. 347. p. 88. § See the Introduction to his Hist. of Commerce.

‖ *Whitaker's* Manchester, pp. 197, 198, vol. ii. oct. edit.

* See vol. i. p. 172. - - - Our forefathers were of opinion, that the whole nation had better perish, than one person violate the laws of *hospitality*. *Procopius* Hist. l. iii. c. 35. l. iv. c. 27.

to have been their distinguishing virtue: and under the Roman influence, the Cornish became still more civilized and refined. But if, like the Arabs, they were courteous to strangers, like the Arabs also, they were addicted to robbery. The disposition to rapine, was as early as the wreck of vessels on our shores.‡ 2. For some resemblance of the dress of the Danmonians, we may look to the Highland plaid. 3. Respecting the diet of the Cornish, we have to observe, that their bread was baked as in many places at this day, upon stones called greidiols or gredles; but that ovens---*odyn*---of kiln-burnt pottery, were used in Cornwall before the Romans. Of the Cornish venison laid on beds of flaming fern, and covered with smooth flat stones and layers of fern above the stones, we find in Ossian no imperfect description.§ The drink of the Cornish, was the *curmi* or ale. But they were indebted to the Romans for the chief luxuries of the table---for the rabbet imported from Italy¶---for the* hare, and for geese which their superstition had hitherto forbidden them to eat---for the† capon, and for various‡ birds; and every sort of fish,§ from which their religion also, had taught them to abstain. 4. For their domestic and other uses, the Cornish were accustomed to burn peat and wood: of peat, they had a large supply on many of their downs.‖ At first their beds were the skins of beasts; afterwards composed of straw: And the straw bed was both British and

‡ *Nansladron* (vulgo *lanhadron)* "the valley of robbers," is a Cornish-Roman name.

§ Cornish bill of fare from native birds---the duck, the teal, the widgeon, the *wildgoose, (cheneros,* esteemed by the Romans a great dainty, *Plin.* l. x. c. 22.) the swan, the woodcock, the quail, the heathcock, the snipe, the lark, the stockdove.

¶ *Varro,* lib. iii. c. 12.

* The circumstance of their keeping hares, for their amusement, speaks a considerable degree of refinement.

† The Romans imported for the table, pheasants, cuckoos, pigeons, plovers, turtles, peacocks.

‡ *Martial.* l. xiii. epi. 63, 64. *Columella,* p. 634. (Gesner.)

§ By the Romans were soon dislodged from their ancient beds in our rivers---the *minimus* or minow; the *gobio* or gudgeon; the *trutta* or trout; the *perca* or perch; the conger; the *barbulus* or barbel; the *abramis* or bream; the *carpio* or carp; the *mullus* or mullet;---and, from our beaches or shoals---the *thynnus* or tunny; the *solea* or sole; the *salmo* or salmon; the *raia* or ray; the *cocklea* or cockle; the *musculus* or muscle; the *ostreum* or oyster.

‖ Though the art of *charking* wood was practised by the Romans, *(Plin.* l. xvi. c. 6.) I do not believe that the Cornish were ignorant of charcoal before the Roman arrival.

Roman.¶ 5. The original sports of the Cornish, were hunting, fowling, wrestling, hurling:* But the Romans taught us to hunt rabbits, with the viverra; and to fight cocks.† 6. This is a very cursory view of the manners and usages of the Roman-Cornish; though, perhaps, the passages in Diodorus, Pliny, and Columella, to which I have referred my readers, may deserve a dissertation. But the limits of a provincial work will not admit of such hypothetical research.‡

¶ *Diodorus*, p. 351. *Plin.* l. viii. c. 48. The following is a list of Cornish words referring to the above topics.

GWETH, cloth
KREIS, now KRYS, a smock, a shirt
KIDNIAN, a dinner
PREZ-BUZ, a banquet, a refreshment
LOMMEN, a mess of meat
MIKAN, a morsel. SUBEN
BARA, bread
BARA GWIDN, ——
BARAG WANATH, wheaten bread
BARA HAIZ, barley bread
BARA KERH, oaten bread
BARA FUGALL, rye bread
TORTH A VARA, a loaf of bread
BURM, barm
BREUYONEN, crumbs
MEN-POBAZ, a baking-stone
PEBER, a baker
CRAMPESSAN, a pancake
KRAMPOTHAN, a fritter or pancake
CUDZHYGAN, a blood-pudding
PATSHAN, a buttock, a haunch
MEHIN, bacon, or lard
TSHAPPON, a capon. (L. *Capo.*)
TALBAM
COUL, broth, porridge, from CAUL
PYMENT, liquor, drink
BREGAND, sweet drink, metheglin
BUCHAR, sour milk
HANAF, a drinking-cup
GWEREN, a tankard
TASURN, a pile of wood, a woodrick
GLOSE, GLOAS, dried cow-dung; so called at this day, and used for burning
KENNIS, fuel
TAN, fire
LYGARN, a candle, lamp, or light
ROZELLEN, a whirl for a spindle
STRAIL-ELESTER, a mat of rushes, or sedges
KRYUEDHE, a bed.

* I have described these sports in my *Historical Views*, section, xi. pp. 205, 206.---"The activitie of Devon and Cornish men in this facultie of *wrastling*, beyond those of other shires, doth seeme to derive them a speciall pedigree from that graund wrastler Corineus." *Carew.*

† The British breed of cocks were distinguished by uncommon bravery. See *Columella*, p. 635. and *Pliny*, lib. x. c. 21.

‡ I have now only to request the sceptics in Roman-Cornish antiquities (for such there are) to dismiss all preconceived opinions, and candidly to consider whether the Romans were strangers to Cornwall or not. The opinion that the Romans never passed the Tamar, was first entertained if not suggested by Dr. Musgrave of Exeter; communicated by the Doctor to Gibson, and published by the latter without examination in his edition of Camden's Britannia. Hence it became a popular notion. This will fully appear, from the correspondence between Tonkin and Gibson. The letter from Tonkin to Gibson has relation, also, to other subjects: But for the gratification of the curious reader, I shall print it entire.*

"*Letter to the Bishop of London.*

My Lord,

Your Lordship may, perhaps, be surprized to receive a letter from one whose name you have almost forgot, it is so long since I have had the honour of seeing you, much less of conversing with you. For which reason I had desired my old acquaintance the Bishop of Asaph, with whom I have lately renewed a correspondence, to give my due respects to your Lordship, and discourse you about the subject of this letter: But he writes me, that what with his being obliged to go into Norfolk on account of his marriage, the hurry of the Oxford Act, and his preparing to set out for his diocese in North Wales, he could not meet with a fit opportunity to do it.

Since, therefore, this task falls to my share, I hope your Lordship will excuse the length of this, and the trouble I now put you to; both on account of your Lordship being in some measure concerned in it, and the friendship with

* See Tonkin's (Tehidy) MSS. Appendix. No. 4.

which you were pleased to favour me, when we were together at Queen's College. To which I may add, that it was there, and chiefly by your Lordship's encouragement and directions, that I first entered upon the study of antiquities, and imbibed the rudiments of that science which I have been passionately fond of ever since.

In pursuance thereof, I have been these many years on reviewing the antiquities of this my native county, and have so far brought this design to perfection, that the first volume is ready for the press, to which I intend to send it by Christmas next. The inclosed proposals will let you into the nature of the performance, and as they are now printing off, I need not detain your Lordship any longer about them. As I cannot pursue this design, without taking notice of your Lordship's two editions of Camden's Britannia, particularly the last; you will not, I hope, take it amiss, if I object against some few things in them, which I shall lay before your Lordship in as brief a manner as possible. The first is a relation to the *name*, that it is more natural to derive it from *carne*---a notion which you have taken from Norden and which I think cannot be defended, both for that it is called by the ancient inhabitants *Kernow*, and by the Welsh *Kerniw*, in both dialects the plural of *horn* from its many *horned* promontories; and for that there are only a few hills in the most western part of the county so called, from which small part it would be unreasonable to derive the name of the whole. As for what you mention from Sammes, I think that to be as far from the purpose; since it doth not appear, that it had ever the name of *Cornwall* or *Cornubia* before the coming in of the Saxons. But as that author's notions are generally exploded, I shall say no more, but that peace be to the manes of his Phœnicians. Which brings me to the ancient name of it under the Romans, and to some considerations of what your Lordship has advanced from Dr. Musgrave, and his Julius Vitalis; which indeed is the chief reason of my troubling you with this: For as for the two first, they are scarce worth the taking notice of.

You are pleased in the first place to say, that the most natural original is from *dun* (which from several instances of towns ending in *dunum*, appears to have signified *a hill)* and *moina* mines; as if one should say, *hills of tin-mines*. Now, though you do not quote the Doctor for this, yet, as this is a notion he was particularly fond of, I take it for granted, that it came too from him. But when I shall tell your Lordship, that though many of our tin-mines lie high, yet that there is not one mine on a hill in the whole county; but that they lie altogether between the hills, or at the bottom of them, you will readily yield that the nature of the country will not bear this etymology---- especially, when you consider, that in the most correct authors, the name is written *Danmonii*; for which, if you will not allow of Mr. Camden's derivation, there is another which (I believe) is not liable to any exception; and that is from the Cornish *dean* or *dan*, which signifies *a man*, so that *Danmonii* thus interpreted, are, the *miners*, or *mine-men*. I shall not insist upon another argument against *dun*, which your own words furnish me with, and that is, that *dunum* is at the end of the names of the towns, as *Camulodunum*, *Sorbiodunum*, &c. because there are some few instances to the contrary.

I come now to the second thing in your last edition, in which is this expression(1)---"if the Romans never passed the Tamar, as indeed there are neither ways or coins to prove that they did"---for which you quote Dr. Musgrave's Commentary on Julius Vitalis,(2) whose reasons you will therefore give me leave to examine. The first is taken from Mr. Carew(3) for high ways, *(vias militares*, saith the Doctor): the Romans did not extend theirs so far.(4) Now how far this is matter of fact, is disputed by several. I have not Burton, or Gale upon the itinerary by me, but I know some that pretend to trace out a Roman way from Exeter to the Land's-end: and there is one Mr. Salmon, (an author I must confess of no great weight) who has(5) lately published a trite account of all the counties in England, and hath in his general map placed several stations in Cornwall on that high-way.

The Doctor's next, is, to avoid that of Mr. Carew's coin of Domitian;(6) and one solitary urn, found in a stone chest;(7) (though by the by, he mentions another found by one Gidley at Borsneevas)(8) that the coin might be dropped there by some miner, and the urn might be that of a fugitive Roman, or of a Briton affecting a Roman sepulture, which certainly is a *petitio argumenti*. But what would he have said of so many hundreds of urns, as have been found here since Mr. Carew's time; of which, though I will readily allow that many were Danish;(9) yet that several of them too were Roman, is manifest from the great numbers of coins found with them. In the year

(1) Col. 12. (2) P. 124, 5, 6. (3) Fol. 53. (4) See Dr. Plot's Oxf. c. 10, sect. 23. and Harrison's Desc. of Brit. lib. 1. cap. 19. (5) Lond. 2. vol. 8vo. 1731. (6) Fol. 8. (7) F. 137. (8) Fol. 148.
(9) For that the Danes burnt the bodies after they came here, is most certain, though Dr. Plot asserts the contrary, N. H. of Staff. chap. 10. sect. 22

1700, some tinners opened a barrow of stones, called Col-Badnock barrow, lying in the parish of Wendron, between Redruth and Helston, in which they found several large stones, rounded in the nature of a vault, and in it one urn placed on a fine chequered pavement, full of ashes, with several brass coins lying round it; but in hopes of meeting with an hidden treasure, they brutishly broke the urn, and tore the pavement to pieces. They brought some of the coins to me, viz. one of *Marcus Antoninus Pius*, one of *Faustina* senior, his wife, and another (as I guess by the face, for there are only these two letters visible, CL) of *Lucilla*, the wife of *Verus*, with a small instrument of brass set in ivory, which I believe was used about the women's hair, and is since lost. These were all *medii æris*. Since that, I had three more brought me, which I believe came from the same place (for there were a great many of them, which the foolish people fancying to be gold, would not sell under the price of the weight in that metal, and I suppose melted some of them, before they could be convinced). One of these was of *Trajan, æris magni*, one of *Nerva*, and one of *M. Aur. Antoninus*, both *medii æris*, but all much defaced. In 1702, in the parish of Tawednack, between St. Ives and the Land's-end, were found under a prodigious rock of moor-stone, called the Giant's rock, (which a fellow split in pieces to build a barn with) having under it a large flat stone, supported by four pillars of the same, an urn full of ashes, with a round ball of earth by the side of it, and in the said ball fourscore silver coins of the latter emperors, very fair, and well preserved. I could not have the sight of more than five of them, of which I got three, a *Valentinian I.* a *Gratian*, and an *Arcadius*. For, the Duke of Bolton being lord paramount of the place, his steward seized the rest in his lord's name, and they may perhaps be still in his grace's custody. There is in the parish of St. Agnes, wherein I was born, (seven miles to the north of Truro) a very large Roman fortification, which runs for near a mile in length from cumb to cumb, and incloses about one thousand acres of land: within it, is one of the highest hills in Cornwall, at the bottom of which, my father (about fifty years since) having ploughed up a field of about sixty acres, his servant turned up with the plough (but was not wise enough to mark the place) a very fair gold coin of *Valentinian* the first: I have it now by me. In short many hundreds, I might say thousands, of Roman coins, have been found, from one end of the county to the other. And here I might forbear to add any more, having fully confuted, what the Doctor insinuates of a solitary urn, and single coin: But since he has advanced some other singularities, I hope your Lordship will give me leave to follow him a little farther. His next is from Camden, *virum ubique gravem, & in Britanniæ ruspandis antiquitatibus certe diligentissimum ruspandis!* a pretty expression! but such are familiar with the Doctor, who seems to have studied nothing more than how to perplex his readers. And here he asserts, *nihil ab eo, nec ab ejus amplificatore, de Cornubia scriptum invenio, quod Romanos Flumen Tamaram transiisse comprobet.* No! and what does he then think of three Roman towns, said by Camden to be on this side of the Tamar? Voluba, Uzella, (which still retains something of its old name in the present Lestwithiel) and Tamara, now called Old Tamerton; (near to which last I got a barrow opened last year, and found in it an urn full of ashes, but no coins) and of what your Lordship *(ejus amplificatore)* observes very rightly of Voluba, that it is supposed to have stood where Grandpont is now. I have already taken notice of Burton, and Gale, and believe it can hardly be made out, that either of them meant the way from Exeter to Totness, especially when we consider, that part of Exeter itself was once reckoned to be in Cornwall. I am now come to his last, taken from Camden, and your Lordship's note, that Cornwall was formerly but a forest. *Forestam olim totam fuisse Cornubiam.* And disforested by king John, about the year 1204.* For which compliment we are mightily obliged to him, since if he means any thing at all, he must suppose that it was inhabited, before that time, only by wild beasts. But if he had read over domes-day book, or known any thing at all of the antiquities of our county, he would have found that there were many fair towns, noble lordships, and strong castles in it: and that the meaning of that word *(disforestasse)* signified no other, than that he had out of kindness to this county, of which he was, by his brother, Richard I. made earl, and still retained the earldom in his hands, (and so by consequence held, as it were, the whole county in domaine) freed them from the cruel forest laws, to which they had, till that time, been subjected ever since the conquest, by the over-weening power of their earls. And thus, I hope, I have sufficiently answered all the Doctor's arguments, against the Romans having crossed the river Tamar; whom I should not deal so tenderly with, had he been living. I knew him very well, and acknowledge him to have been an able physician, and an ingenious man; but surely he has not shewn it in his antiquities. But since he is dead, I shall

* See Salmon's "New Surv. of England," p. 148.

leave him, his Julius Vitalis, and Geta Britannicus, to lie peaceably together in their dust, out of which I fancy few people will care to raise them up.

What remains, is, that I once more beg your Lordship's pardon for this long scribble, to which if you please, at your leisure, to send me an answer, I will insert it together with this in my appendix; and am, craving your Lordship's blessing, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

THO. TONKIN.

P. S. Add to this what Leland saith:* "the heir of the eldest house of the Vivians, is now lord of Tredine Castelle, at the south west point of Cornewal. There was found *in hominum memoria*, digging for the fox, a brasse [potte] ful of Roman money." If the Doctor had remembered this passage, he would not have been so dogmatical in this point. As likewise that of Harrison's† speaking of the river Alan: "Leland supposeth this river to be the same Camblan where Arthur fought his last and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that do eare the ground there, doo oft plow up bones of a large size, and great store of armour: or else it may be (as I rather conjecture) that the Romans had some field (or castra) thereabout; for not long since (and in the remembrance of man) a brasse pot full of Romane coine, was found there, as I have often heard."‡

Polgorran, near Grandpont, Aug. the 4th, 1733.

The Bishop of London's Answer.

Good Sir, Fulham, Aug. 21st, 1733.

I am glad you have made so great a progress in the Antiquities of Cornwall, and desire to be a subscriber to the work. These are studies which I have long discontinued, but I am glad to see them carried on successfully by other hands. As to the two editions of Camden; whatever is found in them not to be right, ought to be set right; but I do not see what occasion there can be to take notice of the first edition, nor have I leisure, or inclination after so long a discontinuance, to enter into the particulars contained in the second. At so great a distance of time, it is not possible for me to recollect upon what grounds and reasons I proceeded; but it is very probable that I rested upon the authority of Dr. Musgrave, and so far as it appears that he has misled me, he is answerable for it.

I heartily wish you success in this great undertaking, and remain, with great truth,

Sir, Your faithful friend and servant,

EDM. LONDON.

This much for the *authorities* of Musgrave and Gibson. *Musgrave's* was "a broken reed," on which *Gibson* leaned: and it went into his hand and pierced it. Conscious, however, as I am, that I have silenced all those who knowing nothing of Roman ways or coins but from their Camdens, assume to themselves the importance of antiquaries, I cannot drop my pen without expressing my pleasure at the coincidence of opinion between Tonkin and myself. Before his MSS. were intrusted to my care, a large part of the preceding *book* was not only written but printed. In my notices of the *itineraries*, perplext as they were, I observed caution; but formed an hypothesis of *Roman ways* and *camps*. To these points, let us throw a retrospective glance. The following is the Roman route, through a part of the west of England, according to Richard and Antoninus, and their modern commentators.

* Itin. vol. 3. fol. 3. † Description of Brit. p. 65.

‡ To these first Roman discoveries in Cornwall, I shall subjoin what I believe to be the last. "At Condurra, in St. Anthony in Meneg, were found more Roman coins in the year 1790: They were of copper, and of the Lower empire." Peard's MSS. - - - "Three urns full of Roman coins, about one thousand five hundred in each, were found in this neighbourhood in fourteen years, viz. one on the barton of Godolphin, in April 1779; one at Morvah, in June 1789; and the other near Marazion bridge, in the summer of 1793. They were coins of the Lower empire, almost all of copper, chiefly very perfect, but by no means rare." Letter from Mr. Hitchins of St. Hilary. - - - In the year 1800, at Ennis, in the parish of St. Hilary, in a ditch, and but little under the surface of the field, were found some celts, spearheads, and pieces of broken swords, all made of copper, together with several lumps of that metal, weighing about eighty pounds; all of which, except one spear-head, the finder unfortunately melted down for domestic purposes, before the circumstance was known to any antiquary. And in February 1802, one Sampson Hoskin, of the parish of Lanant, discovered in the ditch of his field a great number of similar articles, except spear-heads, which he sold immediately to a brazier at St. Ives. In the bottom of one of the celts was found about an ounce of fine gold in small bars, which, as well as the lumps of copper, and a large quantity of ashes, seem to shew that there was a foundery in this place." Mr. Hitchins.

Richard. Iter 16.	Antoninus. Iter 6. inv.	Gale.	Horseley.	Stukeley.
A Londinio Ceniam usque, sic.				
Venta Belgarum, m. p. 90	Venta B. 66	Winchester	Winchester	Winchester
	Iter 12.			
Brige 11	Brige 11	Broughton	Broughton	Broughton
Sorbioduno 8	Sorvioduno 9	Old Sarum	Old Sarum near	Old Sarum
Venta Geladia. 12	Vindocladia 13	Winburne	Cranburne	Winburne
Durnovaria 9	Durnovaria 8	Dorchester	Dorchester near	Dorchester
Moriduno 33	Muriduno 36	Seaton	Eggerton near	Seaton
Isca Damnon 15	Sca Dumnunniorum 15	Exeter	Chiselborough	Exeter.

So far Richard and Antoninus accord: but from Exeter, Richard pursues his route through the south of Cornwall; and Antoninus, (probably) through the north.

Richard *through the south of Cornwall.*	Stukeley.
Durio Amne, m. p.	Ashburton, Devonshire.
Tamara ..... m. p.	By Saltash.
Voluba ..... m. p.	Grampound.
Cenia ..... m. p.	Tregeney.
	Falmouth.

Antoninus *through the north of Cornwall.*

Leucaro, M. P. xv.	
Bomio, M. P. xv.	Binnoway, in Stratton, where are evident remains of the Romans. Bodmin, according to Tonkin.
Nido, M. P. xv.	Warbstow, as Tonkin supposes.
Isc. leg. M. P. xv.	Port-isic; or some where near Padstow. Castellan-dinas. Tonkin.
Burrio, M. P. ix.	The Barrows near *Castellan-andinas*, St. Columb.
Gobannio, M. P. xii.	Bodanna, in St. Enodor.
Magnis, M. P. xxii.	The Kledh, or great Roman entrenchment in St. Agnes. Gunvreh.
Bravinio, M. P. xxiv.	Landawenic or Landavednac, at the Ocrinum promontorium.
Uriocomio, M. P. xxvii.	Trevorian in Sancred, or some place near the Antivestæum promontorium.

These are mere conjectures, on which I lay no stress: I much regret the loss of Mr. Tonkin's Dissertation, to which he refers us.

Of my hypothesis of Roman roads and camps in Cornwall, the following are a few additional illustrations; which will be judged extremely satisfactory, from the coincidence of Tonkin's opinions with my own; but much more so from that of Whitaker's: *His* authority most decisively confirms my general idea of the Romans and Danes in Cornwall. My disquisition on the Danes, (which will appear in the next chapter) was written many years ago, in refutation of the errors of Dr. Borlase. On the recent communication, therefore, of Mr. Whitaker's MS. papers now before me, I was most agreeably surprized to find that enlightened antiquary maintaining the same sentiments with myself.

On the Southern Route of the Romans in Cornwall.

"On the downs between Dulo and Bottlegate, (the seat in lease of Mr. Grills, rector of Lanreath) in the parish of Lanreath, is a large circular treble entrenchment, called Castle-caerth. Seated on a high place, it now serves for a beacon. The circumference of the inner circle is about three hundred paces, very entire; that of the middle is eight hundred and fifty-five paces, and pretty entire, but not so high as the innermost; that of the outermost can hardly be defined, the remains are very low." *Tonkin's (Tehidy) MSS.* "In the parish of Tywardreth, towards the sea-coast, is that famous camp or treble entrenchment called *Castle-dore*; in which, heretofore, our ancestors the Britons fortified themselves against their enemies. In the time of Charles the II. some dreamers of money, 'tis said,

found in this camp such treasure as they much enriched themselves thereby." *Hals's MSS.* "*Gref-islet*" (or the grey rock) lyith scant half a mile est of Penare, wherin breedeth gulles and other se foulles. This gref lyith north from the Forne, a point of foreland in *Britain (Bretagne)* bytweene the which is the entery of the sleve of the ocean. And betwixt Forne and Grefe is a v kennynges, and here is *breviss. trajectus* by estimation from Cornewoulle into Britaine continent. About a myle by west of Penare, is a greate forte nere the shore in the paroch of *St. Gerons* (mistakingly for *Verian*, for in this parish it is, and called the *Giant's Castle)*. It is single diky'd; and within a but shot of the north side of the same, apperith an hole of a vault broken up by a plough yn tylling. This vault had an issue from the castelle to the se. And a litle by north of the Castelle a 4. or 5. borowes or cast hilles." A mile dim. from this, there is another ....," Castle he means. *Leland's Itin.* v. 3. f. 13. Pennare, alias Penarth.* "I take *nare* to signifye the same as the Saxon *nesse*, which, from it's resembling a nose, is apply'd to a promontory or point of land jutting out into the sea, so as to signifye the head of the promontory: which is the reason that I here take notice of this small village. For in the common belonging to it, is that noted point of land called the Deadman. This is separated from the said village by a double intrenchment, yet pretty entire, which run's from cliff to cliff E. and W. inclosing about one hundred acres of coarse ground. The intrenchment is about twenty feet broad, and twenty-five feet high, in most places pretty entire, but the outer cast is not so high. They call it *thicka-voza*, which is, the vallum, or trench; and the *hack and cast*, fabling it to be the work of a certain giant, who threw it up in one night's time, at *one hack* and *one cast:* and at a place near the cliff, they show you a hole, something resembling the Wrath's hole in St. Agnes, which opens at the bottom (as that doth) into a cave fretted in by the sea. This hole his physician (in order to free the country of him) advis'd him to fill with his blood; which he, ignorantly doing, bled himself to death, and was tumbled over cliff, on a rock, which is from hence called the giant's horse; and the hole, the ivy hole, from the quantity of ivy growing in it. Near to this is a place they call the sepulchre, where they say the giant was buried; it is an oblong square, sunk into the rock." *Tonkin's (Tehidy) MSS.* in Goran, pp. 452, 453. "On the barton of Bodrigan is a small round intrenchment,† with two small barrows to the west of it, which they call Sir Henry Bodrigan's castle; but by the barrows 'tis plain it must be some antient encampment, tho' so destroy'd by often plowing that one cannot tell what to make of it. A little on one side of it, is a coarse moorish piece of ground, which they call the *wofull moore*, for there they say Sir Henry was defeated by Sir R. Edgecomb, and Trevanion. And beyond it, on the side of the cliff, is a place they call Sir Henry Bodrigan's leap, from whence he took a desperate leap (after his defeat) upon a small place under, where a boat and ship lay ready to take him in against all accidents; into which, they tell you, when he got safe, he turn'd about and gave a curse upon Edgecomb and Trevanion, and their posterity, which the neighbourhood doe not scruple to say hath in some part it's effect to this day. For so great was the love they bore this Sir Henry, for his great hospitality, and generous way of living, that his memory is still held in veneration, especially among the elder sort of people." *Tonkin's (Tehidy) MSS.* in Goran, pp. 454, 455. "On the top of Goloures wood, is a round entrenchment. It is partly demolished; but the place still goes by the name of Castle-hill." *Tonkin's (Tehidy) MSS.* in Goran. The fortified ground at Golden was examined by Mr. W. with Sir Christopher Hawkins, bart. on August 2, 1792. "It is an earth-work (says Mr. W.) denominated *warren*, containing *six* Cornish acres (as the farmer told us) or about *seven* statute. It has a high broad rampart, twelve or fourteen feet high, and a deep broad ditch, fourteen or sixteen feet broad, all round. No facing of masonry, either with or without cement, appears. No round turrets or buttresses are to be seen, even in the slightest vestiges. No avenue or way from the valley on the north is known at all. The whole forms a long square, longer from east to west, than from north to south. It has two gateways on the north, and two on the south; one on the east, and one on the west; each answering the other, and having a raised avenue across the ditch to it. They are thus distinguished from a modern road into the field, near the south-western angle. And from the aspect of the whole I consider it, as a Roman camp, made at the period of reducing Cornwall, and calculated for the reception of a large detachment. About a mile to the north of this, beyond a deep gully, is what is noticed by Mr. Tonkin as *caer voza*; and in Borlase's Nat. Hist. p. 324. as *caerfos*, alias "caerfosou." This is an estate

* "The high head," alluding to the Deadman.

† This intrenchment is almost on the edge of the cliff, in a direct line between the Voza, and Black-head, both which are in sight of it; it has only one entrance to the south, next the cliff, and has in the middle a low long barrow, as in Warbstow.

so called, and called so from a field close to the house, which has a strong and lofty rampart upon the north side, and a large deep ditch upon the north of that. These continue all along the northern side of the field, and have a slight return on the east and west towards the south. But then they cease. Nor can any traces be found of them afterwards. This circumstance is very singular. The whole, as far as it goes, was measured for Mr. Tonkin, and is (he says) two hundred and ten paces in length. If the whole had been completed according to this part, and had taken in, as it plainly designed to have taken, all the field, it would have been what the field is said now to be, *two* acres. It was therefore calculated, like the former, for a detachment only, and a detachment by two thirds smaller than that of the former. I consider the two camps as opposed; the former containing Romans, and the latter Britons. The Romans, with their usual spirit of activity and wisdom, completed their camp, and secured themselves. The Britons by this time had learnt to imitate the Romans, and threw up works *very similar to the Roman* in their manner. But they *began* them on the *northern* or *distant* quarter, in some idea probably that they were secured on the *south* by the gully, and in apprehension of being immediately attacked on the north. And they were probably attacked before they could proceed, and dislodged without effecting their design." *W. Tonkin's MSS.* vol. 2. p. 51. "A small camp near Truthen, in Bishop's wood." *W. MS.* "Gwendreth pronounced Gwendra, an estate close to Pendower sands, and called Gwen Draeth, or the White Beach, from the whiteness of the sands there, has a field near the beacon, called Borough-Close, and within this an oval entrenchment, reported by Mr. Hals to have been a castle, being the side of a hill reduced to a sloping level for the area of a castellated house. The whole is nearly a statute acre in extent, and has its approach in an oblique way from the north, ranging along the foot of the hill, till it gains the base of the oval. The oval there has a bank seven or eight feet high, with a kind of platform under it, and under that, the side of the hill cut down into a steep of several yards, very sharp. Here the road runs up on both sides of the entrenchment, and unites again at the south-eastern point of the oval, and enters the entrenchment by the only gateway into it. The road runs along a ditch, that improves in depth as it mounts the hill, till on the higher side of the entrenchment the ditch is very deep and very broad, to guard against the inconvenience of the ground here rising above the pitch of the entrenchment. For this purpose also, immediately on the outside of this broad and deep part of the ditch, the ground has been cut down into a steep bank, and the ground between it and the entrenchment has been lowered and levelled into a shallow kind of ditch, with a return to the declivity of the hill on the north. The bank of this entrenchment is plainly artificial; and has still many large stones in it. September 28, 1793." *W. Tonkin's MSS.* vol. 4. p. 236. "There are several camps in the parish of Probus. The square camp on the barton of Wolvedon or Golden, is most worthy of notice. The others are round; viz. at Helland, Resparva, Carnfossa, Trewithen, and a little to the south of the church-town. Tradition says, that a battle was fought in Sorn-field, opposite Trewithen, near Carnfossa camp. This field, till it was enclosed, was always remarkable for games held here, viz. hurling and wrestling between the neighbouring parishes." *Letter from Sir Christopher Hawkins*, bart. "*Carlyon* in the parish of Kea, though so near it in sound, cannot signify the same as *Caerleon* in Monmouthshire; that being so called from a Roman legion placed there: But it may be interpreted, "*the castle or fortified place.*" And I am the more inclined to think so, from the name of the next place to it, *Trevoster*---"*the dwelling of fortified land.*" Trevoster is pleasantly situated on Truro river, facing the town; from whence it is not two miles distant by water." *Tonkin's (Tehidy) MSS.* "In this parish (of Kea) on the open downs, by the high way or street, are situate the fower burrows, or the fower tumulusses, sepulchers, or graves, after the British-Roman manner, to put those travellers that passed by in mind of mortality and death. One of them is called Burrow-Bel-les, that is, the remote, broad or large burrow or sepulcher, (viz. on the confines of this parish) and sutable to its other names; tis one of the broadest or largest burrows in those parts, into which some tynners temp. William III. in hopes of findinge money, pierced a hole or aditt into the center thereof, where though they mist their expectations, they found in the same two of the broadest and flat moor-stones as a cover, (supported by three perpendicular stones of sutable strength and bigness) that they had seen in the adjacent country; in the vacant space, vault, or arch under those stones, they found decayed or broken peices of the urne or ossitegium, and about a gallon of black matter and ashes, which doubtless was the gleanings or remayn's of that once famous humane creature before the fifth centuary, interred here with many thousand others, doubtless of less degree, in the contiguous lands thereof, who had not moneys to rayse such troublesome, laborious, and costly funerall monuments as those fower burrows were," *Hals's MSS.* in Kea.

On the Northern Route.

Among Tonkin's papers, is noticed "a roundish camp near Kilkhamton church, called Castle-Illcombe; with an outer trench, two hundred and thirty paces in circumference; a trench within surrounding a small hillock, and a cross one, dividing the hillock in two." "In the parish of Warbstow is a noble fortification, (which perhaps might give occasion of dedicating it to such a saint, as carried with it such a warlike sound, or, as the fact assuredly is, the fortification was called Warborough, and the parish from it Warborough-stow, or Warbstow) I measured, and took a more particular view of it than I had formerly done, this present year 1731." *W. Tonkin's MSS.* vol. 4. p. 237. "The treble entrenchment of Warbstow, (says Hals) contains about four acres of land. Here the Britons or Saxons posted themselves against their enemies." *Hals's MSS.* in Warbstow. "In the parish of St. Minver, is a place called *Carlyon*." *Hals's MS.* See Kea in Tonkin. "In the parish of St. Wenn, stands Damelsa-Castle." *Hals's MS.* in St. Wenn. Castle-an-dinas in St. Columb. "Mr. Hals has given (says Tonkin) a large account of the name, situation, and extent of *Castle an Danis*, which he would fain have to have been a work of the Britains; and produceth as a chief proof of his assertion, the names of the places round about it, which I suppose may have a more naturall interpretation, and such a one as will much better answer the circumstances of them. In 1702 (the year that I write this in) passing by this place I took measure of it, and found it of the figure that follows. It consists of a trench outside about twenty foot over, and very deep, and the intrenchment or vallum at present nigh the same height, though Mr. Hals allows it to be but about nineteen; between this outtermost intrenchment and the second, is a levell space of ground, about twenty-eight of my paces over, this second intrenchment is neither so deep, nor cast up so high as the former, but every where very intire; between this and the innermost one, is no space of ground at all, but only a deep trench and an high vallum, including a large levell piece of ground, which is higher than any other part of this fortification, it being the nap of the hill; about the middle of this round plot is a small shallow pit, (which Mr. Hals supposes was made to retain the rain water, for the necessary occasions of the soldiers) on the one side of which is a small square intrenchment, which I suppose are the ruines of old houses Mr. Hals mentions; and on the other side, a small burrow. The outtermost intrenchment is a thousand of my paces round; and the innermost four hundred and eighty. This is generally supposed to have been an intrenchment of the Danes, both on account of it's form and name; and for such Mr. Camden doth take it.* "At a little distance from St. Columb, (says he) is a double rampire (it is treble) on the top of a hill, and a causey leading to it: 'tis called Castellan Danis, i. e. the camps of the Danes, because the Danes when they prey'd upon the English coasts, encamp'd here, as also in other places hereabouts"---as *Castle Caer-dane* in St. Piran in the sands, *Castlean Denis* in Ludgvan. For that the Danes were in this county more than twice; nay, that they were call'd in by the ancient Cornish, to assist them against the Saxons, doth appear by the Saxon annals; and other authors, of much better authority than Mr. Hals, say so. But Mr. Salmon† is of opinion that *Castellan Danis* was a Roman camp, for which he gives the following reasons: "There is probably a Roman camp, mention'd in Camden by the name of *Castellan Danis*, where the Danes are said to have lain when they invested the British coast. They may have occupied this camp, and yet it might be Roman, made to their hands. All thoughts of the Roman setlement here being given up, their fortresses might appear the works of Danes or Britons. That which best supports the conjecture of *Castellan Danis* being Roman, is the observation of Camden, after describing the works to be double, and upon the apex of the hill, that there is a causeway leading to it. This is so peculiar to the Romans, that of itself it is enough to determine the fortress theirs. The Danes were pillagers, and the Saxons too, till they gain'd a settlement. They had no occasion for military ways through the island, which was divided amongst seven of them. Nor do we find any hint to inform us that it was the practice of any people except the Romans." Supposing this to be matter of fact, as I believe it is, I fancy that it ought (considering too the stateliness and strength of this fortification) to be attributed to them rather than to any other nation. Neither ought the name to be any objection, since we commonly call it *Castle an Denis*; and *denis* may be as well a corruption of the British *dinas*, which signifies "a fortified place," as *Pendinas*, which yet we pronounce *Pendennis*.‡ This causeway may be reckon'd as a remainder of the Roman military way, from Tamara to Nidum, to Bomium, and from the last to this." *Tonkin's (Tehidy) MSS.* in St. Columb, pp. 219, 220, 221. "On the commons

* Brit. in Corn. p. 11. † New Surv. of Engl. vol. 2. p. 843, &c. ‡ See Lhu. Archæol. in the word Oppidum, &c.

belonging to the town of Lanbourn, in Piran Sands, is a barrow called *Creeg Mear*, the great burrow; which one Christopher Michell digging into some years since, whilst I liv'd at Lambrigan, in hopes to find stones for an adjoining hedge of his, came to an hollow place, (as usuall in such) and found nine urnes full of ashes; which, being disappointed of what he sought for, for the burrow was all of earth except three or four rough stones which form'd the hollow, he brutally broke immediately to pieces. And when I expostulated with him about it, and told him I would have paid him his charges, his reply was, that whenever he met with any more, he would bring them to me, but these were a parcell of old pitchers, good for nothing. That these were Danish, I believe there is no doubt. (They were British, as appears at once from the *kistvaen* or tomb discovered within, and from the hinted badness of the pottery. But they were), I suppose, the ashes of some chief commanders slain in battle, (for which the place is very fit, it being a large open down) from the great number of them. (One burrow cannot mark a battle). And on a small hill just under this burrow, (and, as *under* the burrow, bearing probably no relation to it), is a Danish encampment, called Castle Caer Dane, vulgo Castle Caer Den, that is, the Danes camp, consisting of three entrenchments finish'd, and another begun with an intent to surround the inner three, but not compleated. And opposite to this about a bowshot, the river only running between, on another hill, is another camp or castle, called Castle Kaerkief, Castrum Simile, from Kyfel, Similis, alike, alluding to Castle Caerdane. But this is but just begun, and not finished in any part. From whence I guess, that there were two different parties, of which the first attacked the other, before they could finish their intrenchments: or perhaps these attacked the first, having only thrown up a few intrenchments for the present, on which a battle ensuing, these were the ashes of the chief men that fell in it. And this being called Creeg Mear, the great burrow, seems to carry a more special regard with it. This Castle Kaerkief is on the estate, which Sir John de Lanbron gave to the church of Exeter, and no doubt had its name from this fortification. [These opposed camps have no other pretence to a Danish origin, than what a Cornish critick should be ashamed to own; the mere coincidence in sound of din or dinas with Danish. This is the sole foundation for all the Danish camps, with which the antiquarian escitancy of Cornwall has replenished the county. All built upon hills, they naturally take the name of din, dinas, or don in Cornish, to denote their scite. And, while the common people, unseduced by the surmises of literature, still retain the name in its original purity, the scholars come forward, and mould it to their own follies. We see this very livelily, in the name of the former of these two camps; which the common people call Caer *Don*, but the critick writes into Caer *Dane*, and then interprets into the Danes camp. But it signifies only the hill fortress. Opposed to this, on another hill, and beyond a rivulet, is another camp; which is called Caer Kief, the companion or mate of the other; Kyfel says Mr. Tonkin, signifying similar or like in Cornish, Kyvedh (c) being a fellow, a colleague, Kyvadhas (c) a companion, and Kuf (c) a wife, Cyfaill, Cyfailt (w) a friend, a companion, and Cyfalle (w) a husband or wife, a partner, a fit match. The very apposition of the camps, is thus denoted in the name. But then Caer Don is considered as the principal, and Caer Kief has its appellation from its relation to that. They are a British and a Roman camp. The Roman appears from the smallness, lying on "a small hill;" from the finished state of its intrenchments; from its having no less than three; and from its having had even a fourth begun, to encircle all. These marks of military attention, and of patient industry, all unite to point it out decisively for a Roman one. Nor has the other a signature less lively, of its British origin. It is "but just begun, and not finished in any part." The Romans probably, seeing the Britons begin to fortify their ground, desisted from their fourth work, marched out of their own camp, and attacked the Britons in theirs before they could form it. And, in this view of the camps, the burrow, which is *over* the Roman, and not between it and the British, could have no reference to either, and was only the tomb of some British family residing in the vale below."] *W. Tonkin's MSS.* vol. 1. pp. 32, 33. "There are on the commons of this village, some remains of intrenchments, but not worthy notice. But at a place, also within this manor, about three-fourths of a mile from it, called *Tresawsen*, alias *Bosawsen*, i. e. the English town, or dwelling, on the top of the hill to the south of the village, is a double Danish intrenchment, of which the outer one has been almost filled up by often ploughing, but the inner one is very intire, and they both contain about an acre of land. It hath no particular name, that I know of; but is within sight of Castle Caer Dane, from which it is distant about two miles. And from this you see another in St. Allen, about the same distance from this. Vide St. Allen. [Tresawsen, alias Bosawsen, from Tre and Boss (c) a house, and Saissan, Saxon, or English, is evidently from its name, not Danish, but Saxon. It is a Saxon fort, constructed on the reduction of the

west of Cornwall by Athelstan, and maintained as a bridle and a curb upon the natives. And it seems to mark the advance of the Saxon arms, from Camelford, where Egbert gained his great victory over the Cornish, to St. Burien's, from which Athelstan probably embarked for, and at which he certainly landed on his return, from reducing, the Scilly isles."] *W. Tonkin's MSS.* vol. 1. pp. 33, 34. "Margessen-foos, or Marasen-vose, i. e. the maid's market, is a village in the manor of Fenton-gymps in Piran-Sands, but why so named, I cant guess; except that being in the great road to Mitchell, the maids came there to offer themselves in service; a custom taken notice of particularly by Dr. Plot, Nat. Hist. of Oxf. c. 8. 29. p. 208. but not (that I know of) practised now any where in this county. [Mr. Tonkin has here misled himself, by an etymon forced and false. He considers *foos* or *vose* as *moz* a maid. But the name is merely this, *marghes* or *marhas an fos* or *vos*, *the market on the ditch or trench. Fos*, indeed, Borlase interprets *wall*; and has this very appellation, *marhas an fos*, which he renders *the market on the wall*, obviously without any sense. But under *vos* he recollects himself. "*Vos* for *fos*," he then says, "a ditch, wall, or fence, as *Penvos*, head of the trench, *marhas an vos*, *the market on the foss*." Dr. Pryce adopts both these etymons in his vocabulary, and prefers the former in his names very injudiciously. From this name the village appears to have been formerly a market-town. The market was perhaps held upon some boundary-ditch, and took its name from it. But in all probability, as "being in the great road to Mitchell," it lay upon a Roman road, which, like the grand road from Lincolnshire to Bath and through Somersetshire to the south or west, bore the appellation of foss. And very probably the foss itself is continued by *Stratton*, Camelford, *Wadebridge*, and St. Columb, directly by Newlin into Piran parish, Lamburn, Lambrigan, Marghassan-fos, and *White*-street, there.] *W. Tonkin's MSS.* vol. 1. p. 35. Castle-Carnbre. "A little to the west of Castle-Carnbre, is a large circular intrenchment of great and small moorstone, pretty high and broad; with another to the north, taking in a great part of the hill, and nearly of the same size; in all about thirty acres. In this last, is a small intrenchment, called the Round, in the middle of which is a heap of great stones." Among *Tonkin's* papers. Hals notices in the parish of "Tywednek, two notable intrenchments of the Britons, wherein they fortified themselves against their enemies in former ages: the ruins yet to be seen----Castle-an-denis; and Trecragan; the latter situate upon Trecragan mountain." *Hals's MSS.* under Tywednek. And there are, according to Tonkin, "several intrenchments near *Bollenor*, in the parish of Maderne; all built of great stone; some a yard high; some two or three; the whole about four hundred paces in length; lying on the side of a hill." But see my observations on the Irish.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Flindell, Printer, Falmouth.

THE

HISTORY

OF

CORNWALL:

CIVIL, MILITARY, RELIGIOUS, ARCHITECTURAL, AGRICULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

BY THE REVEREND R. POLWHELE,

Of Polwhele, and Vicar of Manaccan.

" Jam nunc cogita, quæ potissimum tempora aggrediamur. Vetera et scripta aliis? Parata inquisitio; sed onerosa collatio. Intacta et nova? Graves offensæ; levis gratia. Si laudaveris, parcus: Si culpaveris, nimius fuisse dicaris; quamvis illud plenissime, hoc restrictissime feceris. Sed hæc me non retardant."

" Ad quæ noscenda iter ingredi, transmittere mare solemus; ea sub oculis posita negligimus: Seu quia ita natura comparatum, ut proximorum incuriosi, longinqua sectemur; seu quod omnium rerum cupido languescit, quum facilis occasio est: seu quod differimus, tanquam sæpe visuri quod datur videre, quoties velis cernere. Quacunque de causa, permulta in provincia nostra, non oculis modo, sed ne auribus quidem novimus; quæ si tulisset Achaia, Egyptus, aliave quælibet miraculorum ferax commendatrixque terra, audita, perlecta, lustrataque haberemus." *Plin. Epist.*

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THE

HISTORY OF CORNWALL.

BOOK THE SECOND.

FROM VORTIGERN TO EDWARD I.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

THE Romans, for some time harrassed at home by the incursions of barbarous nations, began to withdraw their attention from the provinces to their own internal disorder. Trembling even for their capital, they called together the provincial troops from every quarter to their assistance: And Britain now saw herself deserted by those generous masters, to whose government she was not only reconciled, but whose protection she valued, and whose friendship she wished to cultivate. No sooner were the Britons thus abandoned, than, distrest by their northern enemies, the Scots and Picts, and deeming themselves unable to resist the impetuosity of the invaders, they impatiently looked around them for foreign aid---without sufficiently considering their own powers. Vortigern, one of the earls of Danmonium, and said to have been born in Cornwall,* was, at this time, the British king: And, well acquainted with the military character of the Saxons, he had immediate recourse to them on

* Speed's Hist. p. 282.

the present emergence. But he had soon cause to lament the rashness of his conduct, whilst this insidious people, after triumphing over the Picts and Scots, turned their arms against the Britons themselves. The Britons (as it is generally represented)* fell a prey to their treacherous allies---three hundred of the British nobility were massacred on the plains of Sarum---vast multitudes fled before the Saxons into the western provinces; and a great number of those, who had taken refuge in Danmonium, migrated to the opposite coast of Gaul, and mixed with the inhabitants of Bretagne.

There seems a most perplexing intricacy in the affairs of the western provinces, during the Saxon heptarchy. About half a century before its establishment, we find the pagan *Theodoric* on the throne of Danmonium----though a very few years interpose before the reign of *Vortimer*, who is said to have distinguished himself in various battles with the Saxons. Nor are the names of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, or of † *Uter Pendragon* less prominent in the British chronicles. But the hero of the west was the enterprizing *Arthur*. Born at Tintagel-castle, amidst the wildness of a scene that seems the work of the magician, where the rocks of a romantic peninsula overhang the northern seas---he is said to have imbibed the spirit of his native spot, and to have united with gigantic prowess, the ferocity of the savage warrior, and the rage of the religious enthusiast! Yet his real atchievements are so absurdly interwoven with imaginary, that the whole contexture of his conduct seems factitious: And there are some of our more rigid historians, who have actually doubted his existence. On the other hand, the village-historian, conducting us to the castle,

* See Jornandes de rebus Geticis cap. 45. and the Abbe Dubos Histoire Critique de L'Establissement de la monarchie Francoise dans le Gaules. Livre Troisieme, p. 523.---where the character of the Britons of this æra as a warlike people, renders it improbable, that they should have thus fallen a prey to the Saxons.

† So confused are the annals of these days, that one historian represents *Nazaleod* as fighting with Certicus in 509; another supposes him to be Aurelius Ambrosius; and a third, to be Uter Pendragon. See *Carew*, p. 96. *Camden* in Hampshire; and *Sammes* (Brit. p. 404.) From the authority of the venerable Bede it should appear, that Aurelius Ambrosius and Uter Pendragon, sons of the mixed blood of Constantius---descended from Roman and British parents---fled into Britany to avoid the tyranny of Vortigern; but, returning in their better strength, were received into *Totnes*. Reinforced by the people of the town, and other British troops, they pursued Vortigern into Wales, where they are said to have burnt him to death, with his incestuous wife, in the castle called Guartiger Maur, in Radnorshire.

points out with confidence the bed on which he slept, the hall in which he feasted, and the pathway to his church.*

* The following is a curious legend of Arthur, such as will, doubtless, amuse the common reader. "That which made this place most famous was the castle and palace of Dundagell; wherein, in all probability, the kings, dukes, or earls, of Cornwal, at some times had their residence, for pleasure and safety, before Cæsar came into this land; for that it was the birth-place of Arthur, king of Britain. The castle itself stood upon the sea-cliff, and a high promontory of land, or island, shooting into the North Sea, or St. George's Channel, fasten'd to the main land, or insular continent of Britain, by an iron chain and draw-bridge; which Mr. Carew saith was extant one hundred years before he wrote his Survey of Cornwal, 1602. Hence it was that in the Dome's-day tax, 20. William I. 1087, it's called Dune-cheine, as aforesaid, viz. the fort, fortress, or castle chain, or chained. Under which draw-bridge the sea did formerly daily make its flux and reflux through the rocky passage beneath. But now this passage is barred up by the falling down of the contiguous cliffs, and want of repair. Nevertheless, thereby at low-water is offer'd to the foot traveller an indifferent way of access to the island and castle aforesaid. Which island is now by lease from the crown in possession of Mr. Traverse, who sets it to rent for about five pounds per annum, where twice a year about thirty sheep are bred, or fed, which thrive to admiration. The back, or outer part, of this fort and island containeth about three acres of land, which affordeth good pasture for sheep, goats, and rabbets; whereon is a consecrated well and chappel, heretofore apply'd to the service of God by the prince Gothlois, his domestick servants, and soldiers, though now neglected and falling into continual decay. The most northerly and remote part of this island is called *Pen-dew*, or *Pen-diu*; that is to say, *Black-head*, so named from the black cliffs and rocks thereof; a well-known sea-mark amongst mariners. The cliffs around this island are from the sea inaccessible, except in one place on the east, where is an indifferent landing-place for boats. But the same is artificially barred with a long, lofty, and strong wall of lime and stone, through which is a gate, called in British, *Porth Horne*, anglice iron gate, leading to the hill. Under this island the sea runneth through a natural cave or arch of rocks, where boats may pass at full sea without danger, though scarcely without horror and amazement of the passengers. Which tremendous place gave occasion to a British bard to describe the same in verses, mentioned by Camden in his Britannia, viz.

Est locus Abrini sinuoso littore ponti,
Rupe situs media, refluus quem circuit æstus.
Fulminat hic late, turrito vertice, Castrum,
Nomine Tindagium veteres dixere Corini.

Thus englished by Mr. Carew.

There is a place within the winding shore of Seuerne sea,
On mids of rock, about whose foot the tydes turne-keeping play:
A tow'ry-topped castle heere, wide blazeth ouer all,
Which Corineus auncient broode Tindagel castle call.

However, I think the meaning of the author is rather thus in English prose:---'There is a place on the intricate windings of the Severne sea coast, situate in the middle of a rock, which the billows of the sea flow about, a towering top of a castle shining a great distance, which the ancient Cornish call Dundagell.' Of this place Joseph of Exon, a priest of that cathedral, who went with king Richard I. into the holy land, and described the wars thereof, in his poem called Antiocheis, written at Antioch five hundred years past, a man excellently well skilled in the greek and latin tongue (who, after his return from the holy land was made arch-bishop of Bourdeaux), hath these words (thus English'd) of Dundagell:----

From this blest place immortal Arthur sprung,
Whose wond'rous deeds shall be forever sung;
Sweet musick to the ear, sweet honey to the tongue.

Of this, however, we are assured, that led to battle† by their princes and captains

Look back, turn o'er the great records of fame. ---
Proud Alexander boasts a mighty name.
The Roman annals Cæsar's actions load;
And conquer'd monsters rais'd Alcides to a god.
But neither shrubs above tall pines appear,
Nor Phœbus ever fears a rival star.
So would our Arthur in contest o'ercome,
The mightiest heroes bred in Greece or Rome:
The only prince that hears this just applause, ---
" Greatest that e'er shall be, and best that ever was."

From which words 'tis evident Joseph had seen Merlin's prophecy of Arthur.

The History of King Arthur, and his Progenitors.

After the death of Ambrosius Aurelius, Anno Domini, 497, succeeded to the dominion of Britain, some say his brother, others a Briton, named *Uter*, alias *Uter-Pen-Dragon*; that is to say, in British, the terrible, or dreadful, head, or chief dragon: So called, as our historians tell us, from a direful, bloody, or red dragon, pourtray'd in his banners of war, with a golden head; as is to this day borne in our imperial standards of war, in memory doubtless of the Red Dragon mentioned in Merlin's prophecy; by which the British nation is figured. For his paternal coat armour, as Upton saith, was --- In a field vert, a plain cross argent; in the dexter quarter the image of the blessed Virgin Mary, holding the image of her blessed son in her right hand proper. ---- He likewise gave for his cognizance of Britain, ---- *D'or, deux dragons verd, corones de gowles, coutreles, or endorsed.* Which prince, about the fourth year of his reign, having had divers notable victories over his enemies the Saxons, killing Pascentius, the son of Hengist, and Gwillimoore king of Ireland, taken Octa, and another son of Hengist, and Cossa his nephew, prisoners, and routed their forces, he resolved, the Easter after, to make a kind of triumphal feast and solemnity for the principal nobility, gentry, and soldiers of his kingdom; and gave orders that all their wives and daughters should also be invited to his court, to congratulate his victories against his pagan enemies. Now, this feast was to be kept at Caer-segont, that is, the city or castle of conquest or victory, afterwards called (by the Saxons) Sell-cester, i. e. the great castle; now Win-chester; as much as to say, the overcoming, conquering, or winning castle. The very place where the emperor Constantine first put on the purple robes, in order to his dignity. Among other princes and confederates who attended this solemnity, Goth-lois, or Gothlouis (i. e. purple back, or spear), prince, king, or earl of Cornwal, with Igerna his lady, graced the same with their presence. And 'twas observable, that, in this great assembly, the said lady, for beauty, port, and mien, exceeded all the ladies then present. With whose unparallel'd demeanor and charms king Uter was so much taken and delighted, or intoxicated rather, that for several days he omitted all other the most necessary affairs of his kingdom, in order to enjoy her company. Yea, so violent was his affection that he could not restrain or curb his passion; but kiss'd and courted her openly even in the sight of her lord and others. Whereupon Gothlois was so possess'd with jealousy, that he took the first opportunity (without leave taken of the king or his nobility), together with his dutchess and servants, and posted from Winchester towards his own country of Devon and Cornwal. He had not been long gone but notice thereof was brought to the king, who took it in so ill a part, by reason of his inordinate affection to his lady, that forthwith he sent messengers after him, to let him know that he had further occasion to use his counsel about affairs of the nation. But Gothlois so highly prized his lady, who by this artifice he foresaw would be expos'd to the king's lust, that he sent back positive answer, that he would not come. At which return the king grew more enraged, and sent the prince of Cornwal word, that if he persisted in his obstinacy, he would invade his country, and beat his towns and castles about his ears. But in vain were his menaces; for Gothlois return'd him word, that he was, as his predecessors time out of mind had been, a free prince, and owed him neither homage nor allegiance. Nevertheless, as his countryman, he acknowledged himself his ally and confederate against all foreign opposers, and would keep his articles of agreement. But if Uter was not contented with this answer, but would

(whether Gorlois, Uter, or Arthur) the Danmonians a long while struggled against

forcibly invade his country and property, he would endeavour to keep and preserve the same against him and his adherents. Whereupon, king Uter denounced hostility against him, and sent him defiance as an enemy, and set all things in a posture of war against him. Neither was Gothlois less solicitous to keep his country and dutchess from Uter's possession, or indeed vile usurpation. In brief thereof, as aforesaid, king Uter having raised a great army of soldiers, under pretence of chastising the pride and contempt of Gothlois, marched with them towards his territories, which extended as far as Axminster. Where he no sooner arrived, but he falls a plundering the country, and burning the houses of the inhabitants; with the terror whereof some fled away, and others submitted to his mercy. Gothlois, being then at his chief palace and castle of Caer-Iske, (that is, the fish castle, or city situate upon the fish river, now called Exe, as the city is Exeter) and hearing of this affrightment and revolt of the people on the east part of his dominions, and fearing the cowardice of his citizens of Caer-Iske, quitted the same upon Uter's approach with his army, and retired with his lady, and posted themselves in this castle of Dundagell: Where he left his dutchess, himself retiring to Dameliock-castle, now in St. Udye, or St. Kewe. Where his army lay entrenched within a treble walled fortification of earth, still extant, and retaining its name. Wherein he had laid up sufficient provision and ammunition for his camp and soldiers. And there also he was promised to receive assistance of soldiers from one of the five kings of Ireland, which daily was expected. King Uter, understanding of Gothlois's departure from Caer-Iske, soon marched after him with his army into Cornwal, and laid siege to the castle of Dameliock (that is to say the house or place of skirmish, battle, or hazard of war); and no sooner approached the lines but he sent a herald, or trumpet, to Gothlois, demanding the surrender of himself and castle on mercy. Gothlois, rewarding the trumpet, return'd answer, "That he gave king Uter no just cause of war, or for breaking the league, or invading his country, and wasting the same in such barbarous manner. But especially, he being a free prince, neither could nor would betray his trust, or give up his dominions and subjects to an unjust invader." At which answer king Uter was so much enraged, that he gave order for a straight siege of the castle, and forthwith made many violent assaults by storm in several places thereof. But he was as stoutly repulsed, and driven back by the besieged. In this manner, with various success, for several days, the siege and war continued, which occasioned the many camps, fortifications, and intrenchments, in those parts called Castle Killy Biry, Castle Kynock, &c. Whereupon, king Uter, being more desirous to batter the chastity of Gothlois's lady Igerna, and to vanquish her than shed blood, or take the castle of Dameliock, thought of nothing more than how to gratify his unlawful lust. In order to which he was so vain as to enquire whether the said lady was within the said castle, and whether she was in so good a state of health as when he saw her at Caersegont? To which questions answer was made, that fame reported nothing to the contrary as to her health; but as for her person, that was not in Dameliock castle, but kept in a much more secure place, within the impregnable fort of Dundagell. Then enquiring farther of a deserter what manner of place that was, he was told that it was a place munified by art and nature, and of so narrow entrance over the sea and rocks by a draw-bridge, that three armed men at once would keep out his whole army, and maugre all their skill and strength. At the relation of which circumstances king Uter seem'd mightily dismay'd, so that his countenance changed through anguish and perplexity of mind: Which put him into such great anxiety as was Ahab for want of Naboths' vineyard, David for Bathsheba, and Nero for Sabina Poppæa, other men's wives. So powerful an agent is irregular and dishonest love, or lust, that it can disturb the minds and senses of the greatest monarchs, as well as the meanest vassals, and precipitate them not only into unjust, but mad and foolish actions, which men not tainted with the contagion of such amours are ashamed to act, see, or hear of. King Uter Pendragon, in this extremity, as not being able to reduce Dameliock castle by storm; nor, if he could, would that redress his grief, by procuring the sight of Igerna, resolves upon this expedient; to dislodge part of his soldiers and troops from Dameliock, and march with them to Dundagell, in order to try the fortune of war in both places. But as soon as he came in sight thereof, the same appeared more formidable, tremendous, and invincible than what fame had spoken of it. For in those days the wit and force of man could not oblige that castle to a surrender, unless through bribery or treachery of its defendants; for that the same could neither be scaled, batter'd, or starved, it having always on the island sheep, rabbets, and fish about its rocks and water. And to think of forcing it by storm would be but a foolish project or imagination; the same being an island, surrounded by the sea, and lofty towering rocks, where

the encroachment of the Saxons. In the mean time, the Saxons, prevailing in

neither ship nor boat could swim or approach with safety but in one place, and that in fair weather only. Besides, to think of reducing it by famine, would be as vain an attempt; for that it was told him, Gothlois on notice of this war had stored it with great quantities of provision, and had more coming from Ireland; besides water, the natural product of the island, fish, sheep, goats, rabbits, and fowls, there abounding for the inhabitants relief. The consideration of which put Pendragon into greater sadness and perplexity of mind, considering the charge and fatigues of war, the stain of his honor in these unsuccessful attempts; but chiefly for that he could not satisfy his concupiscence on the fair Igerna; which made him a slave to his senses, and hurried him into these difficult and dangerous enterprizes; which for that cause he had undertaken. Whereupon he grew sickly, and took his bed, his physicians despairing of his life. When it happen'd (as historians tell us) that one Ursan of Richardock, a place near Dameliock or Dundagell, one of king Uter's cabinet-council, advised him to send into Wales for the old British prophet *Merlin*, and try whether he could do that by his magic art, which neither the art nor courage of men of war could effect. Whereupon Pendragon sent for the prophet; who, when arriv'd at his camp, was made acquainted with the premises, and immediately bid the king to be of good comfort, for that he doubted not but in short time he would introduce him into the company of Igerna, without further bloodshed or hostility. The king gladly heard this discourse, and promised to follow any expedient he should prescribe in order to enjoy the lady; and further assured him of great reward in case his project succeeded. Whereupon Merlin ordered the king, together with Urs-an (i. e. the bear) of Richardock to attend him one night in the twilight; with whom in secret manner he went towards the draw-bridge gate of Dundagell castle; where making a noise, the centinel demanded in the dark who they were? Merlin, being transformed into the shape of Bricot, a servant who waited on Gothlois, and lay in his bed-chamber, made answer, that his duke Gothlois, escaped from the siege of Dameliock, was at the gate for entrance. The centinel, apprehending he heard the very voice of Bricot, and seeing at some distance two persons talking together, the one king Uter metamorphos'd into the shape of duke Gothlois, and another, Ursan of Richardock, transformed into the shape of Jordan of Dundagell, let down the draw-bridge, and so gave them opportunity to enter into the insular castle aforesaid, where he had further confirmation of the identity or reality of their persons by their speech and apparel, as far as the night would permit him. Whereupon he joyfully conducted king Uter to Igerna's chamber; who, in bed, not discovering the fraud, gladly received him for her lord. When that very night betwixt them was begotten that valiant, noble, and religious prince Arthur, who for his brave, facinorous, and heroick atchievements, made his name glorious in his days, as it is still the paragon of ours. Now, as king Uter was vigorous and amorous that night with the dutchess Igerna, so his soldiers were as careful and valiant in the seige of Dameliock castle, which then they again stormed with their scaling-ladders, but were as stoutly driven back by the besieged. Whereupon duke Gothlois resolving no longer to be thus cooped up, or confined in walls or trenches, but either to conquer or die, the next morning sallied forth with a party of soldiers, and assaulted his enemies in their quarters by surprize. But alas! the success was not answerable to his courage and resolution; for king Uter's men were all in readiness to receive his charge and onset; so that in the brunt of the first encounter Gothlois was killed on the spot, his party slain or routed, and all that were taken in arms put to the sword. The castle of Dameliock yielded, on condition of life, (though some say otherwise) the plunder to the king's soldiers. Early the same morning, before king Uter and the dutchess were out of the chamber, or had put on their wearing apparel, to the great astonishment of the porter, centinel, and the garrison, a messenger arrived at Dundagell gate, giving a full account of this tragical fact. But when he was admitted to the dutchess's bed-chamber, and saw, as he verily believed, duke Gothlois in her company, he could hardly credit his own report, especially the dutchess Igerna being of the same opinion. But alas! so unavoidable a thing is fortune or fate, the prophet Merlin then began to uncharm and dissolve his former spells and incantations, so that king Uter appeared no longer as Gothlois duke of Cornwall, but sole monarch of Britain, his companion not Jordan of Dundagell, but Ursan of Richardock, and the third not Bricot, but Merlin the prophet, to the admiration of all spectators. Thereupon the king took leave of the dutchess, and posted to his army, then in possession of Dameliock castle, and ordered search to be made for the dead body of the duke; where at length it was found, in common soldier's apparel, extream bloody, mangled, and cut. Whereupon, he called for an embalmer, who forthwith dislodged his brains, eyes, and

war, began to constitute their civil government: and, in the arrangement of their

bowels, and placed in the room thereof salt and aromatic spices, to prevent putrefaction, 'till a military interment could be prepared for him; which a month after was splendidly provided, the king and dutchess being chief mourners. When a few days after king Uter publickly married Igerna, the dutchess; by whom (as aforesaid) he had a son named Arthur, and a daughter named Amye. Lastly, 'tis observed by our annalists upon the foregoing history, that after this bloody war and unjust fact of king Uter, he never had any tolerable success against his Saxon enemies; but in many battles was worsted by them. And finally, some of them understanding of a good spring or well of water, whereof he usually drank, they secretly conveyed poison into the same, so that afterwards the king, drinking his customary draught thereof, very soon with intolerable pains died, in the 15th year of his reign, and the flower of his age, Anno Dom. 515: fulfilling that saying in the sacred writings, the same measure that ye meet shall be measured to you again, brimful and running over. So that as king Uter drank the waters of another man's cistern, afterwards he was unjustly, or rather justly, poison'd with the waters of his own fountain. So that I shall conclude this history in the words of St. Paul, O the height of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways past finding out! After the death of king Uter Pendragon, his son and heir Arthur, begotten as aforesaid, succeeded to his dominion of Britain, A D. 515; but as others say, 518. He is therefore rightly named by some authors Arthur Mab-Uter Pendragon. Which name Arthur is probably derived from the British Arthou, a good or sharp-pointed weapon. But, as Mr. Camden ignorantly tells us, Arthur signifies an iron hammer to break the teeth of lions, by his leave, *un Morthual Horne the tarthas an Dense Lyons* is an Iron hammer to break the teeth of lions. Of this king Arthur long before his birth had Merlin prophesied to king Vortigern thus: *Aper etenim Cornubiæ succursum præstabit* [si non potius *erit*], *et colla eorum sub pedibus suis concalcabit*; *insulæ oceani protestati ipsus subditæ erunt*; *et Gallicanos saltus possidebit*; *tremebit Romulea domus servitium ipsius*; *et exitus ejus dubius erit*; *in ore populorum celebratus*; *et actus ejus cibus eri narrantibus*; *sex posteri ejus tenebunt sceptrum*, &c. Which in English amounts to this: That the boar of Cornwal shall bring aid, and shall tread the necks of his enemies under his feet; the islands of the ocean shall be subject to his power; and the Gaulish forests he shall possess; the house of Romulus shall tremble at his wrath; as for his death or end, it shall be doubtful and uncertain; his praise shall be celebrated by the people; and his famous acts shall be food to those that doe relate them; six of his lineage shall sway the sceptre, &c. See a particular book written by the author of this volume, called, "A translation and explanation of Merlin's prophecy," originally written in British and Latin, by Galfridus Monmouthensis. King Arthur no sooner succeeded to his father's dominions, but he applied himself with great piety and religion to administer law and justice to his people; the best expedients to establish a tottering scepter. In the next place he took care to fortify and strengthen himself with soldiers and arms against his Saxon enemies; a mighty and warlike people, then possest of the greatest part of this kingdom by the late misfortunes of his father, and other princes, in battle with them; so that only Wiltshire, Devon, Dorset, Cornwal, and Wales, made up his dominion. Against these king Arthur drew into the field a mighty army of soldiers, and after eleven pitched battles against them, overthrew their whole armies, and obtained the total dominion of this kingdom, and confined the Saxons, on condition of tribute and submission, only to the kingdom of Kent, And recorded it is by annalists, that in one of those battles which king Arthur had with them, he girded himself with an approved sword, called calib-burne; a contraction of (the British Greek) chalibs, steel, (for a sword) and burn: as much as to say a sword of burning steel; with which in one day he slew, with his own hands, eight hundred Saxons. It seems this weapon was like Goliah's sword wrapped in the ephod, there was no sword like it. And thus, according to Merlin's prophecy, did the boar of Cornwal bring help and assistance, and tread Britain's enemies under his feet. But no sooner was this land settled in peace at home, but plots and designs from abroad were laid to disturb the tranquillity thereof. For at that time the Romans, having made a peace with their enemies the Vandals, sent messengers to king Arthur, demanding 3,000*l.* per annum tribute, (a prodigious sum in those days!) many years in arrear, according to the agreement Julius Cæsar made with king Cassibellan, and was still due to the senate. At which demand king Arthur was so distasted, that he sent away the messengers in scorn, and prohibited any Roman ever after to come into this land upon that account; especially for that the Romans for many years had voluntarily

heptarchy, the western provinces were included under the title of *West-Sex*. Not that

quitted, or forsaken, the government thereof: So that the Britons had neither their protection nor aid against their Saxon or other enemies. When these messengers returned to Rome, this contempt of king Arthur's was very ill resented by the senate; who thereupon unanimously voted a war against him. And accordingly a great army was raised in order to conquer and reduce this land, which arrived here under the conduct of Lucius, their prince or emperor, (as historians tell us) together with ten kings, his confederates and auxiliaries. Against these king Arthur advanced with a mighty host, and gave them battle; when, after a sharp and bloody conflict, the Roman emperor Lucius was slain, (his body afterwards sent to Rome) the whole Roman army routed, and the greatest part of them put to the sword. And those whose lives he spared he made his feodors and vassals; from whence in all probability first sprung the original of knight-service tenure of lands in this kingdom; for a feodary was an officer belonging to the court of wards and liveries, who survey'd the value of knight-service lands. And in like manner thence arose vassalage tenure of lands, viz. that of a vassal, or villain, who is a tenant in fee on condition. But alas! notwithstanding king Arthur's good fortune in this island against the Romans, he was not contented therewith, but resolved to be further revenged upon them for this wrong bloodshed and indignity; and, for preventing any such invasion for the future, to make a descent upon the Roman territories in Gaul; especially for that from thence the Romans were assisted with great numbers of soldiers, under Lucius, to invade his kingdom of Britain. Whereupon, king Arthur with a considerable fleet of ships, and a great army of soldiers, landed in Normandy, then called Neustria, and summoned the people either to come and submit to his scepter or give him battle. But they, confiding in the strength of the Roman legions in that country, slighted his offer, and gave him battle. In which contest they were totally overthrown, routed, or slain. So that, soon after, the province of Normandy submitted to his mercy, cast down armour, and payed tribute. Whereupon he gave to Gaius his taster the earldom of Andegavum, (now Angers) and to Bedverus, his cup-bearer, the dukedom of Normandy, for their good services. In memory of which donations, it grew to a custom amongst the kings of France, for many ages after, to make their tasters and cup-bearers earls of Andegavum and Normandy. After this victory, king Arthur dislodged his forces, and advanced further into the Roman Gaulish provinces; and subdu'd by conquest to his scepter, Flanders, Burgundy, Aquitain, and Andegavum, (and, as some tell us, Poland) and obliged those people to pay him an annual tribute; according as Merlin had predicted of him, that the Gaulish forests he should possess, and that the house of Romulus should tremble at his wrath. After these victories, he returned safe into Britain. And then also by his fleet and army reduced to his dominion Scotland, Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, Norway, Dacia; and made them all tributary. Which also was foretold them by Merlin, in these words:---The islands of the ocean shall be subject to his power. When, after he had established peace in all those lands, and returned into Britain, he instituted an honourable order of knighthood, called the knights of the round table (the most ancient order of knighthood in the world); chiefly to promote self-denial, and prevent differences amongst his nobility, and gentry, or soldiers, who had well deserved of him and his country, for their good services at home and abroad; that so no occasion of dispute might arise about precedence, in merit, antiquity, valour, wealth, honour, or nobility, amongst them; for that all the knights of this his order were alike and equal in those respects in his esteem, and might sit down indifferently at the table; go in or out of the house or church, field, or market, before each other as they came, without exception: it being an allowed rule amongst them, that the highest seat at the court, senate, church, or table, did no more argue the worth, value, religion, valour, or prudent conduct of a man, than the precedence of a military officer did prove him more valiant than his soldiers. The place of meeting of those knights was at Winchester aforesaid, where they assembled yearly at Pentecost or Whitsuntide. He gave the same religious christian coat-armour as was given by his father, which I have blazoned before. And in testimony of his thirteen victories over so many crowned heads he bore also, in a field azure, *thirteen imperial crowns, or*. Lastly;---After this prince had thus vanquished his open enemies, had restored the christian religion, eclipsed by the Saxons, ordained this useful order of knighthood, and done all the good offices a just, pious, and religious king could do to his subjects, he was as many others, ungratefully dealt with by his own people; who, at the instigation of his discontented cousin Mordred, on the Roman Pictish title, confederated with the Saxons, as against a bastard, and raised a great army in Cornwal in opposition to his power. Against whom king Arthur marched with his army, and gave them battle at a

their victory was yet decisive. We still observe the Danmonian princes opposing

place near Camelford. Where, though he obtained the victory, and Mordred was slain, yet in that battle king Arthur received his mortal wounds; so that, soon after, in order to a cure, he retired to the vale of Avallan (i. e. the apple valley) near Glastonbury, Somerset; where he lies buried. In memory of this victory over Mordred, Mr. Carew tells us, that in his time there was extant a stone, of ancient erection, in the place where the battle was fought, bearing the name of Arthur. King Arthur's usual places of residence where he kept his court, (as Nenius the Briton tells us, who flourished anno Dom. 600) was at East or West Camellot, near Cadbury, in Wiltshire. There is also a town in Scotland called Camellot. But in what place, or by what means, or at what time king Arthur departed out of this life, is altogether uncertain, as Merlin foretold;---*Et exitus ejus dubius erit.*----Neither is there wanting one (viz. Nich. Upton, the father of our English heralds) who believes that he never died thecommon death of all men; but was translated as Enoch and Elias.------Notwithstanding what tradition saith to the contrary of king Arthur's death, most certain it is, that there was extant in the Welsh tongue, in Bard's verses, 1170, temp. Henry II. a song which said that the body of king Arthur was bury'd at the isle of Avallan, near Glastenbury, between two pyramids. Whereupon king Henry ordered search to be made after his corpse, as that most authentick author Geraldus Cambrensis, who was an eye-witness thereof, saith; who relates, that after the pioneers had sunk about seven foot deep, they lighted upon a stone in form of a cross; to the back part whereof was fastened a rude leaden cross, something broad, with these letters: HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLYTUS REX ARTURIUS IN INSULA AVALONIA. Thus in English: Here lies interred the glorious king Arthur, in the island of Avallan (as aforesaid, the island of apples); viz. a tract of ground in Somerset, comparatively insulated by rivers of water, where plenty of apples grow. Otherwise, if Avallan be a simple, it signifies an orchard of apples. Two foot beneath this cross they then also found two coffins made of hollow oak, wherein were the bones and skeletons of king Arthur and Genevour his wife; the hair of the said lady being then whole, and of fresh colour, as Fabian saith; but as soon as touched it fell to powder. As for that part of Merlin's prophesy, which saith that his praises should be celebrated, and that his famous acts should be food to those that would relate them, and of the six kings of king Arthur's lineage that should succeed him. See my translation and explanation. This history, for substance, is collected out of Galfridus and other chronologers, 1150, John Trevisa's book of the acts of king Arthur, tempt. Henry IV. John Lydyate, a monk of St. Edmunsbury, who writ a tract of king Arthur's round Table, Anno Dom. 1470; William Caxton, author of that chronicle called Fructus Temporum, who also writ the history of king Arthur, 1484; Nicholas Upton, canon of the cathedral church of Wells, 1440, and others.------If Dundagel castle was built of masons work, lime and stone (as the ruins thereof seem to shew) in the time of Gothlouis, it seems to contradict what Gildas the sage and other chronologers tell us concerning the art of masonry in this land, viz. that the Britons had it from the Romans, and that Benedict Biscop, a monk of Durham, and some others, brought the first masons and glasiers into this isle, from Italy or Rome, about the year 700. In like manner Gildas saith, that when the Romans forsook the government of this land, about the year of Christ 500, Gallio Ravenas being then lieutenant-general of all their forces in Britain, at his departure with the legions, he advised the natives, for their better security and defence, to build the fifth prætentura, or wall, upon the confines of their country towards Scotland, for keeping out their enemies. But the Islanders, or Britons, building the wall *(non tam Lapidibus quam Cæspitibus*, are his words) not with stones but with turf, as wanting skilful hands to carry on the work, it signified nothing, and stood them in no stead. For their enemies, after the Romans departure, broke in over it, and destroyed the country with fire and sword, after a barbarous manner. From whence this inference may be rais'd, either that the walls of Dundagell are not so ancient as is pretended, or otherwise that the Cornish people had the knowlege of the mason's art before the eastern part of this land.-----King Arthur's three admirals at sea, as appears from the book of Triades in British, were Gerint ab Erbyn, a nobleman of Cornwall (for then Cornwall and Devon were one county, or province), slain at Lhongporth, (now London) by the Saxons, Anno Dom. 540, March ab Meirchyon, and Gwenwynwyn

themselves to the Saxon usurpers, and, though after the lapse of several centuries,

ab Nau. There is yet extant in the British tongue an elegy upon the death of this Gerint, which, amongst others, hath these words: ---

Yn Longborth yllas Gerint,
Gur deur o godir Dyfneint;
Wyntwys yn Lladhgyt as Ledeint
Yn Llongborth llas y Arthur,
Guyr deur Kymmuvint o dur
Amheravdyr, llywyadyr llauur.

That is: "In Longporth was slain Gerint, a man beloved, of Devon; overcome in fight, or vanquished in Lhongporth, where he was slain for Arthur, a man beloved, who commanded over the water; --- admiral (or general) of a fleet great. King Arthur also, by reason of the great schism in the church between the arian and catholic clergy, instituted the order of knights of the holy trinity, and built the chapel of trinity at Restormell. As also Trinity chapel on the Thames, for his admirals, where Gerint was slain. Pierce Gaveston being made earl of Cornwall, by king Edward II. and afterwards banish'd for his wicked practices, and put to death by licence of that king, took out of the jewel-house a table of gold and tressels of the same, which once belonged to king Arthur, and deliver'd them to Amery of Friscobaud, a merchant, to be carried to Gascoigne; where they were sold at a great price, to his own private advantage, as our chronologers tell us. But, in memory of king Arthur, Roger Mortimer, soon after, at such time as he (and queen Eleanor his concubine, wife of king Edward II.) governed this kingdom, in imitation of him, kept a round table, to which many noble knights belonged and frequented, to his infinite cost and expence, who by him were called the Knights of the Round Table. The Isle of Man being conquered by William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, temp. Edward III. he caused him to be stiled King of Man, and gave him leave to institute at Windsor, in a chamber two hundred foot round, in imitation of king Arthur, a society of Knights of the Round Table." *Hals*, pp. 96, ... 104. --- For such memoirs of the British hero as deserve the notice of the antiquary, the historian and the philosopher, see *Whitaker's* Manchester, (quarto edition) vol. 2. pp. 31, ... 51.

† "On the river Camel, neere to Camelford, was that last dismal battel strooken betweene the noble king Arthur, and his treacherous nephew Mordred, wherein the one took his death, and the other his deaths wound. For testimony whereof, the olde folke thereabouts will shew you a stone, bearing Arthur's name, though now depraued to Atry." *Carew*, f. 122. 2. --- "Camelford was famous (says Br. Willis) in the time of king Arthur, for a memorable battel fought here, between him and his nephew Mordred, in which the latter was kill'd upon the spot; and the former, mortally wounded, being convey'd to Glastonbury, there dy'd, May 21, 542. This place is also remarkable for a second battel, fought Anno 823, between the Britons and Saxons at Gafulford, otherwise written Camelford; which takes its name from the little river Camel, alias Alan. Concerning the first of these fights, you may see a full account in Leland's Collectanea, vol. 5. p. 37, and 88, in which is a large history of king Arthur. It was from this author's works, that Camden borrow'd (as he did great part of his Britannia) the account he has given us of this king's receiving his first, and yielding up his last breath near the same place; of which an eminent poet and antiquary (whose writings are a sufficient argument of his learning and virtue; and since the great Selden has thought them worthy of his notes, could not, if better known, have fail'd to recommend him more to the esteem and admiration of the world) has the following verses; in which, speaking of the river Camel, running at the end of this town, he supposes it to have had its name from its crookedness, and alludes to this battel as the occasion thereof.

As frantick, ever since her British Arthur's blood,
By Mordred's murth'rous hand, was mingled with her flood;
For as that river best may boast that conqu'ror's breath,
So sadly she bemoans his too untimely death;
Who after twelve proud fields against the Saxons fought,
Yet back unto her banks by fate was lastly brought;
As tho' no other place, on Britain's spacious earth,
Were worthy of his end, but where he had his birth."

See *Drayton's Polyolbion*, p. 5. *B. Willis*, vol. 2 pp. 82, 83.

contending for their hereditary throne. Besides the princely names of *Caudor* and *Indualis*, we have (1) *Constantine*, (2) *Tendurus*, (3) *Gerennius*, *Belthrusius*, and (4) *Careticus*, (5) *Cadvan*, and *Cadwallo* in the van of our armies, against *Cerdic* and *Cynric*, *Ceawlin* and *Ceolric*, *Ceolwolph* and *Cynegilsus*, the contemporary kings of West-Saxony. To enter into a detail of their battles would be absurd. Every probable circumstance is surrounded with fiction. That the event of almost every battle was favourable to the Saxons, may be easily collected. § Routed by the enemy,

(1) He is supposed to have suffered martyrdom, and is therefore reckoned a saint. We have a church dedicated to Constantine, in the gift of the church of Exeter: and the parish feast is on the nearest Sunday to the 11th of March, according to the martyrology cited by bishop *Usher*. Prim. p. 541. "His issue is said to have continued dukes of Cornwall a long time." *Rowland*, p. 170.

(2) *Tendurus* was king of Cornwall, when St. Petrock made his last visit to the Cornish, A, D. 557. *Usher*, p. 1141. His name is preserved in *Tenduro*.

(3) Gerennius was king of Cornwall in 589, according to *Usher*, who thinks him successor to Constantine to whom he was grandson. He lived at Dingerein, (i. e. the fort of Gerennius) which, most likely, was somewhere near the church supposed to be called from this prince Gerrans, and to give name to the harbour thence called Dingerein port. *Usher*, p. 560. When the "*yellow plague*" raged, even to the depopulation of south Wales, and among the rest had carried off king Maglocun, Theliaus then bishop of Landaff, (with some suffragan bishops and several attendants) came into Cornwall, and was there kindly entertained by Gerennius. Thence St. Theliaus went into Armorica, and after staying there seven years and seven months, on his return to his own country visited Gerennius again, found him dying, gave him the sacrament, and proceeded to Landaff. (*Usher*, p. 560.) This Gerennius is thought to be the person mentioned before, and celebrated in the ode or elegy called Cowydd Gereint ap Erbyn, by Lowarch Hen, a British prince and poet, who flourished about that time (*Rowland's* Mon. p. 187.) Mr. *Lhuyd* (in his Arch. Brit. p. 260.) gives us the following account of this ode: "In Epicædio Geruntí docet cujus filius fuerit, et locum ubi occiderit designat, pugna fortassis navali; nam in portu Lhonborth dicto peremptum refert. Deinde Arthuro tam egregium militem Longportæ sublatum dolet." But it must be observed, that this Gerennius king of Cornwall, fell not in battle, but died in his bed, as above; and that time will not permit both persons to be one, and the same; for the Gerennius, who is the hero of the poem, was killed at Longborth, in the days of king Arthur; the poet lamenting that Arthur had lost so excellent a soldier as Gerennius the son of Erbyn.

(4) In 590, Gurmond, a Norwegian pirate was, after the conquest of Ireland, invited thence by the Saxons, to join them against Careticus the British king: and it is said that the Britons were worsted, and that they sought safety by flight into Wales, Cornwall, and Britanny. *Carew*, f. 96. b.

(5) From the year 617, the dukedom of Cornwall seems annexed to the crown of Britain. Cadvan reigned over Cornewayle: (*Hard.* p. 85) and so did Cadwallo, his successor; G. Mon. XCVIII.) as appears by the assembly of Britons held at Exeter by his nephew, during his exile in Britanny; and so probably did Cadwalader. But upon Cadwalader's death, though the Britons afterwards had never one king in common to Wales and Cornwall, yet the former had several petty princes, and the latter its own ruler, sometimes called king, and sometimes duke. Geruntius was king of Cornwall in the year 690. *Usher*, (Prim. p. 1167.) places an epistle he received from Adhelm, in this year. Cornwall was vanquished by king Ina, (*Hunt.* 193. --- *Cressy*, p. 522. --- *Saxon Chron.* ad ann. 710.) and Ina acquired great glory by his wars with the Cornish. *Rapin's England*, vol. I. p. 209.

§ A. 614. Cynegils, king of the West Saxons, slew 2046 of the Britons at *Beamdune*, or *Bamton*, in Devon. *Saxon Chron.* p. 25.

we see Cadwallo flying to the opposite coast; whilst his nephew *Brian* convoking the Britons at Exeter, represented to a full assembly the posture of their affairs, exhorted them to fortify their towns, and to prepare for the reception of their king, who would soon return to them with considerable reinforcements from Bretagne. Nor were the hopes of the assembly disappointed. *Cadwallo* returned with his expected forces; and fortune determined, for a moment, in favor of the Britons. Yet the British monarchy might be said to expire with Cadwallader his son: the power of the Saxons was no longer to be resisted. And, though *Cenwallus, Sexburgia, Æscwinus, Kentwin,* and *Ceadwalla,** the hereditary successors of *Cynegilsus,* had opposed the Britons with various success; the arms of Ina, the 12th Saxon king, were uniformly victorious. And his triumphs over *Geruntius* the British prince, were too decisive to admit any further conflict than the last struggle of despair. We see *Ethelard,* the successor of *Ina,* spreading desolation every where around him; though momentarily checked in his progress by the valour of *Roderick,* who gave him battle on the banks of the Tamar, and scattered his forces over the country. These gleams of success were fleeting and fallacious. The Britons still harrassed, were forced to fly from Exeter, far into Cornwall: and they were universally discomfited in a variety of engagements with *Cuthred, Cynewulph,* and *Brithric.* Whether *Ivor,*† king of Bretagne, came over or not, at this conjuncture, to assist the Britons, is rather uncertain. Our chroniclers assert, however, that the western people, under his auspices, recovered their country

* "Cedwall, king of the West Saxons, went to Rome in the year 689; and there being baptized, renounced the world, ended his life, and was buried with this epitaph:

Culmen, opes, sobolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,
Exuvias, proceres, mœnia, castra, lares;
Quæque patrum virtus, & quæ congesserat ipse,
Cædwall armi-potens, liquit amore Dei."

with more; which you may see in Paulus Diaconus and Beda. *Camden's Remains,* p. 351.

† In 688, we are told, Ivor, son of Alane, king of Bretagne, landed in the west of Britain, and wrested from the Saxons Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset. *Carew,* f. 96. --- In the opinion of some antiquaries, Ivor's expedition is a mere fable. See *Sheringham,* p. 393. But there was certainly a very close connexion at this time between Cornwall, Wales, and Armorica. The Cornish and Welsh had hitherto been governed by the very same princes: the dissolution of this government had not long taken place. With respect to Britanny, it must be remembered that the Armorican Britons had originally emigrated from Cornwall: and some of them had fled before the Saxons into Cornwall, and from Cornwall into Armorica again. The assistance therefore, which Ivor is here supposed to give the Cornish, agrees with the general course of history.

from the Saxons. They mention three successful battles of the Britons---one at Heyl, another at Gardmailank, and a third at Pentun.‡ But the western Britons were soon reduced to a situation the most disastrous; and giving up all for lost, implored, in a despairing moment, the assistance of the piratical Danes; though from melancholy experience they had been taught to execrate a similar measure in their ancestors, and to lament so fatal a neglect of resources which were only to be found at home, and which could alone have ensured their safety. The Danes accepted this precipitate invitation; and appearing in three ships on the shores of West-Saxony, promised their inviters a supply of troops. *In 806, a Danish fleet arrived at the western coasts: and the Danmonians, reassuming their spirits, began to challenge their oppressors to the field. *Egbert* was at this time the West-Saxon king; and, as uniter of the heptarchy, first king of England: For such was the country called in contra-distinction with Wales and Scotland. And *Danmonium* was now divided into *Devonshire* and *Cornwall.* This was the posture of affairs, when a formidable insurrection of the Cornish, reinforced by the Danes, on their frontiers, drew all the attention of *Egbert* to his western territories: and in the year 813, he laid waste a great part of Cornwall.§ In the 24th year of Egbert, a very bloody though indecisive action is said to have happened on the banks of the Camel,‖ between the

‡ See *Wynne*, p. 18; and *Lhuyd's* preface to his Cornish Grammar.

* Roger Hoveden reporteth, "that about the year 806, a fleet of Danes arrived in *West-Wales*, with whom the Britons joined in insurrection against king *Egbright*:---but he gloriously discomfited them at *Hengistendune*:---which I take, says Carew, to be HENGSTEN DOWNE.

§ In the year 813, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, though *Rapin* says 809. In "Cornwall" (I must repeat) a large portion of Devon is here included.---"FORTISSIMOS fortiter effugavit," says *Hoveden*, speaking of Egbert and the Cornish. See p. 237.

‖ Master Camden letteth vs understand, that this towne is sometimes termed Gaffelford: wherethrough we may marke it for the lists of a great fight betweene the Bretons and Deuonshire men, which Houeden assigneth to haue bene darrayned at Gauelford, and perhaps the same, which the said Master Camden voucheth out of Marianus Scotus, and describeth by these verses of an elder poet:

---------Naturam Cambala fontis,
Mutatam stupet esse sui, transcendit inundans
Sanguineus torrens ripas, & ducit in æquor
Corpora cæsorum, plures natare videres
Et petere auxilium, quos vndis vita reliquit.

The riuer Camel wonders, that his fountaines nature showes
So strange a change, the bloody streame vpswelling ouerflowes
His both side banks, and to the sea the slaughtered bodies beares:
Full many swimme and sue for ayde, while waue their life outweares. *Carew*, f. 122.

Cornish and the West-Saxons of Devonshire. The Cornish rallied their forces under *Caradocus* their king; and assisted by the Danes, marched eastward to attack the Saxons in 835; but, though not unsuccessful in their first rencounter, they were totally discomfited at Hengesdune-hill, a few miles west of the Tamar.* About sixteen years after this event, *Cheorl*, earl of Devonshire, engaged the Danes with success.‡ King *Alfred* succeeding to the crown in 872, found himself involved in a dangerous war with the invading Danes, who had already reduced Northumberland, penetrated into Wessex, and possest themselves of several towns. The king, therefore, was forced to take the field, before he had been a month upon the throne. In his first rencounter he was worsted; but soon rallied his scattered forces, and put the Danes to flight. Yet, in 876, they repeated their attack on the west of England, seized on Wareham-castle, in Dorsetshire, and the next year, detached a part of their army (which chiefly consisted of cavalry) to Exeter.§ Here we see them wintering, and occupying the castle, under the protection of the Cornish, whose territories were hitherto bounded by this city. To reconcile this circumstance with the former part of the history, we find a passage in William of Malmesbury, by which it appears, that

* It was on this occasion, that Egbert enacted the severe law, that no Briton should set foot on English ground under pain of death.

‡ In 851, Cheorl, an earl of Devon, fought the pagan Danes at *Wicganbearch*, according to the Saxon Chronicle. This place bishop *Gibson* takes to be *Wembury*, in Devon. See *Geoff. of Monm.* l. v. c. xv.

§ A. 876. In this year *Rollo* (a Danish nobleman, who was possess'd of the dutchy of *Normandy*, and was an ancestor of William the conqueror) came through Normandy with his army; and the same year privately got them landed at *Wareham* in *Dorsetshire* (then an haven, but now long since choaked up); from whence they dispers'd themselves into the villages of the *West-Saxons*. Coming thus suddenly and unexpected, king *Alfred* thought proper to treat and make a truce with them, on condition that they would forthwith depart the kingdom; which they swore to do, and *Alfred* took hostages of them for the performance of their oath: But they, being not accustomed to be bound by such ties, the very next night privately sent away that part of their army that had horses, for *Exeter*, whence they went to *Chippenham*, in *Wiltshire*, and winter'd there.---In the next year, A. 877, this Danish army came from *Wareham* to *Exeter*, disregarding their late oath, and perhaps expecting their shipping there; which in the mean time had been sent round to the westward, possibly with this view; but a terrible storm arising, one hundred and twenty of their vessels were lost at *Swanawic*, in *Hampshire*. Upon this, king *Alfred*, with a considerable troop of horse, followed, but could not overtake them 'till their arrival in *Exeter*, where they delivered him such hostages as he demanded; and having renewed and confirmed the peace on their oaths (which they never kept), they went thence in the following autumn into the kingdom of *Mercia*; part of which they divided, and committed part to the care of one *Ceowlf*, who had now the command of *Mercia*, *London*, and *Essex*, with which (the Saxon Chronicle says) he had been intrusted by an unwise king, whose thane he was. *Saxon Chron.* A. 876, and 877. *Hen. Huntington*, 200. *Alured of Beverley*, p. 104. and *Roger de Hoveden*, p. 233.

Exeter had been divided between the Saxons and the Cornish. The latter, however, must have possest no inconsiderable influence, if they admitted the Danes into the city, in direct opposition to the Saxons. During the heptarchy, Exeter had been for many years the seat of the West-Saxon kings. - - - - What is most probable is, that the Britons and Saxons lived here promiscuously together, through all the revolutions of government; though great numbers of the former were expelled from the city by their Saxon lords. Hither, whilst the Danes occupied the castle, a Danish fleet directed their course with fresh supplies; but were wrecked or scattered in a storm: and a land-army, marching from the west towards Exeter, to join the first detachment, were encountered at the same instant by Alfred, and obliged to give hostages for their immediate departure. The Danes also, who had fortified themselves in the city, now abandoned it, and rapidly retreated into the north. From this crisis (if not before) the Saxons appear to have been absolute masters of Exeter; though not, as yet, to the exclusion of the Cornish. In the year 878, the brother of Inwaerus, and *Healfdenus*,‖ a Danish commander of 23 ships, is said to have been slain in Devonshire with 840 men: and, in the year 894, we are told that the Danes attacked a fortification in the north of Devonshire, with 40 ships.* The Danes, about the same time, with 100 ships, laid siege to Exeter, which drew Alfred again into the west, accompanied by *Edred*, duke of Devon and Cornwall, who seems to have attended the Saxon king in all his military expeditions. They fled at the approach of Alfred.† In 901, a troop of the Cornish was dispersed by *Edward*, when *Alpsius* was duke of Devon and Cornwall. The year 937, is rendered memorable by the landing of the

‖ "The Devonshire men (says a learned writer) slew *Halden*, a Danish king, of whom a hill near Exeter bears the name."

* Perhaps this fortification was at *Appledore*. For it is related by *Stowe*, "that the Danish captain Hubba, after having wasted South Wales with fire and sword, landed at Appledore, in the days of Alfred, with 33 sail of ships, and laid siege to the castle of *Kenwith*. He was slain in the assault, with 1,200 of his men, who long fought for their banner *Rufan*, in which they reposed their hopes of victory. Their defeat we are consequently to attribute to the loss of this enchanted banner, in which was the figure of a raven wrought in needle-work by the daughters of Lodbrog. The Danes buried their captain on the shore; and, according to the manner of the northern nations, piled on him a heap of copped stones, as a monument to his memory. From that day (as it is said) the burial-place was called *Hubbastone*.

† In 894, the Danes besieged Exeter; but the siege was raised by Alfred in person. *Saxon Chron.* pp. 93, 94. In 897, we observe several *Sea-fights* between the people of Devon and the Danes; in which king Alfred had vessels of sixty oars and upwards. *Saxon Chron.* p. 98.

seven Danish princes at the mouth of the river Axe. These leaders (if we may credit the vulgar tradition) marched up the valley to a little hill called *Bremeldown*, where they formed their encampment. It was near this hill, that *Athelstan*, king of England, accompanied by two dukes, and the bishop of Sherborne, met the Danish army. The battle was long and obstinate: and, though the enemy, driven across the river, lost six thousand men, there was much effusion of blood on the king's side: two dukes and the bishop fell, among other distinguished leaders.‡ In the mean time, the eastern Cornish, whose spirit was not easy to be supprest, had been concerting measures for a fresh rebellion: and, in the succeeding year, they confederated against Athelstan, with the Irish, Scots, Welsh and Danes. The Saxon king, however, having first overthrown the allied nations, marched directly to the west, took possession of Exeter, and expelled the Cornish from their ancient seat; which, according to some accounts (as we have seen) they had inhabited on equal terms with the Saxons.*

‡ "When king Athelstan ruled England, seven Danish kings (for so the Saxons called such as had command) landed at a place called *Seaton*, and so marching about two miles in a bottom, and on a little hill called *Bremeldon*, there they encamped, from whence they marched on some three miles, and near unto *Axminster* they met with king Athelstan, who had in his company a bishop and two dukes, where the field was fought on. But the Danes were driven to give ground, and fly over the water, where was made a very great slaughter of them, and most of the Danes slain, and the maimed were sent two miles above Axminster to be relieved. Also the bishop and the two dukes which were on the king's side were slain, and buried at Axminster. Holingshed doth somewhat with this---Mr. Camden writeth: "Axanminster, a town of the Saxon princes, which in that cruel battle at *Brunaburg*, being slain, were thither conveyed, and with their tombs (famous in antient histories) hath made the place (situated on the limits of the province) famous." This story being so famous and near the place of my dwelling, hath made me the more curious and careful in searching the truth thereof out of the names of the places mentioned therein. And first, for their landing at Seaton, and the marching up the bottom, and the camping at Bremeldoun. The name of *Bremeldoun*, doth yet remain unto this day, and the hill lying east from *Colyton*, (where I dwell) retaineth the name of *East Kingsdown*, and the place where the battle was fought conserveth the name of *Kingsfield*, being in distance not above three miles from Kingsdown: and the place over the water, where the slaughter was made, is now called *Kill-men-ton*: and the place above Axminster, where the hurt and maimed were conveyed unto, retaineth the name of Maimbury unto this day. In this place is to he seen an old castle or fortification, such as was in use in those days." This far *Sir Will. Pole*.---See Description of Devon, pp. 115, 116. Henry, in his History of Great-Britain, has drawn up an entertaining account of this battle, which (he says) was fought at Brunanburg; leaving it to his readers to find out the situation of the place. See *Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 112, 113. *W. Malms.* l. 2. c. 6. *Ethelward*, c. 5. *Ingulf. Brompt.* p. 839. *Huntin.* l. 5.

* See *Malmesbury*, p. 28. and *Speed's Chronicle*, p. 341.---Athelstan, (says an ingenious correspondent) had not yet closed his tour of hostility round the island. He now went down to the southern sea of it. He attacked the Cornish there. Of these, by an astonishing fatality of illiterateness, we have not one native history, one native law, or even one native coin. We know nothing of them, but what their enemies have been pleased to tell us. This, however, is very little. It is confined to four solitary incidents, I think---the battle of Egbert, in 823, against the Cornish at Camelford; the battle of Egbert again in 835, against the Cornish and Danes united at Hengston-hill; the

With their capital, where they had resided for ages, the Cornish lost all that tract of land which lies between the Exe and the Tamar. So signal a revolution could only have been effected by the most decisive overthrow.* That Athelstan pursued the Cornish almost to the extremity of the county, and not satisfied with the reduction of Cornwall, carried his arms into the isles of Sylleh, where he was equally victorious, are received as historical facts; though we are not acquainted with the particulars of the expedition.† That, though the Danes had hitherto considered the Cornish in the light of friends, they, from this time, were accustomed to land on the western coasts, as on several parts of England, with no other disposition than to plunder and destroy, is, also, the general belief. But, here, other pirates have been

reduction of Exeter; and the taking of the Scilly isles. So forlorn and abandoned does Cornwall appear upon the face of our island history! The reduction of Exeter is a curious piece of history. The Danmonian Britons, who were at this time generally called the western Welsh, as those of Wales were stiled the northern Welsh, and were sometimes called, as the most westerly Cornish were formerly, the Carnabii or Cornubian Welsh, the Cornwallish or the men of Cornwall, did to this day maintain their grounds, as far to the east as the river Exe. They thus preserved nearly all their old possessions safe from the rapacity of their Saxon auxiliaries. Their capital city, Exeter, they had lost. But then they had equal access to it with the English themselves---it being all open and unwalled, and had equal habitations in it. *Malmesbury* says; "Excestra quam ad id temporis *æquo* cum anglis *jure* inhabitarant." In this manner, had the Cornish and the English lived for some generations, mixing and uniting together at this common point of their confines, and preparing their spirits gradually for a full incorporation. But Athelstan now came. He wanted not to disturb the serenity; but he resolved upon an acknowlegement of his sovereignty. *Howel* was the king of the Cornish. He was as little inclined as his brother Wer of S. Wales, to own the supremacy of Athelstan. Athelstan, therefore, attacked him with vigor. The battle was plainly fought near Exeter. Howel and his Cornish were beaten. The crown of Cornwall became for the first time subordinate to the crown of England. It also lost much of its territories. It lost its share of Exeter. It lost all the lands betwixt the Exe and the Tamar. All Devonshire now became for ever a part of England. And the Tamar now formed the contracted limit (as it forms at this day) between England and Cornwall."

* Vincentius informs us, that Athelstan imposed on the princes of Cornwall a yearly tribute of gold, and silver, to a considerable amount, and of oxen, hunting-hounds, and hawks. *Carew*. f. 96.

† "During the piracies of the Danes, (says Borlase,)I conjecture that the Scilly islands frequently served them to retreat to occasionally, the giant's castle on St. Mary's appearing to have been the work of the Danes. In the beginning of the tenth century, when trade began to thrive, shipping to encrease, and naval wars to be carried on in the western world, then the commodious situation of these islands at the opening into both the channels, soon shew'd of what importance it was for Britain to possess them, and how dangerous they might be to the safety and trade of Britain, if in an enemy's hand. This seems to be the reason why Athelstan made a voyage to, and conquered these islands. This prince was taught by his grandfather Alfred's wise maxims, that the proper and natural security of Britain lay in the royal navy, and it's riches in traffic; and he saw that neither of them could be well provided for, if islands so situated were not subdued. It was not his own glory, nor any riches which the islands contained in themselves, but it was, more likely, the safety of navigation, which made this great prince, after he had entirely vanquished the Cornish about the year 938, undertake a conquest seemingly so little, but indeed of great consequence to his kingdom. It is thought king Athelstan gave these islands to monks, he being usually very liberal that way." *Borlase's* Isles of Scilly, p p, 99, 100.

often mistaken for the Danes. At West-Teignmouth, it seems, the Danes committed such horrid slaughter in 970, that the cliffs have, ever since, been stained with blood: they are "so very red, we are told, that they apparently memorize the bloodshed of those times."† In 981, when Aylmar was earl of Cornwall, the Danes are said to have burnt Bodmin. In the 19th year of king Ethelred, they entered the mouth of the Severn, and plundered the coasts of N. Wales,§ Cornwall, and Devon. Landing at ‖Weced-port, (now Bideford) they burned many villages, and put considerable numbers to the sword. We afterwards find them laying waste both sides of the river without opposition, setting fire to Lidford, plundering the abbey of Tavistock, and burning the town. About the year 1000, as our chroniclers report, Cornwall was governed by earl *Hugh a Norman; whom queen Emma had appointed to that station. To this Hugh, Sweno, or Sweyn, the king of Denmark,

† "West-Teignmouth, which is an haven, whose east part is called the Poles, a low sandy land, cast up from the sea, by the rage of wind and weather, which taketh up a great quantity between the haven and the town, is remarkable for the Danes' first arrival for the invasion of this kingdom, a nation accustomed to piracy upon the coast of France and Normandy. Here, in the year 970, they landed out of their ships to discover the country, for a greater force to follow; whereof the king's lieutenant more hasty than advised, demanded their name, and cause of coming and arrival; and attempting to seize on them by force, to present them to the king, was himself slain. After which they so prosecuted their begun attempt in this island, with unhuman and unheard of cruelty, even unto the Norman conquest, that the very cliff here red, seems yet to memorize the bloodshed and calamities of these times; according to these verses:

In memory whereof, the clift exceeding red
Doth seem hereat again full fresh to bleed.

Historians alledge two causes that provoked the Danes to attempt the conquest of this kingdom, whereof one for the strangeness I may not omit; Lothbrook, alias Lethebrick, a nobleman of the Danes, flying his hawk near the sea shore, she fell with her game into the sea; which to save he took a boat, and with the violence of a tempest suddenly arising, was driven into England, at a place called Rodham, in Norfolk, and thence brought to the king. Unto him he declared his birth and adventure, and was by the king, for his skill in hawking, kindly entertained. Whereat Berick, the king's falconer, envied, and observing time to single out Lethbrook, murthered him in a wood, whose body being found by a spaniel, and Berick suspected of the fact, and at last convicted, was adjudged to be put into Lethbrook's boat, and so committed to the mercy of the sea; but so the fates decreed, that Berick (by a strange accident) was driven on the coast of Denmark, near the place where Lethbrook put forth; the boat was known, he was examined what became of Lethbrook: he treacherously accused Edmond, king of the East Angles with the murder." *Risdon*, pp. 187, 188.

§ "Sudwales," says *H. of Huntingdon.*

‖ A. 997, The Danes having made depredations in Devon, Cornwall, and Wales, landed at *Weced-port*; and after sailing round *Penwith-steort* entered the Tamar and burnt *Hlida-forda* with the monastery of Ordulf at *Æteſingstoke*." *Gibson's Chron. Sax. Oxon.* 1692. p. 129.---Possibly *Wecedport* may be *Watchet*. *Penwith-steort* is certainly the *Land's-end*, *Hlidaforda*, *Lidford*, and *Æteſingstoke*, *Tavistock*.

* It appears that earl Hugh resided in Exeter: and Hoveden calls him governor of that city.

who had determined to invade England, dispatched a messenger to endeavour to gain him to his interest by the offer of a great reward. Hugh, yielding to the temptation, promised to admit the Danish fleet into his ports, and to suffer their troops to land without molestation. Thus encouraged, Swein fitted out a fleet of 300 sail, and landed in Cornwall with a numerous army; where meeting with no opposition, he marched directly to Exeter;* and laying siege to the city, took it by storm, razed a great part of its walls, and demolished the church.† Not content with this work of destruction, the Danes soon after invaded the city afresh; but being manfully resisted by the inhabitants, they drew off to a little distance, and encamped at Stoke-hill. At Pinhoe,‡ about a mile to the eastward of their camp, they routed Cola the Devonian leader with considerable slaughter.§

* *Matthew of Westminster. Walsingh. Huntingd.*

† Swayn rex Danorum per injuriam et proditionem Normanici comitis (quem Emma Domina præfecerat) civitatem Exoniensem infregit, spoliavit et murum ab orientali usque ad occidentalem portam destruxit, et cum ingenti præda naves repetit." *Hoveden.* ---- "The Danes besieged this place," says a correspondent. "Their army encamped, as tradition says, upon the northern side of the town, opposite the castle, and on a ground sloping towards both. And in the field immediately on the S. side of it, at the south-western point, are the remains of what is called Dane's-castle to this day. It was such a mount as the Danes raised against Canterbury, &c. but not so high, and now by digging formed into a shallow sort of cavity. But it appears to have been a point of the hill trenched round, and then raised by the earth thrown out of the ditch, &c. to give the Danes an opportunity of battering the castle, to which it is directly opposite and very near, upon equal ground. It was once therefore, nearly as high as that: and tradition says, that the grand attack was made at the N. gate, that the enemy was, for some time, repelled, but that, at last, he broke in, and destroyed all before him. History confirms this general account."

‡ A. 1001. The Danes, after a defeat upon the coast of Hants, burnt *West-Teignmouth*, with several other good villages; after that, *Exmouth, (Exanmuthan)*: and in one day's march from Exmouth, they reached *Peonho* or *Pinho*, and defeated the Devonians under Cola.* On the next morning they burnt *Peonho* and *Clistun*, with many other fine villages or hams. *Saxon Chron.* pp. 131, 132.

§ Hooker (see his Exeter) gives us the following account of the depredations of the Danes: "Exeter was in greater troubles in the time of king Alured, or Alfred, the fourth son of king Ethelwolphus. For Polydorus, (and others) writeth, that in the first year of that king's reign, the Danes, concluding a peace with him, gave hostages for the true keeping thereof. Notwithstanding which they perfidiously assembled themselves, and on a sudden marched to this city, and by force entered and took it: 'Daci etenim qui religionem, & fidem pro suo commodo post ponendam ducebant, Londino se movent, & maximis itineribus Exoniam proficiscuntur, urbemq; per vim capiunt.' But long they enjoyed not the same, for after the winter was passed, the king, to be revenged on them, marched towards this city; which the Danes hearing of, and thinking themselves too weak to withstand him, and utterly distrusting the citizens, they thought it best to shift for themselves: wherefore some fled to Dartmouth, and there took shipping; and these, for the most part, were drowned in a tempest at sea; others fled to Chippenham, or (as some say) to Bristol; but the king pursued them so close, that he never gave

* In Domesday, T. R. E. Cola tenebat Coletone pro Dim. Hida.

In 1002, the Danes at Tiverton were massacred, it seems, by the women in the

over till he had slain their captains Hubbert and Hungar. Likewise in the 19th year of the said king's reign, the Danes, contrary to their faith, promises, and pledges, did again come to this city, and laid siege thereto. Danorum exercitus Anno 877, ab Wareham nocte quadam fœdere dirupto, ad Exeancestre, quod Britannice dicitur Caeriske diverterunt, at audito Regis adventu ad puppes fugerunt, & in mari prædantes manebant.' It was also besieged by the Danes in the 19th year of king Egelred, in 1001: for the Danes which were in Normandy, being advertised of the great success, and large spoils, which their companions and countrymen had in England, their teeth were set on edge therewith; they therefore suddenly prepared shipping, crossed the seas, and landed in Devonshire, and forthwith bent their march towards this city, thinking to have found the citizens napping, and to have taken them unawares; 'sed civibus viriliter resistentibus recesserunt.' The people and commons of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset, advertised hereof, assembled themselves, resolving to endeavour to rescue the city, and to give battle to the Danes; meeting with them therefore at a place called Pinhoe, near this city, a sharp and bloody fight ensued, wherein was great slaughter. And thus Hoveden testifieth; 'Memoratus paganorum exercitus de Normannia in Angliam revectus, ostium fluvii Exe ingreditur, et mox ad extinguendam urbem Exeancestre egreditur, sed dum murum illius destruere moliretur, ac civibus urbem viriliter defendentibus repellitur, unde nimis exasperatus more solito villas succendendo, agros depopulando hominesque cædendo per Damnoniam vagatur, quare Damnonenses in unum congregati, in loco qui dicitur Pinho certamen cum eis ineunt.' King Sweno being in Denmark, and hearing hereof; and being also informed how king Elfred, alias Etheldred, or Egelred, had caused all the Danes in the kingdom to be suddenly slain in one night, was much grieved thereat; and did forthwith prepare a great army to take revenge for the same. In the year 1002, he therefore landed troops in sundry parts of the realm, making great devastations, and brought almost the whole into unspeakable misery and distress. But at length receiving a tribute for a peace, he returned home into his own country. Howbeit, the citizens of Excester, hearing of the cruelties he practised in the east parts, prepared themselves and city to oppose him, should he attempt to commit any hostility against them. But the Dane being returned home, and knowing nothing of this preparation, one Hugh, then earl of Devon, (as princes lack not flatterers) sent letters into Denmark, acquainting king Sweno both with the state of the city and the preparations that the citizens made to withstand him; persuading him withal not to put up with so great an injury. And as coals will soon be kindled, even so the Dane, upon receiving this advice, was in a very great heat, and forthwith putteth all things in readiness to cross the seas anew to work his will against this city. Accordingly, when time served, the year following, viz. 1003, he took the sea, and landed upon the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, marching directly to this city, and laid siege against it in the beginning of the month of August, and continued the same till the kalends of the month of September. During which time many fierce and cruel assaults were given by the Dane, and as valiantly resisted by the citizens. But, in continuance of time, when they saw themselves daily more and more weakened, victuals begin to fail, the fire round about them, their walls beaten down, themselves slaughtered, the enemy to encrease, and become stronger and stronger, and their king, Eldred, fled into Normandy, taking no care about them, nor affording them any succour or relief; it is not to be wondered at, if, in such dreadful calamity, they appeared as people deprived of all motion, so great was their astonishment. But considering with themselves that Sweno was a Dane, a most cruel enemy, a bloody murderer, a usurping tyrant, and had no other title to the crown of England than what the sword gave him, they resolved never to yield to him, nor give over, whilst any were left living able to bear arms; chusing rather to dye manfully for their commonwealth, and by death reap an immortal fame, than by life to become infamous, and be the miserable slaves of a usurping tyrant. When, therefore, after many assaults, all or most of the ablest men were spent and consumed, and few left alive to withstand so mighty and so many enemies, the Dane, on the 27th of August, by force entered the city; and after he had gratified his lust, in deflowering of women, and glutted his bloody appetite, in causing men, women, and children to be put to the sword, he spoiled the city, burnt the houses, rased the walls, beat down the temples, and left nothing standing which might by fire, sword, or spoil, be consumed. And this is so witnessed by sundry writers. Sir Richard Baker writes, that the city was valiantly defended for the space of two months; but at length, through the treachery of one Hugh, a Norman, (entrusted by queen Emma, as governor) was given up." See *Baker's* Chron. fol. 13.

night.* On the advancement of the Danes to the throne of England,

* According to Hewett's MS. memoirs, probably transcribed from more ancient records. - - - - - I have been thus particular in relating the Danish story, as connected with Cornwall and Devonshire, in order to give the advocates for Danish castles every fair advantage. The records of the Saxon (1) chronicle I admit to be authentic; but not the reports of Henry of Huntingdon, or of Hoveden, when unsupported by other histories. But I have brought all together. Let me ask, then, whether it appears, from the whole tissue of facts, probabilities and fictions, that the Danes ever encamped in the hundred of Penwith,(2) or any part of the west of Cornwall? According to Borlase's own representation, the Danes were almost strangers to the coasts, when the Cornish implored their assistance - - - - the Cornish, probably, inhabiting Exeter and the territory not far west from the city. The battle of 835, in which the Danes confederated with the Cornish, was fought a few miles only westward of the Tamar. About the year 876, we find the Danes wintering at Exeter. In the famous confederacy of the Cornish, Danes, Irish, Scots, and Welsh against Athelstan, the king, after having beat the allies, drove the Cornish out of Exeter, and deprived them of the whole country between the Exe and the Tamar. On the dissolution of the league between the eastern Cornish and the Danes, history tells us, that *pirates* committed depredations on the coasts of West-sex. But supposing these pirates to be always Danes, where in particular, we ask, did they commit depredations? Not further west than Bodmin, in the year 981, and afterwards on the east and west banks of the Tamar. - - - Then came the Danes to the throne of England.

Viewing the Danes, therefore, as friends or as enemies, can we trace them, in the west of Cornwall? Whilst they were our friends, they were accustomed, if we may give credit to Borlase,(3) to land even at the *western extremity* of Cornwall, and there *encamp*, and thence march through *all* Cornwall into Devonshire, to fight the Saxons!!! This, (he says) they "seem *always*" to have done. It is scarcely possible to imagine a greater absurdity, than that the Danes should thus land in the west of Cornwall, with the view of fighting their enemies in the east! But fancy them landed in Penwith. Why should they proceed to form such numerous castles as Borlase hath described, or, indeed, any castles at all, among their friends, the natives? If we consider the Danes as our enemies, is it likely that they should chuse the hills of Penwith as a scene of fortification, in preference to other hills in Cornwall? Are any such military works as our author here attributes to the Danes, discoverable on the coasts of Norfolk or Suffolk,(4) which, we know, were repeatedly ravaged by this people? Not one. That Borlase's ideas on this subject were extremely confused, is evident from his assertion, that history represents the Danes much longer resident in Cornwall than elsewhere, when history exhibits nothing like it - - - - from his attempt to prove this position by sending us to his Danish castles - - - - from his efforts to prove that his castles were Danish, by sending us back again to this position - - - - and from his palpable contradictions of himself, in describing the castles in question. In one place, he says: "They look more like *settled habitations*, than *hasty vallums* thrown up for temporary encampments. In these strong holds so plainly bespeaking *leisure and security*, considerable parties of Danes might well chuse to winter, rather than in towns." pp. 47, 48. In another place, describing these identical castles, he tells us: "they have no houses, but only some low huts. Most of them have some part of either ditch or vallum unfinished. They had only temporary shelters. The outer parts were left unfinished; because the general when satiated with plunder, would call off the garrison," p. 317. The Doctor seems to forget, that he hath placed his general at the Land's-end among the friendly Cornish.

(1) The nature of the Saxon Chronicle was this. Every religious house, especially of royal foundation, was obliged to keep a secretary who was to record the transactions during the king's reign; as also the deaths, promotions, &c. of the society, with every occurrence in their neighbourhood deserving notice. Upon the death of the king, a synod or convocation was called, and a committee appointed; whose office it was, on a due examination of the facts, to judge what was necessary or proper to be registered in a summary way. And the two chief registers were those of Canterbury and Peterborough. The register of Peterborough seems, for the most part, to be the chronicle before us, - - - the most ancient and authentic thing of the kind in Europe.

(2) Hoveden tells us, that "the Danes sailing round Penwith-steort, made foul havock in Devon and Cornwall." But admitting Hoveden's evidence in all its force, does it prove that the Danes landed on Penwith?

(3) See Antiquities, pp. 44, 45, 46, 47.

(4) There is a "Castel-an-Dinas-Bran," in Denbighshire; certainly not Danish. Why, then, should a Cornish castle of a similar name be pronounced Danish?

its coasts were relieved from the Danish piracies. In 1046, Algar was earl of Cornwall.* In 1066,‡ the Norman conqueror ascended the throne. And scarcely was he seated there, before he turned his attention to his faithful followers, whom he endeavoured to establish throughout the kingdom; appointing them to the chief honors and offices of the state, and allotting them lands in the different counties. In Cornwall and Devonshire, his partiality to his countrymen, by which many of the natives were superseded in places of high dignity and emolument, was opposed with a spirit that, for a long while, interrupted his plans. The people of Exeter, resolutely refusing submission to his government, were joined by the noblemen and gentlemen of the country: † the confederacy was confirmed by a public oath: and the most effectual measures were immediately taken to support it. But William, not easily deterred from the execution of his designs, sent thither a detachment of his army, charged with orders to invest the city. The siege was long and daring. The citizens were as obstinate in their resistance, as the Normans in their attack. In the mean time, the conqueror, impatient of the length of the contest, set out from London, to join the besiegers; but reached no farther than Salisbury, having there received intelligence that Exeter had submitted, and sued for peace. Condorus, of the royal British blood, was now earl of Cornwall. But, to make room for his half-brother Robert, earl of Moreton, William had no hesitation in displacing Condorus. In the contest between the empress Matilda and Stephen, Cornwall

* He founded the abbey of Bruton, in Somerset. *Mon. Angl.* p. 1022. A. 1046. Earl Swane treacherously inveigled earl Beorn, nephew to king Canute, to go with him to his fleet at *Axa-muthan*, where he was murdered and buried --- but his body was after removed to Winchester." *Saxon Chron.* p. 160.

‡ Godwin and Edmond, the two sons of king Harold, are said to have plundered Devon and Cornwall, in 1068, and to have retired with their prey into Ireland.

† " William the conqueror was crowned in 1066; but, in 1068, the inhabitants of the city (says *Rapin*) refused to take the oaths to the king, and to admit a Norman garrison." Before this, in 1067, the conqueror had bestowed St. Stephen's, in the city of Exeter, on the cathedral, and made the bishop patron of it. From this circumstance, an ingenious friend of the author would infer, that William had been acknowleged king there; but, that his treatment of the English as a conquered nation and his levying the Danegelt caused the revolt of Exeter and many other places. See *Rapin*, vol. 1. p. 170. ----- *Tyrrel* says, that the people of Exeter offered to pay the conqueror tribute; though they refused at this juncture to acknowlege him as their king. p. 16. ----- It seems that the hostile spirit which that city discovered was through the instigation of Githa the mother of Harold. After the reduction of Exeter by William's army, Githa made her escape into Flanders, with all her treasures.

was not, as in many other instances, from its remoteness an idle spectator. The earl of Cornwall was brother to the empress; and, attended by his Cornish troops, was foremost in fighting her battles. Her various adventures, as related by William of Malmesbury, have all the air of romance. In military spirit, she seems to have equalled her antagonist; and in gratitude to her adherents, to have far outshone him. In the year 1140, when she had made Stephen her prisoner, and thrown him in irons, she immediately had respect to her friends; and began to reward their fidelity by the grant of lands or the distribution of honors. At this time (says the historian)‖ all England, except London and Kent, deserted the captive Stephen: and, from the interests of its earl, added to the general inclination of the people, all Cornwall had declared openly for Matilda. To the Cornish, then, the empress, we doubt not, was more especially attached: and in this very year, 1140, we find her giving lands in Cornwall to "Drogo de Polwheile," her chamberlain.§ The holy wars of Henry the second, and his successor, seize so strongly on the imagination, that we wish for an opportunity of connecting them with our provincial history: but we wish in vain.* Among the soldiers who accompanied Henry and Richard the

‖ See *Henry of Huntingdon*, and *Matt. Paris*.

§ By a deed, which begins thus: "Drogoni de Polwheile, camerario meo, &c. &c. This family-document bears date 1140.

* The following facts are curious. "In the year 1185, the king kept his christmas at Windsor. There came into England Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and some of the chief of the hospitalers and templars, with a letter from pope Lucius to the king, desiring aid for the Holy Land. On the first sunday in lent, the king, the patriarch, and the bishops, abbots, earls, and barons of England, and William, king of Scotland, and David his brother, with the earls and barons of his land, met at the king's court at London, to consider of this affair; and, after deliberation had, came to a resolution therein. *Hoved.* P. 2. p. 628, n. 10. Ad quam Dominicam [*primam quadragesimæ*] Dominus rex, & patriarcha, & episcopi, & abbates, & comites, & barones regni Angliæ, & Willelmus rex Scotiæ, & David frater ejus cum comitibus & baronibus terræ suæ convenerunt Londonijs, & habito inde cum deliberatione consilio, placuit universis quod Dominus rex consuleret inde Dominum suum Philippum regem Franciæ, &c. *ib.* p. 629. n. 10. In the year 1188, (34 Hen. II.) the king called a great council of the bishops, abbots, earls and barons, and many others, as well of the clergy as of the laity, at Gaintington. There he caused to be recited certain ordinances which he had lately before made in his countries beyond sea, for a disme in aid of the Holy Land. And thereupon, he sent some persons, both clerks and laymen, into all the counties of England, to collect the disme according to the said ordinance. Out of each city of England he caused the most wealthy men to be chosen, viz. out of London two hundred, out of York one hundred, and out of other cities a proportionable number according to the bigness of each, and to be presented before him at times and places appointed for that purpose. And took of them a disme of their moveables according to an estimate made by trusty men. And if any persons were refractory, he caused them to be imprisoned till they had paid the last farthing. *Hoved.* P. 2. p. 641.

First* in their wild expeditions, we might discover a few Cornish names: but of Cornish atchievements in the Holy Land we shall scarcely meet with a solitary memorial.‡ The story of Henry de la Pomerai, in rebellion against Richard, stands alone, as a detailed account of warlike enterprize in Cornwall.§ During

* It is recorded that the sword of our Cornish Arthur was presented by the First Richard, to Tancred king of Sicily, in the year 1191. This sword was the famous Caliburn. *Roger de Hoveden.*

‡ "One of the Tregarthyns of Tregarthyn, in S. Goran, accompanied Richard the First to the Holy Land; where he is said to have carried an escalop-shell with him, to drink out of. In memory of which, his posterity bore in a field argent, a cheveron between 3 escalop-shells, sable." *Hals's MS.*

§ "The mount, from the time of king Edward the Confessor to the middle of the reign of king Richard I. for the space of 150 years, was a sacred nursery of religion. But then, notwithstanding the sanctity thereof and the guardianship of St. Michael, it was seized by one Henry de la Pomeray, lord of Bury-Pomeray in Devon, and Tregoney Pomeray in this county, being distasted at the government of king Richard I. as many others were, by reason at the pope's request he engaged in the holy war and forsook his kingdom; leaving for his vicegerent William Longchamp, a Norman, bishop of Ely; who had extorted great sums of money from the people in his absence, without a parliament; and moreover so insulted even the nobility and gentry of this kingdom in his office, that he discontented the greatest part of them. And, to countenance his grandeur, he seldom rode abroad with less than a thousand attendants. Those, and other, his exorbitances, gave occasion to John earl of Cornwall and others, to fall into treasonable practices. Of this number, it seems, this Sir Pomeray was one; who not only informed the king beyond the seas, of these topping, majestical, and illegal practices of Longchamp at home, but that by reason thereof, king Philip of France in those distractions took occasion with a great army of soldiers to invade Normandy, and had taken the town of Guysors and many other places by force and arms, and would reduce the whole province in a short while, if not resisted, to his dominion. Whereupon the king in answer, by his letters patents, deposed Longchamp from his authority, and placed the archbishop of Roan in his place. When, soon after, Longchamp in woman's apparel made his escape into his own country; but was detected, and shrewdly beaten with rods, before his departure out of England, by the women there. Longchamp, as tradition saith, having noticed that De la Pomeray was in confederacy with earl John, who, under pretence of opposing his vice-government, designed the usurpation of king Richard's crown, though he had told him that, in case his brother should die before he returned into his kingdom, without issue, the right of succession was in Arthur duke of Bretagne, his elder brother's son, not him; sent a serjeant at arms to the castle of Berry-Pomeray in Devon, where he then resided, in order to arrest and take him into custody. Which he no sooner did, but Pomeray stabbed him to the heart; of which wound he instantly died. Upon which tragical accident, the murderer fled into Cornwall, where he had great possessions in lands, and besides, 12 lordships held by the tenure of knight's service; and there cast himself upon his *amicus* John earl of that province, who (as tradition saith) secretly supplied him with divers men at arms, to secure his person against his enemy the vice-roy. Which accordingly they did, till Longchamp was displaced. Afterwards notice being given, that king Richard was taken prisoner coming from the holy war 1194, by Leopold Archduke of Austria in Germany, and cast into his prison called Trivallis, in which no man before was known to be put that escaped with life; this news prompted Pomeray from the sin of murder to that of rebellion, resolving to reduce this Mount of St. Michael to earl John's dominion, and to place himself therein for better safety. In order to which he found out this expedient, to go with his guard of armed men that daily attended him, in disguise to that place under pretence of visiting a sister that he had among the religious people there. Who [the sister of Pomeray] upon discovering who he was and the occasion of his coming, had the gates opened; where he entered accordingly with his followers, who soon after discovered under their cloaths their weapons of war, and declared their designs were for reducing the mount to the dominion and use of John earl of Cornwall, and that if any person opposed them therein, they would revenge it upon him to the loss of their lives. Whereupon he commanded the prior and his monks, to deliver him the keys of the gates, and possession of the houses

the wars of Richard in Palestine, or his imprisonment in Germany, Henry De la Pomeray, as Hoveden tells, seized St. Michael's Mount, expelled the monks, and fortified the place, in behalf, it should seem, of John earl of Cornwall and the brother of Richard; who was then aspiring to the throne. On the release of Richard, it is stated, that Pomeray, fearing the king's vengeance, committed suicide; and that, after his death, the mount was surrendered to the archbishop of Canterbury. From this time

thereof for common uses; though therein he much incommoded the monks with his soldiers. Nevertheless, for fear of greater damage, they patiently submitted to his pleasure; who, thereupon, with his soldiers fortified the place, and so made it comparatively impregnable; and there lived in great pomp and triumph for some time not expecting ever to hear king Richard was in the land of the living or delivered from prison, it being for some time reported he was dead. But alas! many times common fame is a common liar; and all men are apt to believe such matter and things, as they would willingly have come to pass or stand well affected to. But, contrary to the expectation of Pomeray and his confederates, king Richard, after 15 months durance in prison, was ransomed for one hundred thousand pounds, and returned safe to London; when he found his brother John formidable, and making way to his crown, having gotten possession of the castles of Lancaster, Marlborough, Nottingham, St. Michael's Mount, and other fortresses, in which he had placed governors and soldiers. Whereupon, in order to reduce those places, king Richard raised a considerable army. At the news whereof, earl John fled into France, and was by his brother deprived of all his possessions in England. Notwithstanding which, the garrisons aforesaid stood firm to earl John's interest, till at the siege of Vernoil in Normandy, he fled from the French army to that of his brother's, threw down his arms, and submitted to his mercy. Whereupon he was restored to all his lands and dignities, both in Normandy and England. But, notwithstanding this concord and agreement between king Richard and his brother John, the castles aforesaid stood out and would not surrender, for some time after; especially this mount, which Pomeray commanded. On this, king Richard commanded Richard Revell, then Sheriff of Cornwall, with his posse comitatus to assist Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, chief justice and lord chancellor of England, whom he had sent as his general into Cornwall, to besiege St. Michael's Mount, and reduce Pomeray to his duty and allegiance Which army of men, and bands of soldiers no sooner approached the same, as Hoveden saith, and gave him summons, but the sight of the numerous army he was to contend with, so affrighted Pomeray and his confederates, that forthwith without resistance he surrendered the garrison on mercy, to the said Hubert Walter for the use of king Richard, 1196. At the consideration of which and his other facts, through trouble of mind, he soon after died, as despairing of pardon. Mr. Carew in his Survey of Cornwall (f. 154.) tells us, by report of some of his posterity, that he made his will, and bequeathed part of his lands to the monks of St. Michael's Mount, others to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, to pray for his soul; the remainder descended to his heirs. Which we have no reason to doubt of, since Henry de la Pomeray, one of his posterity (3d. Hen. 4.) at Tregony held 12 knights' fees of land in Cornwall (id. Mr. Carew.) Having so done, he caused himself to be blooded to death, to make his bequests good and valid in law. After his death, king Richard restored the prior and his monks to the full possession of their cells, revenues, and chapel. And in De la Pomeray's fort he placed a small garrison of soldiers, to defend the same against the sudden invasion of enemies. And in this condition St Michael's Mount remained, from the year 1196 to the year 1471, 275 years; manned out with carnal and spiritual soldiers." *W. Hals's* MSS. pp. 41, 42, 43, 44. "The first fortifications we read of on this hill are those of Henryde la Pumerai, who expelled the monks, &c. Et Mon, St. Michaelis, in Cornubia redditus est ei [Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi] quem Henricus de la Pumerai expulsis inde monachis contra regem munierat. Idem vero Henricus audito adventu regis [scil. Ricdi. primi a captivitate redeuntis] obiit timore perterritus. Hæc autem tria castella, viz. Merleberg, et Lancastre, et Mons St. Michaelis reddita fuerant ante adventum regis. Script. post. Bedam. p. 419." *Price's* MS. Hist.

to the conclusion of the period, the civil and military transactions of this county, are indiscriminately involved in those of England.§

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

CIVIL AND MILITARY CONSTITUTION.

THE kingdom of Wessex was very small for a considerable time after its constitution; but, from the great influence of its princes, it increased to such a degree, as at length to swallow up the other kingdoms of the heptarchy.*

§ "In the time of Henry the 3d, William earl of Sarum, having suffered much from tempestuous weather, arrived on the coasts of Cornwall about christmas; and so afterwards did earl Richard, the king's brother; and being destitute of horses and treasure, prayed therein the aid of his loyals." *Carew*, (from *Matt. Paris,)* f. 97. For the succession of our kings, whether British, Saxon, Danish, or Norman, see *Heylyn's* Hist. &c. as improved by *Wright*, (edit. 1786,) pp. 3, 4, 8, 10, 15, 16, 17.

* I here refer my readers to the Saxon Chronicle, for a view of the Saxons and Danes; and first to pages 15, 16, 17; where, among other particulars, we have the genealogy of *Cerdic* up to *Woden*; and a list of the *West Saxon Kings*, and the number of years in each reign, down to the reign of Edward the son of Edgar, which makes a a period of 433 years, to the year A. D. 953: but it breaks off imperfectly, and leaves an hiatus in the succession between that period and the Norman conquest: this is afterwards, however, explained in the course of the chronicle. My readers will, next, look to pages, 18, 19, 25, 33, 46; and will perceive several things remarkable in the establishment of Cerdic and of the W. Saxon kingdom. Who Cerdic was, is a point not easily determined. The author of the Saxon chronicle does not say that he was a Saxon. On the contrary, he tells us that Cerdic was the first foreigner that ever reigned over the land of the West Saxons: This seems to imply that the Saxons had kings before, but none of a foreign race. Yet he describes Cerdic as being a prince that derived his descent from (1) Woden. Speaking afterwards of the arrival of Staffa and Witgar, he calls them Saxons; and relates that Cerdic, on gaining the Isle of Wight, gave it to these two Saxon chiefs, as being his nephews. Where Cerdic landed, and where the seat of his kingdom was, are the next things to be considered. The chronicle says, he landed at Cerdices ora; and after some encounters with the Britons, was at length opposed by the famous *Natanleod*, a British prince, whom he defeated and slew. Mr. Carte, who has cleared up these particulars, I think with success, shews that he probably landed somewhere on the S. coast of Dorsetshire, and that the district which belonged to Natanleod and reached to Cerdices-ford, is the country lying between Tanley, near Andover, in Hants, and Cherford near Poole, in Dorset. The West-Saxon kingdom, therefore, probably extended through Hampshire from the borders of the S. Saxon kingdom, to Wilt-

(1) "From Cerdic (says Dr. Henry, vol. 2. p. 251.) our present most gracious sovereign, George the Third, is descended."

To Egbert we owe the establishment of our monarchy; which now first assumed the name of *England*, in contradistinction with Wales and Scotland.

And to Alfred we are indebted for a new division of the whole kingdom. In order to form this division with exactness, he ordered a survey of all his territories to be taken, and recorded in the book of Winchester. From this book, which contained a description of the rivers, mountains, woods, cities, towns and villages, with an account of the number of ploughlands, and inhabitants in each district, he divided the whole into a certain number of shires; nearly though not precisely the same with our present counties. Each shire was again divided into trithings: Every trithing was subdivided into centuries or hundreds; and each hundred into ten decennaries or districts, containing ten families or nearly that number. In each of these divisions of

shire, Dorsetshire, and Somerset; and no further for a considerable space of time. Though battles were fought at several places in these four counties; yet the Saxon Chronicle mentions no place in Devon or Cornwall till the year 611; when it appears that Cynegilsus, the W. Saxon king, of the race of Cynric, fought the Britons at *Beantune*; which is generally understood to be Bamton in Devonshire. In this action the Britons, we have seen, were defeated with great slaughter. So that the W. Saxons probably established themselves here about the year 611. This was about 100 years from the arrival of Cerdic, and 70 years before the reign of king Ina. There is, however, little mention of Devon or Cornwall in the chronicle, till the invasion of the Danes, in 835. P. p. 74, 53, 84, 23, 129, 131, 133, 136, 150, 160, 171. Here, from the first coming of the Danes to the Norman conquest, is contained little more than an account of the progress of their invasions, and gradual establishment in Britain, till the time of their complete and final conquest of it under Canute. The victory by which Canute gained the kingdom is said by the chronicle to have been fought against the whole people of England: and the whole English nobility are said to have perished in that battle. But this is not true without some qualification; for the Danes were in actual possession, before that battle, of a very considerable part of the kingdom, such as part of Northumberland, and other parts of the east coast, and also of eight whole counties on the south coast, and even more. They possessed in the year 1101, which was about four or five years before Canute's great victory, the counties of Essex, Middlesex (except London) and Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Huntingdonshire: all these were reckoned as east and mid-Saxons. On the south, they had Kent, Surry, Sussex, Berks, Hampshire, and a great part of Wiltshire. So that Canute was possessed of nearly one half, and certainly the most powerful and flourishing part of the kingdom. The SAXON CHRONICLE *does not speak of the Danes being established further west than Wiltshire.* I must own other chronicles do; especially of Canute's donations to the church of Exeter; of which, as also of the exploits of Alfred the Great in the west, both *Asser* and *Bede* speak more largely. It is impossible, here, not to notice the swarms of Northern people, which at the time of the dissolution of the Roman empire, caused such great revolutions in Europe. Even the Normans, who, soon after the Danes, came from France, and conquered England, were of the same race, and from the same country.----The *Chronicle* takes notice of their invading France, and seizing several districts there, while they were ravaging England: but the great armament of the Danes went up the Scheld, and gradually extended themselves till they who were denominated the *Northmen*, settled themselves chiefly in that part of France, which from them has ever since been called *Normandy*. And from thence they again came to England under William the conqueror. From the Norman conquest to the year 1154, that is, to the end of the reign of king Stephen, who was the last king of the Norman line, where the *Chronicle* concludes, there is no mention whatsoever of any occurrence wherein the west of England is concerned; so that whatever during that period, or any subsequent one, relates to the west in general, must be searched for elsewhere.

shires, trithings, hundreds and decennaries, Alfred appointed certain magistrates and courts of justice. In every county, the alderman or earl, was the principal magistrate. He was elected from among the thanes of the largest possessions, and the most ancient families. The next officer in dignity was the Shiregerieve, who, in the absence of the alderman, supplied his place, and discharged every part of his duty. The trithingman presided over that division of a county that was called a trithing---containing three, four, or more hundreds. The *hundradary* presided over a hundred. The *tithingman*, or borsholder, (the lowest magistrate among the Anglo-Saxons) had power over one freeburg, tithing, or decennary. These, from the highest to the lowest, had all their particular courts; where each rank of people had the advantage of being tried by their peers. Of the military government of each county, we have no very distinct memorial. We are told that, in times of war, the earl or alderman always headed the military forces of his own particular shire. He was then called a duke; and had, probably, the appointment of the subordinate offices. And there was sufficient room for the exercise of the martial laws. The island was exposed to repeated invasion. Between one attack and another, the pause was scarcely sufficient for the resumption of that authority, which, when exercised afresh, appeared to be miserably relaxed through continual interruption. For the defence of our coasts, a considerable body of troops were kept in constant pay: And in order to support this army, as well as to bribe the pirates to desist from their depredations, a tax of one Saxon shilling (afterwards of several) was imposed on every hide of land, and every house of a certain value, throughout the kingdom. After the accession of the Danish princes to the throne of England, this tax became one of the chief branches of the royal revenue. And it was not abolished, till seventy years after the Norman conquest. The government of towns and cities resembled that of hundreds. The chief magistrate in each town, was the alderman or towngrieve; or, if a seaport, a portgrieve. The chief court in towns or cities was called the burgemote.

On his accession to the crown, William, we may presume, revised the Survey of England made by Alfred. But with this he was by no means satisfied. Deter-

mined to enquire more minutely into the state of the nation, the Conqueror began, in the year 1080,* a similar investigation, and completed it in the year 1086.† Into every county he dispatched his Norman commissioners, empowered to enquire upon view, and upon the oath of juries summoned and impannelled in each hundred out of all orders of freemen, from barons to the lowest farmers. The presentments or verdicts which the jurors gave in to the commissioners, contained a general survey of every county, and of the several hundreds, ‡cities, towns, boroughs, and manors, the number and value of the §hides, ‖carucates, ¶virgates, and *ferlings that each manor

* "Matthew of Westminster says, it was begun the 16th; the Saxon Chronicle and Henry Huntington, the 18th; Roger Hoveden, the 19th; but, according to the Red Book in the Exchequer, it was begun in 1080, 13th of William."

† Lord Lyttelton, indeed, in his history of Henry II. vol. 2d. p. 289, says, "It was made by order of William the Ist, with the advice of his parliament, in the year 1086; but seems not to have been finished till the following year."

‡ Among the cities and boroughs whose customs are recorded in Domesday, are Exeter, Totnes, and Bideford. And the notices of these and other customs shew that the Conqueror made little alteration in the ancient laws and customs which prevailed in our cities and boroughs in the time of Edward the Confessor.

§ "When the realm was first divided into hides, a hide contained 100 acres, that is, 120 according to English measure. Four yard-lands make 1 hyde." *Dugd. War.* 65. Plea Rolls, temp. Joh. Reg. *Brit. Mus.* ----Yet Agard, in his tract of dimension of land, says, he found "the diversity of measurement so variable and different in every county, shire, and place in the realm, and all things so full of doubtfulness, that he could not reduce the question of dimension of land into any certainty."

‖ A carucate, or carve of land, a plough-land, is as much land as may be tilled and laboured with one plough, and the beasts belonging thereto in a year; having meadow, pasture, and houses for the householders and cattle belonging to it. The hide was the measure of land in the Confessor's reign; the carucate that to which it was reduced by the Conqueror's new standard. Thus every place is said to have paid geld for so many hides, T. R. E. and then follows its present measure of so many carucates: "est IX carucatarum." It must be various according to the nature of the soil and custom of husbandry in every county. See *Seld. Tit. Hon.* p. 622. "When carucata, follows villani, or bordarii, it often signifies the number of ploughs they kept, and not the land or quantity of it." *Brady's Pref.* 17. *Nash's Worcest.* "Sometimes a carucate might be so large that one plough could not till it, and sometimes so small, that one plough might till two." Ibid. "In those shires in Domesday, where hide is named as well as carucata, carucata is to be referred to a plough-land, which is about 6 acres." *Agard.* "In the time of Richard the Ist, sixty acres seem to have made a carucate; and for some purposes, 80 or 100 were required." *Dufresne.*

¶ "A virgate, or yard-land, contained 40 acres." *Blomef. Norf.* v. IV. p. 700. By the Exeter MS. copy of the Inquisition, it appears that at the time of the survey, 4 virgata were equal to 1 hide of arable land.

* *Ferlingata terræ*; the fourth part of a yard land. This chiefly occurs in the west parts of England. "Sciendum quod magnum feodum militis constat ex quatuor hidis, et una hida ex quatuor virgatis, et una virgata ex quatuor ferlingis; et una ferlinga ex decem acris. Ita ut feodum militis magnum continet DCLXXX acras. Ex initio Libri Rub. in Scac. ----Acres were in ancient times of greater extent than they are by the present computations. It is uncertain what were the precise contents of an acre among the Anglo-Saxons. But the Irish acre continued even in the last century to contain three of the English. And the Cornish acre contained considerably more. It will appear, indeed, in the next period, that the word *acre*, was a very vague term. See *Spelman.*

contained; an account of the pasture, meadow, woods, forests, commons, parks, farm-houses, demesne tenements, houses, burgesses, and the names of their owners; the number and condition of the men; with a variety of other particulars. And the verdicts (by which the Domesday was compiled) were first methodised in each county, and afterwards sent up to the king's Exchequer. Such, then, was Domesday: And the completion of this survey was considered by the Conqueror as of great importance, and deemed the commencement of a new æra.† In the archives of the church of Exeter, are contained the returns for the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and CORNWALL; compiled from the original verdicts that were delivered by the juries to the commissioners. The king's design in these enquiries, was chiefly to form a judgment of his own lands in demesne, and those of his capital tenants. But before the completion of Domesday, William had gained sufficient intelligence of his lands throughout the kingdom, to be able to distribute a great proportion of them among his favorites: and in the year 1086, the Norman lords and knights, (as it appears from this very survey) were in actual seisin of several fiefs, thro' the royal bounty.

The feodal tenures were now established by law: and the Norman Barons formed the highest order of the state; occupying that place in society which the Anglo-Saxon thanes* had before possessed. The Norman castle became the head of a barony; each castle was a manor; and its castellan-owner or governor, the lord of a manor. In the mean time, the Normans and others who fought under their several leaders in the conquest of England, and afterwards settled on the demesne lands of their leaders, composed the middle rank in society. And the lowest rank of all were the domestic and prædial slaves.

† *Chron. Saxon.* p. 186. (Anno 1085) Mittebat rex per totam Anglorum terram in singulos comitatus suos servos, &c.------I here set down some of the counties as arranged and written in Domesday: Vol. I.

	Fol.		Fol.		Fol.
Chenth, - - - Kent. - - -	1	In nova Foresta, et circa eam. - -	51	Dorsete, - - - Dorsetshire. -	75
Sudsexe, - - - Sussex - -	16	Insula de With. - - Isle of Wight.	52	Sumersete, - - Somersetshire.	86
Sudrie, - - - - Surry. - - -	30	Berrochescire, - - Berkshire. - -	56	Devenescira, - Devonshire.	100
Hantescire, - Hants. - -	37	Wiltescire, - - - - Wilts. - - - -	64	Cornvalgie, - - Cornwall. -	120

* A great number of the Anglo-Saxon thanes and noblemen were degraded from their former rank, whilst they retained a part of their possessions: but those Anglo-Saxon lords, who had remained neuter in the contest between William and Harold, and had not joined in any of the subsequent revolts, were permitted to enjoy their rank as well as their possessions.

The next remarkable document after Domesday, respecting property, was what is commonly called the *Liber Niger*. This compilation contains an account of the number of hides of land held by the king's tenants in capite, escuages, &c. taken in the time of Henry II. as it seems, on occasion of levying an aid for marrying the king's daughter to the Emperor; with the will of Henry II. and other ancient and curious records relating to the tenures and antiquities of England.*

II. 1. After these general observations, let us direct our views to Cornwall. For its boundaries, it seems almost unnecessary to state, that present Cornwall is but a small portion of British and Roman Danmonium. What the exact bounds of Danmonium were, it is difficult to say. Horsley† thinks, that the south parts of Somersetshire, where the inhabitants were not much unlike the Danmonii, belonged formerly to Danmonium: but people living on the borders of different countries often assimilate in manners, language, customs and religion, from the circumstance of their vicinity. That Alfred, when he divided England into counties, fixed the limits of Devonshire where the ancient eastern boundary was, between the Belgæ and Durotriges on the east, and the Danmonii on the west, is not improbable: and if so, ancient Cornwall included all present Devonshire, as well as the country west of the Tamar. When the western part of Danmonium was first distinguished by the name of Cornubia, is equally uncertain with the bounds of the Danmonii. But the Saxons, as soon as they had driven the Britons before them into the extremities of the country, called one place of their retreat *Wealas*, or Wales, and the other place to which the Britons retired, *Cornwealas*.‡ Cornwall, when first so named, reached far beyond its present limits (if it did not include all the ancient Danmonium): for the Britons gave way by degrees, and disputed the ground with the Saxons, for several centuries. But the

* It was published by Hearne, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1728: and a second edition with an appendix containing many valuable and curious particulars, was published by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, in 1771. The original record is deposited in the king's remembrancer's office. The Liber Ruber Scaccarii is in substance, much the same with the above, but was continued, as it appears, to the reign of king Edward, probably by some later hand. The compilation of this last work is ascribed to Alexander de Swereford, archdeacon of Shrewsbury and an officer in the Exchequer at the latter end of this reign. This record is, also, in the remembrancer's office.

† P. p. 463, 464.

‡ Either from the shape of their country, (somewhat resembling a hunting-horn) or from the large promontories running out like so many horns into the sea. In the latin tongue this country was called *Guallia* and *Cornugualtia*; whence our present name of Cornwall.

fortune of the Saxons prevailed: and the Cornish Britons, forced to leave the eastern parts of Danmonium in their possession, became bounded by the river Exe. The division of England into counties, made no alteration in the habitancy of particular persons, nor any distinction between Briton and Saxon. It is likely, that Alfred separated Danmonium into two portions, dividing them by the Tamar---their physical boundary, and a commodious division for the government of the two counties: yet the Cornish Britons lived at Exeter in equal authority with the Saxons,§ till the entire conquest of their country by Athelstan, in 936, when they were confined within the Tamar. But even after this, the Cornish are said to have held as far east as Totnes upon the river Dart: and this town was, long after, considered as the eastern part of Cornwall. By these several retrogradations, were the Cornish Britons reduced to their present narrow limits: and, as they retired westward, the eastern parts regained their ancient name of *Danmonium*; and, when the division of shires took place, were called Davonshire, (*quasi Danvon*, or *Danmonshire:*) and the name of Cornwall became appropriated to the country west of the Tamar.‖----Though, by the appointment of Athelstan, the Tamar was thus constituted our general boundary; yet, when the Normans entered this country, and the kingdom became subdivided into lordships and manors; the barons, jealous of the extent, rights and honors of their manors, procured their lands on the borders to be appropriated to the county in which their domains and chief places of residence were fixed. Hence Devonshire intrudes seven miles in length and three in breadth at Werington, and claims the two parishes of *Werington* and *North-petherwyn*; as it does also the mansion, domain and park of Mount Edgcumbe, at the mouth of the Tamar. This last encroachment upon the general boundary, was owing, probably, to the powerful interest of the *Vaultorts, the ancient proprietors of Mount Edgcumbe; as the first

§ "Hanc urbem (scil. Excestre) primus rex Ethelstanus in potestatem Anglorum (effugatis Britonibus) redactam, turribus insignivit." *Wm. Malms.* p. 146. "Ab Excestra, quam ad id temporis æquo cum Anglis jure inhabitarant cedere compulit, terminum provinciæ suæ citra Tambram fluvium statuens, sicut Aquilonaribus Britannis amnem Wajam limitem posuerat." ib. p. 28. And the fee farm of the city of Exeter, is still the Duke of Cornwall's, amounting to 21*l.* 15*s.*

‖ Hinc Anglos, illic cernit Tamara Britannos.

* All that tract of ground, of which Mount Edgcumbe is a part, called by the name of *Vawtort's House*, or Vaulter's-House, is rated to the land-tax, in the county of Devon: But it is included in the archdeaconry of Cornwall

may be referred to the Abbey of Tavistock, which had the property of Werington. On the other hand, Cornwall exceeds its ancient limits near North Tamerton; having a small slip of land of about two miles square, owing, I imagine, to the lords of Saltash and the castle of Trematon.

In the Exeter Domesday, the hundreds are thus named----1. Conarton, containing 33 hides.*---2. Tibesterna, or Tibesta, now a dutchy manor, to which Grampound and most of the parish of Creed, and other dependencies belong, containing 61 hides and an half.---3. Winnenton, Winneton, or Winnianton, formerly a considerable manor of the Arundels of Lanhern, giving name to the parish now called Gunwallo,† and containing 36 hides and an half.---4. Stratton, in which there were 83 hides and three virgates of land.----5. Fauiton, consisting of 43 hides and an half.----6. Rialton, consisting of 69 hides and 6 farthings of land. The 7th hundred before the conquest was that of Pauton,‡ containing 44 hides, in Carew, said to contain 120 acres, *i. e.* Cornish acres. This was the ancient division, probably made by Alfred the Great, who first divided the Saxon kingdom into hundreds. Cornwall was afterwards partitioned into nine hundreds; Stratton, East, West, Lesnewth,‖ Trig, Pider, Powder, Kerrier, and Penwith. This division certainly existed before the Lincoln taxation, A. D. 1288; as the parochial churches are there arranged according to the nine hundreds. I am disposed to think, that a new division took place soon after the Norman conquest, the former divisions appearing by the surveys of William the First, to be not sufficiently distinct. "About this time, (says Carew) § the country was sorted by a more orderly manner into parishes, and every parish committed

* Conarton was an ancient manor formerly belonging to the crown of England, and in the time of Hen. II. conveyed by letters patent yet to be seen (says *Hals*, in his MSS. of Cornwall) at Lanhern, together with the bailywic of the hundred of Penwith, to Simon Pincerna (or Butler) lord of Lanhern, in lieu of the lordship and manor of St. James at Westminster. In the name of Pincerna it continued till Edward III. when one of the heiresses of that family (*i. e.* one of the Pincerna's) was married to Arundel of Trembleath, direct ancestor of Arundel of Lanhern.

† *Norden*, p. 46.

‡ Rialton and Pauton, though they lost the honour of giving name to hundreds, retained even to Queen Elizabeth's time the privilege of sending Bailiffs to attend the public services as the hundreds did. *Carew*, f. 86.

‖ In the Lincoln visitation, the two hundreds of Stratton and Lysnewyth are joined together, and called Decanatus major Tergrishire, as that now called Trig is termed Decanatus minoris Tergrishire. Trig signifies the influx of the sea, and from the arm of the sea at Padstow the division of the bordering land had probably its name. § F. 82.

to a spiritual father." Perhaps there was then, also, a more orderly division of the county into the present hundreds; the large ones were reduced and split, and the names of ancient manors gave place to other names more expressive of the situation, or at that time better entitled to give denomination to the district. It is not easy to discover the limits of the ancient division, and to reconcile it to the present. Conarton (it may be asserted with great probability) included the present hundred of Penwith: For the lord of the manor of Conarton, has been lord also of all the hundred of Penwith from the time of Henry II. and there is but one court-leet held for both the honours, which implies some more than ordinary union. Among the rest there is not the like connexion; but what was anciently called Tibesta included, I conceive, the hundred of Powder; and Winnenton, Kerrier. Stratton, formerly extensive, makes at present the three small hundreds of Stratton, Lysnewith, and Trig; Fauiton contained the hundred of East, as I suppose, and the southern part of West hundred; Rialton, most part of Pider; and Pauton the rest of Pider, and of the hundred of West. With respect to the etymology of the names---"*Stratton* is so called from *Stratton*, the seat of its court, and therefore the head of the hundred."* *Lesnewith*, means the new court; as being a new hundred; and this new court giving name to the place at which it was kept, near Tintagel.† The hundreds of *East* and *West*, formed by the English since the conquest of Cornwall, derived their English names from the relative situations of their respective court houses. *Trig* is so called from its house, situate on the ebb of the sea, or on the sea shore. The hundred of *Pider*, is so called from its house near the *four* burrows, which has, also, given name to the street in Truro leading towards it; as the house was so called from its being at the *four* burrows.§ *Powder* means the country or hundred of oaks, *Pow-dar*; or rather

* See *Whitaker's Tonkin's* MSS. v. 1. p. 1. "Stretton, the hill full of fresh springs and waters." *Pryce.*

† Carew derives Lesnewith from *Les* broad, and *newith* new, as "a new breadth, because it enlargeth its limits further into Cornwall on both sides, whereas Stratton is straightened on the one by Devon; or *Les* and *gwith*; which import broad ashen trees." But Carew is seldom happy in his etymologies.

§ "Pider (saith Carew) is four in Cornish, and this is the fourth hundred of Cornwall if you begin your reckoning from the western part at Penwith, which signifying an head doth seem to require it." 'And as I take this to be the

comes from its court-house, *Pou-dre*, which signifies the house of the province.* *Kerrier*, *Kur-urian*, the coast or border of the county, according to Pryce, comes more probably, as Mr. Whitaker thinks, from *Carhar*, a jail, a prison, the court-house of the hundred, I apprehend, having always a prison or jail for it. *Penwith*, implies the head of the breach, or separation; as the Land's end is with respect to Sylleh.‡

true derivation of the name, and not from a pretended St. Pider, as some would have it, I have accordingly in this my description, placed this hundred the fourth in order, beginning at Penwith; and what corroborates this derivation, where this hundred doth begin, the other three hundreds of Penwith, Kerrier, and Powder, meet with it in a point, with their respective parishes of Redruth, Wenap, and Kay, at a place called Kyvur Ankow, i. e. the place of death, as being the ancient place, where *Felones de se* are buried.' *Walker's MS.*

* "Some impute the force of Powder vnto this, that the same is conuerted, at an instant, from his earthy substance, to a fiery, and from the fire, into ayre; euery of which changes, requireth a greater enlargement, one then the other; wherefore it finding a barre, ouer, vnder, and on the back and sides, by the pieces strong imprisonment, by consequence breaketh forth with a sudden violence, at the mouth, where the way is least stopped, and driueth before it, the vnsetled obstacle of the bullet, imparting thereunto a portion of his fury. To which (through want of a probable etymon) I may, in part, resemble the hundred of Powder, not only for the names sake, but also because this parcel of the Cornish earth extended it self wider, and compriseth more parishes, then any other hundred of the shire, as stretching east and west, from Foy to Falmouth; and south and north, welnere from one sea to the other." *Carew*, f. 134.

‡ This hundred taking its name *Pen* from an *head* or promontory of land, as having in its utmost extremity that famous promontory, called the Land's-end from its being the most westerly point, and as it were the end of the kingdom---its adjunct *With* hath occasioned several interpretations. Mr. Carew saith, it signifies* *the head of ashen trees*, from some such eminent mark; but this seems far from the purpose. Neither will that of Mr. Camden serve much better, who calls it a promontory to the left, but gives no reason for it. I therefore rather adhere to a third interpretation, which I must confess was given to me by an ingenious gentleman, and I believe the best versed in the Cornish tongue of any man, since the death of the old Mr. Keigwin, I mean William Guavas, esq. and he interpretes it the *head of the breach or separation*, from *gwith*, which signifies the same. And from this Mr. Camden himself derives the Isle of Wight, as he does also *Vitsan*‡ on the coast of France for the like cause. And this agrees likewise so well with the old tradition, mentioned too by Mr. Camden, that I really think it will admit of no just opposition. *Walker's MS.* from *Tonkin*.---In these nine hundreds, the parish churches are according to Camden and Speed, 161; according to some writers, about 180; but according to Martin, in his Index villaris, 198---some reckoning the chapels of ease and their appendages; others only the mother-churches.

NAMES *of* PARISHES, *chiefly so called from local circumstances.*

Bodmin, Bodmen, stone-house; Bodmyn, the kids abode; also, the dwellings on the ridge, or edge of a hill. Lhuyd. *Bud-ock*, Byth'ick, oak haven, or the border or skirt of the harbour. *Calstock*, Hardstock, hard oak. *Cam-bourne*, Cam-bron, crooked well, or crooked hill. *Crow-an*, the cross; Grouan, moorstone gravel. *Du-loe*, god's pool, or black pool. *Eglos-hayle*, the church on the river side. *Eglos-kerry*, Eglosgery, the church of love. *Farra-bury*, the parish of note. *Gul-val*, Gol-val, the hasel tree moor; Gol-hale, Golla-vale, the bottom of the vale; (Lhuyd) or the holy vale. *Gwen-ap*, white son, or white face. *Illugan*, Lug-gan, the white tower; Lug-gun, the tower on the downs; Lug-dun, tower hill. *Kea*, an enclosure. *Ken-wyn*, Chein-win, Kein-win, the ridge or rising

* Enwith, in Cornish, being an ash.

‡ Whitsand-Bay at the Land's-end, is the same.

For the possessors of lands in this county, I have first to remark, that Alfred

of the hill over the marsh. *Kilkhamton*, the church-dwelling-town.† *Lad-ock*, steep hill of oaks. *La-morran*, Lan-mor-ruan, the church upon the sea or salt water river. *Lan-du-wednack*, the white roof holy church, or church of God. *Lankydrock*, Lan-y-dourick, the watery bank, or church under a watery hill. *Lanreath*, Lan Reth, the church of merit. *Lant-eglos*, the true church. *Lawhitton*, Lan-whitton, white church. *Le-lant*, Lan-nant, the church on the plain, or by the river. *Lewanick*, winick, the church upon or near the marsh. *Lezant*, Lanzant, holy church. *Lin-kin-horn*, the church on the rising of the iron hill. *Lis-keard*, Lis-card, Les-keard, a fortified court or palace, or refiner's court or green. *Ludg-van*, Lvduan, high placed tower. *Madern*, Madron, Muadh (W.) and *dron*, a hill; the good, or fruitful hill. *Maw-gan*, perhaps Morgan, by the sea. *Mawnan*, the boy's plain, or valley; perhaps Mornan, the valley or plain by the sea. *Men-ackan*, the stony creek, or haven of white stones. *Mer-ther*, Mor-dor, on the sea water. *Meva-gizey*, Mene-guissey, Mellin-guissey, the mill woods. *Morva*, near or on the edge of the sea. *Mor-vall*, ditto; or a moor or fenny place. *Mull-yon*, Mul-yein, the bare cold place or exposure. *New-lyn*, perhaps Noath-lyn, the open or naked lake. *Perr-an Ar-wothal*, Perran upon the noted height or cliff *Perr-an Uthno*, Uth-noath, the high bare place, or naked exposure. *Perr-an Zabuloe*, Perran in Sabuloe, Perran in the sands, Perran sand. *Phill-ack* Pill-ick, the village near the harbour. *Pou-ghill*, Pou Guil, the country frequented by gulls; or, Pou-guillan, the low country. *Quithi-ock*, Queth-yk, the weaver's place. *Redruth*, dre Druith, the Druid's town; Red Ryth, the town at the ford; Ruth, red; Redruth, ford red; Ruth, is also broad, big, likewise Druid is an harlot. *Ruan Lan-i-horn*, the iron church, dedicated to S. Rumon. *San-creet*, San-creed, San-cred, the holy belief. *Sen-nen*, Sen-nan, the saints or holy vale. *She-vi-ock*, Tshy vy ock, the dwelling by the river of the oaks. *Sith-ney*, the bishop's land, Seth. *Talland*, Tal lan, the high church; Tal, W. *inde* tall, high, lofty. *Tin-tagell*, the castle of deceit. *To wedn-ack*, Ty-widn-ick, the white roof, white dwelling near a port. *Tre-maine*, the stone town, the river or passage town. *Tren-eglos*, the church town. *Tres-meere*, the great town, or near the lake. *Tre-valga*, Tre-valgy, the town of defence, or walled near the water. *Tre-wenn*, the fair town, or place of innocence. *Ty-war-dreath*, the dwelling above the sandy beach. *War-leg-gon*, War-ly-gon, Warly gun, the high place on the common. *Wen-dron*, Gwen-dron, the white hill; Draen, white thorn. *Zen-nor*, the saints earth, or holy land.

Places, *many of which give Name to* Cornish Families.

An-gew, the support. *An-hay*, An-hey, the enclosure. *Ar-allas*, upon the cliff. *Ar-owan*, upon the down, or rivulet. *Bags-ton*, Bagaz-ton, bushy hill. *Bake*, the beak or stretching out. *Bans*, Ban, a mount, hill, or high ground. *Barna-cot*, Barn Cot.—N. F. *Bar-oke*, over the oak. *Beacon*, Beaken, an eminence, a token, a look out. *Be-heath-land*, Bo-hel-lan, a dwelling by the water nigh the church. *Be-jowan*, Bo-jowan, John's house, or the lonely dwelling. *Bel*, fair or far off. *Bel-hay*, the fair enclosure. *Bel-innis*, fair island, or distant *Be-nal-ick*, Bennallack, Benathlek, a broomy place, among broom, among heath. *Bes-colla*, Boscola, the school-house. *Bes-trase*, Bos-trase, the house in the meadow. *Bes-oar*, Bos-oar, the mud, or earthen walled house. *Bis-soe*, the birches. *Bo-chim*, the oxen house. *Bo-dinick*, the dwelling by the river. *Bo-dru-gan*, Bo-daro-gun, house on the oak downs. N. F. *Bo-drigy*, Bo-trigva, the dwelling by the sea side. *Bo-drane*, the thorny dwelling. *Bod-wen*, the house near the poplars, or aspen trees. *Bod-win*, the white house, or on the marsh. *Bohurtha*, the higher house. *Bo-jowan's*, John's house, or the lonely dwelling. *Bo-kelly*, the house in the grove. *Bo-litho*, Bo-lithoe, a huge belly.—N. F. *Bo-leit*, the dairy or milk cot.—N. F. *Bon-ithon*, Bon-ython, Bon-eithen, the furzy dwelling.—N. F. *Bonn-al*, the house on the cliff. *Bornuick*, Bos-uick, Bos-gweek, the dwelling near the harbour or village. *Bos-ahan*, Boshan, the summer house.— *Bos-haun* is, rather, the house on the haven---a haven being still pronounced *haun* in some parts of Cornwall. *Bos-anketh*, the house of sorrow. *Bos-anquet*, id.—N. F. *Bo-scawen-rose*, the house in the valley of elder trees. *Bo-scawen-oon*, the dwelling on the down of elders.—Boscawen; N. F. *Bosco-vean*, the small cottage. *Bos-igans*, Bos-iganz,

† This is Saxon; as I observe many places in the East of Cornwall are. And they are sometimes, compounded of Saxon and Cornish; the neighbourhood of the Saxons confounding the languages.

devised* *Cornwall* to his eldest son Edward; and that he devised it under the name of

twenty houses. *Bos-kear*, the lovely dwelling. *Bos-kennal*, the house near the cliff on the top of the ascent, or above the moor. *Bos-kerras*, the dwelling on the summit. *Bos-low*, Bosleau, a dwelling near the water. *Bos-wen*, white house. *Bo-sue*, black house. *Bos-vennen*, the women's house. *Bos-visick*, the house near the river's creek. *Bos-wedden*, Bos-widn, Boswen, win, wyn, white house. *Bos-win-gy*, white house by the rivulet. *Bos-wor-gy*, house above the river. *Bo-tallack*, high dwelling. *Bo-tathan*, the father's house. *Bo-treaux*, castle on the sea or waters.—N. F. *Bow-den*, Baw-den, a sorry fellow, a bad man.—N. F. *Bow-gy-here*, Bo-gy-hir, a long house by the water. *Bou-dzi-heer*, cow house, or sheep fold. *Bray*, Bre, Brea, the hill.—N. F. *Bren-don*, Brahan-dun, crow's hill.—N. F. *Brigh-tor*, Brig-gan, Big-gan, tor, little hill.—Brigh-ton. *Brockhill*, Brocks, Brocka, badger's hill.—N. F. *Bryan-ick*, Brean-ick, the place under the hill; rather, Pryan-ick, the place of clay. *Bry-don*, Pry-don, clay hill.—N. F. *Bucka*, Bucha, a cow, the cow's place.—Hod. Byuh. *Bude*, a haven. *Bud-ock-vean*, little oak haven. *Bul-land*, Bul-lan, Pol-lan, clay enclosure.—N. F. *Bul-low-hall*, Bul la hall, clay moor. *Bur-gus*, Bar-gus, the top of the wood.—N. F. *Bur-lase*, the green summit or top. Hod. Bor-lase.—N. F. *Burn-coose*, Burn-gus, Burn-cos, the high wood, or the hill wood. *Burn-noon*, Burn-un, Burn-owan, the high downs. *Bur-sue*, the black top. *Bur-win*, white top. *Bus-carn*, Bos-carn, house on the rock. *Busca-verran*, Bosca-verran, old-house. *Bus-low*, Bos-leau, house by the water. *Bus-var-gus*, the house on the top of the wood. *Bus-veal*, Bos-veal, the calve's house.—N. F. *Bus-wor-las*, house on the high green. *Bus-wor-gy*, house above the river. *Cala-mans-ack*, Cala-mens-ick, the hard stony place. *Cam-borne-vean*, little crooked well. *Cam-bridge*, crooked bridge. *Car-bis*, Car-bos, Car-bus, house or castle of stone.—N. F. *Car-dew*, Car-due, black rock or castle. *Car-linn-ick*, Car-linek, a place of holly trees, or a marsh or moist ground. *Car-loose*, grey rock.—Car-laz. *Car-minnow*, little city.—N. F. *Carne*, a rock, the rock.—N. F, *Carne-bin*, Carne-bian, little-rock. *Carn-eglos*, church rock. *Carn-glaz*, the green or blue stone, or grey rock. *Carn-hell*, Carn-hel, Carn-hale, the rocky river or moor. *Carn-key*, Carn-ke, stone hedge. *Carn-sew*, the black rock, the bream rock.—N. F. *Car-silsey*, Car-silgy, the rocky river, or house in open view. *Car-thew*, Car-du, Car-dow, black rock.—N. F. *Car-vannal*, Car-bannal, the broomy place among the rocks. *Carverth*, the green place.—N. F. *Car-vossa*, Car-vosso the intrenched castle.—N. F. *Car-winick*, the dwelling on the marsh. *Che-noweth*, Chy-nooth, the new house.—N. F. *Che-rease*, Chy-rease, the middle house. *Chy-coose*, Chy-gus, house in the wood. *Chy'nhale*, Chy'nhal, house in the moor.—N. F. *Chi-vorloe*, Chy-vorlo, house by the great pool, or above the pool. *Choone*, Chy'-un, house on a down or common. *Chi-bar-lees*, Chy,bar-leys, house on the high green. Chivarles. *Chy-carne*, the stone house, or on a rock. *Chy-en-dower*, Chy-en-dour, house on the water side. *Chy'n-als*, house on the cliff. *Chy-pons*, the bridge house. *Chy-prase*, the house in the meadow. *Chy-tane*, the lower house *Chy-woon*, Chy-un, the dwelling on a common. *Clow'ance*, Clow-nans, valley of echoes. *Cois-pen-haile*, wood at the river's head. *Coite*, Quoit, the wood. *Col-born*, Col-bourne, Kil-bourne, the dry well. *Cold-biggen*, Col-biggan, little neck or ridge of a hill. *Com-fort*, Coomb-ford, Cwm-fordh, Cuum-vordh, Cum-vor, the great road or pass betwixt the hills. *Con-durra*, Con-dourra, the neck of water. *Connor*, rage.—N. F. *Connor-ton*, the scolding place. *Coomb*, the valley betwixt the hills; a defile or pass. *St. Coose*, Cois, Kus, Cos, holy wood *Coos-vea*, Cooz-vean, little wood. *Cosawes*, the woods. *Cos-garne*, Cois-karne, rocky wood. *Cracket-ton*, Croggan-ton, a place where are shells. *Croan*, the cross. *Crow-gie*, cross hedge; or, Crou-chi, Croust-hi, cross house; or, Crug-kei, dog's cross.—N. F. *Crow-nick*, the dwelling at the cross. *Crows-win*, white cross. *Cudden-beak*, woody promontory. *Cut-hill*, Coit-hayle, the wood on the river. *Cut-mear*, Coit maur, great wood. *Dar-ley*, Dar-lees, oak green. *Delle-bol*, the clay hole. *Denne-boul*, Deny-bol, the clay hill. *Den-zell*, Dun-sol, hill in open view. *Devis*, Davas, Davat, sheep's place.—N. F. *Dow-ber*, the short water. *Dow-gas*, Dour-gus, water in the wood. *Dran-nock*, a place of oaks. *Dren-ick*, a place of thorns or brambles. *Dun-mear*, great hill. *Duns-ley*, Dun-ley, green hill. *Earth*, Arth, high, above.—Erth, id. *Ellen-glaze*, green elms. *En-gollan*, the bottom. *Ennis*, Ennes, Enys, the island.—N. F. *Fal*, the prince's river. *Fenta-ley*, Fenton-ley, Venton-lees, the spring in the green. *Fenter-vean*, the little spring. *Fenton-addle*, Fenton-attle, the dirty well. *Fenton-goose*, Venton-gus, the spring in the wood. *Fenton-woon*, Fenton-un, the spring on the downs or common. *Ford*, Fordh, Vordh, Vor, Forth, the way, the pass. *Fors-nooth*, Vor-noweth, the new way or road. *Fors-wine*, Vors-wyn, Vors-widn, the white road. *Foss*,

TRICONSHIRE.‡ The natives that occur as men of property, or who, probably,

Vos, Vossa, the intrenchment or ditch.—N. F. *Go-lowras*, Go Lowarth, at the garden, *Gam*, Cam, the crooked place. *Gar-gus*, Ker-gus, the wood afar off. *Gar-les*, on the green. *Garrah*, on the top of the hill. *Garras*, on the top of the hill. *Gaver-igon*, Gaver Iganz, twenty goats.—N. F. *Gaze-land*, Gassa-lan, the dirty enclosure, or the deserted enclosure. *Gear*, Guer, a green, flourishing, lively, fruitful, pleasant place. *Gelly*, the hazel, hazel grove. *Gelly*, Gilly, the same as Kelli, a grove; but more commonly, a grove of hazels. *Gen-au*, the mouth; gen-eau, troubled water. *Gew*, the stay, support On many estates one of the best fields is called the Gew, from it's being the support of the estate. *Glaz-neth*, green nest;—Glas-nyth, idem. *Glaz-on*, Glaz-un, the green downs.—N. F. *Glynn*, the woody vale.—N. F. *Go-dol-phin*, Go-dol, a little valley, Phin or Fince, of springs.—N. F. *Go-drevy*, the wood town by the water. *Gol-ant*, Gollan, the holy church. *Gol-born*, holy well. *Golla-coomb*, the lower moor. *Gollah*, the bottom or low place. *Gon-reeth*, the open down. *Goon-goose*, Gungus, the common by the wood. *Goon-Hoskyn*, the sedgy down. *Goon-yerl*, Yurl, Goon-arluth, the earl's down. *Goose-ford*, Gus-fordh, the way or pass of the wood. *Gor-gut*, Gor-coit, on the wood. *Govarro*, Goverow, the place of many springs, or brooks; pl. of Gover. *Gover*, the brook, or spring of water. *Grambla*, the scrambling place. *Gram-pound*, Gran-pont, grand bridge. *Grograth*, Grogoe, the limit or boundary cross, or cross of the limits. *Gudern*, the brambly wood. *Gunwyn*, the white down. *Gur-lyn*, the husband's lake, or the moist, or wet place. *Gusteveor*, the great wood. *Gus-et-vean*, Gus-vean, little wood. *Gwar-der*, Gwar-dour, the summit near the water. *Gwavas*, the winterly place. N. F. *Gweals*, Gueal, the fields. *Gweek*, Guik, Gu-ick, the village; also, the bay or creek. *Gwen-dra*, Gwindrea, white town. *Hale*, Hal, the moor. *Hale-lue*, Hal-loo, the moor pool. *Hal-garras*, the moor on the summit. *Hal-woon*, Hal-uun, the downs moor. *Hal-garrack*, the rocky moor *Hal-land*, Hal-lan, the moor enclosure. *Hal-veor*, the great moor. *Hal-venna*, the old moor. *Hal-vose*, Hal-voz, the moor ditch. *Hal-widden*, Hal-widn, the fair or white moor. *Hal-vussoe*, Hal-vosso, the moor ditches.—N. F. *Hanter-tavas*, half a tongue. *Har-lyn*. Ar-lyn, upon the water or river, or pool. *Hay*, the enclosure; hence the walled church-yard is called "the church-hay." *Hel-angove*, the smith's river. *Hel-coose*, the river wood. *Hel-ford* the river passage, *Heligan*, the place of the willows.—N. F. *Helanowth*, new elms. *Hellan*, Ellan, the elms. *Helmintor*, Hal-men-tor, moorstone hill. *Helston*, Hal-las-ton, the hill by a green moor. *Hen-dra*, Han-drea, the old town. *Hendra-burnick*, the old town well. *Ince*, the peninsula. *Inceworth*, Incewarth, the high peninsula. *Isa-cot*, Isa-coit the lower wood. *Kegellick*, the hazel grove hedge. *Kei-gwidden*, Kei-gwidn, Kei-gwin, the white dog.—N. F. *Kellio*, Kelliow, the groves.—N. F. *Kelly*, Kelli, the grove.—N. F. *Kelsey*, Kelzy, Kelzey, the dry neck. *Kenegie*, Ke-neag-y, the mossy hedge, or house near the bogs. *Kernick*, the round or compact place; also, a rocky place, as Carn-ick. *Kerris*, a lovely place.—Gerry, id. *Kegerthen*, the quickset hedge.—N. F. *Kestal*, Kestle, Kestel, the castle.—N. F. *Kil-gear*, the pleasant or fruitful grove. *Killi-gorrick*, the grove on the water's side. *Kille-hellan*, the enclosed grove by the river, or the grove of elms. *Killy-verth*, the white thorn grove. *Killy-worgy*, the grove by the river. *Killiganoon*, the grove by the down. *Killi-grew*, the eagle's grove.—N. F. *Killiow*, the groves. *Killi-mens-ack*, ek, ick, the stony grove. *Kill-och*, Killy-oke, the oak grove. *Kil-mar*, Kil-marh, Kil-marth, the great, the horse, or the wonderful grove. *Knoll*, Knowl, the promontory hill, or eminence; a projection of hilly ground. *Lambessoe*, Lambissoe, the place of birches.—Lan-bissoe. *Lan-due*, Lan-Dew, God's enclosure, or the church-yard; the sanctuary. *Lan-hadron*, Lans-ladron; Nans-Ladron, the valley of thieves. *Lan-hay*, the church-yard. *Lan-hern*, the sanctuary, or church built with an iron or hard stone. *Lan-kelly*, the church grove. *Lan-leak*, the lake enclosure. *Lannar*, a forest, a grove; also, a lawn or a bare place in a wood.—Lanarth, the high enclosure. *Lan-vor-nick*, the church on the way to the creek. *Lan-yon*, Lan-eithon, the furzy enclosure, the furzy croft.—N. F. *Lanyein*, the cold enclosure. *Leaz*, the green open place.—Laz, id. *Lewarn*, Louarn, the fox place.—N. F. *Loe*, Lo, Loo, a lake or pool; Looe, id. *Lestwithiel*, the lofty palace; Les uthiel, Les uhal. *Mager*, Maga, the feeding place.—N. F. *Mean*, Mené, Men, the stone.—N. F. *Meantoll*, Mentol, the holed stone. *Meanheer*, Menheer, Menhir, the long stone. *Medrose*, Merose, a place in a valley. *Menadarva*, Menadorva, the watry hill, or by the water; or the hill of oaks. *Menez-due*, the black mountain. *Men-winnick*, Men-winion, a top of the marshes. *Mer-lyn*, Maurlyn, the great lake. *Mesack*, Mesick, the field. *Mew-don*, the great hill. *Mopas*, Malpas, bad passage. *Morgan*, by the sea.—N. F. *Mor-vall*, ditto. *Mul-fra*, Mul-vera, the bare hill.—N. F. *Nan-carrow*, the deer's valley,

held lands here before the conquest, have been distinguished by Carew, under the ap-

N. F. *Nance*, Nan, Nans, Nantz, the valley or plain.—N. F. *Nancekeage*, Nanskuke, Nanceguik, the village on the plain, or near the valley. *Nance-molkin*, malkin, dirty valley. *Nan-cothan*, the old valley.—N. F. *Nankilly*, the valley of the grove. *Nan-kersey*, the winding valley.—N. F. *Nan-scawen*, Nanscauan, the valley of elder trees. *Nansough*, Nansoath, the fat valley. *Nanswhyden*, Nanswhydn, the white valley. *Nant-allan*, the miry valley. *Ninnis*, Ninnes, the island, or enclosure surrounded by a lane.—N. F. *Padre-da*, Pader-da, prayers good. *Park*, a field or enclosure; Parc, id. *Park Erissie*, Parc-erisy, the corn field, or dry acre on the bottom. *Park-hale*, Parchal, the moor field. *Park-hoskin*, Hosken, Hoskyn, the field of rushes.—Hoskyn; N. F. *Peden-poll*, Pen-pol, the head pool, or pool's head. *Pel-lyn*, the distant pool, or pond afar off. *Penant*, Pennants, the head of the plain, or the valley.—N. F. *Pen-arc*, Pen-arth, the high top or hill. *Pen-berth*, Pen-verth, the green top. *Pen-betha*, the head of the graves.—N. F. *Pen-callinick*, Ke-linick, Kelynnek, Kelynack, the head place of the holly-trees, the head of the hollies. *Pen-coose*, cooz, gus, the head of the wood. *Pen-dar-gy*, Pen dour gy, the river head. *Pen-darves*, head of the oak field; Pen-dar, oak head; Pendour, the land's end, or head of the water: Pendourvose, the head of a small river or open water.—N. F. *Pendavy*, the projection on the river; Pendavis, sheep's-head. *Pen-deen*, Pen-deau, Pen-den, head man's place.—N. F. *Pen-drea*, the principal town. *Pen-drean*, Pendraen, the brambly head. *Pen-esken*, at the head of the rushes. *Pen-founder*, Pen-vounder, the lane's head, or lane's end. *Pen-garrick*, Pen-garrack, the head rock. *Pengelly*, kelli, the head of the grove, or of the hazel grove; Gilli, id.—N. F. *Pen-gersick*, the green headland. *Penglaze*, the green head.—N. F. *Pen-gover*, the head of the rivulet. *Pen-hale*, the head of the moor.—N. F. *pl.* Pen-hallow, hallo.—N. F. *Pen-hal-ve an*, little moor head. *Pen-hal-veor*, great moor head. *Pen-hellick*, hillick, the head of the willows.—N. F. *Pen-kevel*, the horse head.—N. F. *Penkuke*, Pen-guik, the head village. *Pen-lee*, Pen-le, lea, the lesser head or point of land projecting.—N. F. *Pen-men-nor*, mener, menes, meneth, the principal mountain. *Pennance*, Pennans, the head of the valley or plain; Pennant, id. N. F. *Pen-nare*, Pen-arth, Penn-aire, the high or lofty head. *Pennick*, Penneck, Penek, aek, ock, ok, the head creek, brook, rivulet, or place; Penok, head oak.—N. F. *Pen-olva*, the head of the breach. *Pen-pill*, Pen-pillick, the head of the creek, or little harbour. *Pen-pol*, the head of the pool, well, pit, or lake. *Pen-pons*, Pen-pont, the head bridge, or head of the bridge.—N. F. *Pen-quite*, Pen-coit, the top of the wood. *Pen-rice*, rees, the head of the fleeting ground.—Rice, Rees, Ryce, Rhys.—N. F. *Pen-rose*, Ros, the head of the valley.—Ros, moss.—N. F. *Pen-ryn*, rhyn, the head of the river, channel, or promontory. *Pen-tire*, tir, the headland.—N. F. *Pen-towan*, tuan, tuyn, the head of the sand banks. *Pen-venton*, fenton, spring head. *Pen-warn*, the head of the alder trees.—N. F. *Pen-werris*, Pen-gueres, the green or flourishing head. *Pen-zance*, Penzanz, the saint's head; or rather, the head of the bay. *Pill*, a salt water trench or little harbour. *Place*, Plas, a palace. *Pol-ganhorn*, a chalybeate pool.—N. F. *Pol-due*, Poldew, black pool. *Pol-gassick*, Polgazaik, the dirty pool. *Pol-glase*, Polglaz, the green top, or green pool.—N. F.—*Pol-grean*, Pol-grene, Pol-grouan, the gravel pits.—N. F. *Pol-gooth*, Pol-goth, Pol-coth, the old pits. *Pol-keeves*, the drinking pool. *Pol-kernick*, the rocky pool. *Pol-lean*, the full pool. *Pol-mark*, the horse pool. *Pol-marth*, the wonderful pool. *Pol-masick*, Pol-messek, the top or upper field. *Pol-mear*, the great pool or pit.—N. F. *Pol-pen-with*, the pool at the head of the breach or separation. *Pol-pry*, the clay pit. *Pol-ruan*, the river head or pool. *Pol-scatha*, Scath, Skath, Skatha, the pool for boats. *Pol-stean*, the tin pit, or miry pit. *Pol-sew*, Polsue, the black pool. *Pol-venton*, the spring head or pool. *Pol-whele*, the pool work; or, Polgueul, the top of the field.—N. F. Karenza whelas Karenza, love worketh (or seeketh) love.—The Polwhele motto. *Pol-za*, Pol-sa, the dry pit; Pul-za, Pol-zeath, id. *Por-kellis*, Port-kellis, the gate of the grove. *Porth*, a sea coast, bay, or haven. *Port-leven*, the open bay. *Port-kiskey*, the blessed haven. *Port-reath*, Portreth, dreath, draith, the sandy cove.—Pentreath, N. F. *Praze*, a meadow. *Predden*, Predn, Pren, the tree. *Pri-d'-eaux*, Presd'-eaux, near the waters.—N. F. *Pris-low*, Pres-deau, near the water. *Quarry*, Cuare, a quarry of stones. *Quoit*, Coit, Cuit, Quite, a wood; also, a large flat stone. *Radford*, the fern way; Reden.—N. F. *Radland*, the enclosure of ferns; Redanan, a brake of ferns. *Radnor*, fern land.—N. F. *Red-tye*, Rid-ti, the house at the ford. *Rescorla*, Roscorla, corlan, corhlan, the valley of the burying place, or of the sheep folds.—N. F. *Reseven*, Roseyhan, the plentiful vale. *Resudgian*, Resugga, Rosogan, the moist valley. *Retallack*, tallock, a very high place with many pits.—N. F. *Ros-carrack*, the valley of the brook.—N. F. *Ras-carrock*, the rocky vale.

pellations of TRE, POL, and PEN.§ And it seems worthy of remark, that as represen-

Roscreege, the valley of the burrow.—N. F. *Roscrow* the valley cross.—N. F *Rose*, *Ros*, the valley.—N. F. *Ros-croggan*, the valley of shells. *Ros-eglos*, the church vale. *Rose-lyon*, the vale in open view. *Rosmean*, Rosmen, stony valley. *Rosmerrin* the blackberry vale. *Ros-morder*, Ros-mor-dour, the valley near the sea water or tide. *Rosveor*, the great valley—N. F. *Rosvean*, the little valley. *Rosewarne*, Roswarn, the valley of alders.—N. F. *Rus-karnon* the valley of the high rock. *Roskear*, the lovely vale. *Ros-killy*, gilly, the grove in the valley.—N. F. *Ros-kymer*, the great dog valley.—N. F. *Ros-nithen*, Ros-neithen, furzy vale. *Ros-teage*, teg, tek, the fair vale. *Ros-uick*, wick, gweek, guik, the valley of the village, port, or haven. *Ryalton*, royal town. *Scawen*, Scauan, the place of elder trees.—N. F. *Se-varth*, the high seat. *Se-veak*, veage, the seat in a hollow. *Sewanna*, Se-woona, the seat by the downs. *Sinns*, Zyns, the saint's abode. *Skewes*, a shady place; Skez, idem.—N. F. *Skyburia*, Skiberio, Skeberiowe, the barns. *Soarn*, Sorn, the corner. *Spernon*, the thorn.—N. F. *Stean Coos*, kuz, gus, the tin wood. *Te-hidy*, Ty-idne, the fowler's house, or the single dwelling. *Ti-vern-hail*, Ty-warn-hayl, the house on the river, or water side. *Tol-gulla*, the lower hole or bottom. *Tol-gus*, Tolguz, Talguz, the hole in the wood, or the quaking hole; or, Talgus, the high wood. *Tol-vorne*, the foreigner's hole or high place; or, Tolforn, the oven's mouth or hole.—N. F. *Tol-zethan*, the eminent seat or lofty dwelling; Tol-sethe, Sethe, is also a bishop's see; and Zethan, is an arrow. *Tor*, a belly; also, a mountain or great hill above others. *Towan*, heaps of sand, or sand banks —N. F. *Tre-bean*, vean, the little town; Bian, Wigan, id. *Tre-bell*, bel, the fair or fine place. *Trebollan*, Tre-bowl, Trebowlin, the clayey pit, pool, or miry town. *Trecoose*, gus, kus, the wood town. *Tre-crogo*, Tre-croggan,' the shelly town. *Tre-dinham*.—N. F. *Tre-dinick*, a fortified town, or town on the hill,—N. F. *Tre-dower*, dour, dor, the town by the water side. *Tre-frank*, frink, the French town, or liberty town; the Franks' town. *Tre-freak*, freoch, frech, the fruitful town. *Tre-fry*, the town on a hill; Trevry, id.—N. F. *Tre-fu-ses*, Tre-foz-es, the walled or intrenched town.—N. F. *Tre-gagle*, Tre-geagle, the dirty town.—N. F. *Trega-minion*, the stone dwellings. *Tre-gandean*, den, the men's dwelling. *Tre-gan-horn*, the iron dwelling. *Tre-gan-ian*, the cold dwelling, or on the sea shore. *Tregantel* the dangerous dwelling; hazardous, perilous. *Tre-gar-den*, Tre-garthen, Treg-arn, a dwelling upon a high place. *Tre-gassick*, pl. Tre-gassow, the dirty place; Legassick, ditto.—N. F. *Trega-zoran*, sorran, sorn, the dwelling of anger, or in the corner. *Tre-gea*, ke, kea, the place inclosed by a hedge.—N. F. *Tre-gear*, the green or fruitful place; also, the fair or pretty town, or goodly dwelling. In Irish, the sharp town.—N. F. *Tre-gellas*, gelles, gillys, the grove town.—N. F. *Tre-genna* the dwelling at the mouth or entrance of a place.—N. F. *Tre-gerrick*, Tre-gerry, the green or fruitful place, or the dwelling of love. *Tre-gidion*, Treg-i-gian, the giant's dwelling.—N. F. *Tre-gillion*, Tregillio, the dwelling in the groves. *Tre-giskey*, the blessed town. *Tre-golls*, the holy place or lower town; Tregoolas, id. *Tre-gona*, Tregonan, the down's town. *Tre-gon-hay*, Tre-gun-hay, the dwelling inclosed on the common; Tre-gonick, Tre-gonin, id. *Tre-gon-y*, Tre-gun-y, the dwellings on the common near the river. *Tre-goose*, the town in or near the wood. *Tre-gor-ick*, the town on the river. *Tregotha*, Tregorha, the hay town; Tregurtha, id.—N. F. *Tre-goth-nan*, the old town on the plain, or in the valley. *Trehan*, the summer town.—N. F. *Trehawke*, the upper town.—N. F. *Tre-killick*, the grove town. *Tre-lane*, Tre-lan, church town. *Tre-lase*, the green town.—N. F. *Tre-lask*, losk, the town of burning, or burnt town. *Tre-lauder*, lader, ladron, the town of the thieves. *Trelawn-y*, the wool town by the water.—N. F. *Tre-lay*, Tre-lea, Tre-lease, the green town, or the lesser town, or town place; Trelease.—N. F *Tre-leddra*, luddra, lydru, the town on the cliff; or the place for stookings.—N. F. *Tre-leever*, Tre-liver, the book town. *Tre-leven*, the open or bare place. *Tre-lew*, loo, lo, the dwelling by the pool or lake; Trelu, the town place; Trelewick, id. *Tre-loar*, the moon town.—N. F. *Tre-low*, lousy town; Lou, pl. of Luan. *Tre-loweth*, lowarth, garden town.—N. F. *Tre-loy*, the hoary or musty town. *Tre-ludick*, the miry town place. *Tre-luswell*, Trelussal, the miry walled town. *Tre-lyon*, lien, the linen place.—N. F. *Tre-mabe*, mab, Tre-mabyn, the boys' or children town. *Tre-maton*, matern, Kingston or the Royal town. *Tremayne*, the town on shore or sea coast; or, Tremyn, a passage.—N. F. *Tre-mean*, Tremene, the stone town.—N. F. *Tre-mear*, meer, mere, great town. *Tre-mellin*, mellick, mill town.—N. F. *Tre-men-heer*, menhir, the long stone town; or Tre-myn-hir, the long passage.—N. F. *Tremetheck*, the physician's town. *Tre-nans*, nantz, the town in a valley, or on a plain,—N. F. *Tre-nant*, a dwelling near the river. *Tren-bath*, baeth, the boar's

‖ TREVELYAN, TREVYLYAN, TREVYVYAN, VYVYAN .....
VYVYAN DE TREVIDREN ET TRELOWARREN.

ARMS.—1st, *Argent, on a mount, Vert, a Lion rampant, Gules.*†
2d. *Or, on a Bend, Sab.* 3 *Horse-shoes, Argent.* FERRERS.
3d. *Sable,* 6 *Swallows, Argent.* ARUNDELL.
4th. GLYNNE.
5th. TRETHURFE.
6th. ST. AUBYN.
7th. CHALLONS.
8th. *Or, a Lion rampant, Gules.*
9th. *Or, an Eagle displayed, Sable.*
10th. COURTENAY *and* RIVERS, *Earls of Devon, quarterly.*
11th. TREVISA.
12th. VYVYAN *again.* *No Crest.*

Dnus. Viell Vivian, = de Trevidren, in St. Berian, miles.

Johanna, uxor Bartho. Grenville, de Stowe, militis. temp. Ed. 2,

Dnus Radulphus Vivian, = Katharina, filia. Reginaldi Ferrers, of Boswithgy.
filius et hær. miles.

Ricus. Vivian, = Constantia, filia Jacobi Peverell, militis.
filius et hær. de Trevidres,

Hugo. 2d. filius.

Johes. Vivian, 3. filius.

Gul. Vivian, = Clarice, filia. Henrici le Force.
filius et hær.

Radulphus Vivian, = Alicia, filia. Petri. Kempell.
filius et hær

Radulphus Vivian, = Isabella, filia. Johis. Antron.
fil. et hær.

Johes. Vivian, = Honora, fil. et hær. Richardi Ferrers, de Trelowarren.
fil. et hær.

1. Johanna. 2. Alicia.

3. Honor.

Richardus Vivian, = Florentia, filia, et cohær. Rici. Arundell, de Trerise.
filius et hæres.

Michael Vyvyan, = Thomasin. fil. et cohær. Johis. Glyn, de Morvale, arm.
de Trelowarren, arm.

* Johes. Vyvyan, = Elizabeth, filia, et cohær. Thomæ Trethurfe, arm.
de Trelowarren, arm.

Johes. Vyvyan, = Anna, filia. ..... Mallet, de com. Devon.
de Trelowarren, arm.

Christiana,
Avis,
Barbara,
Catherina.

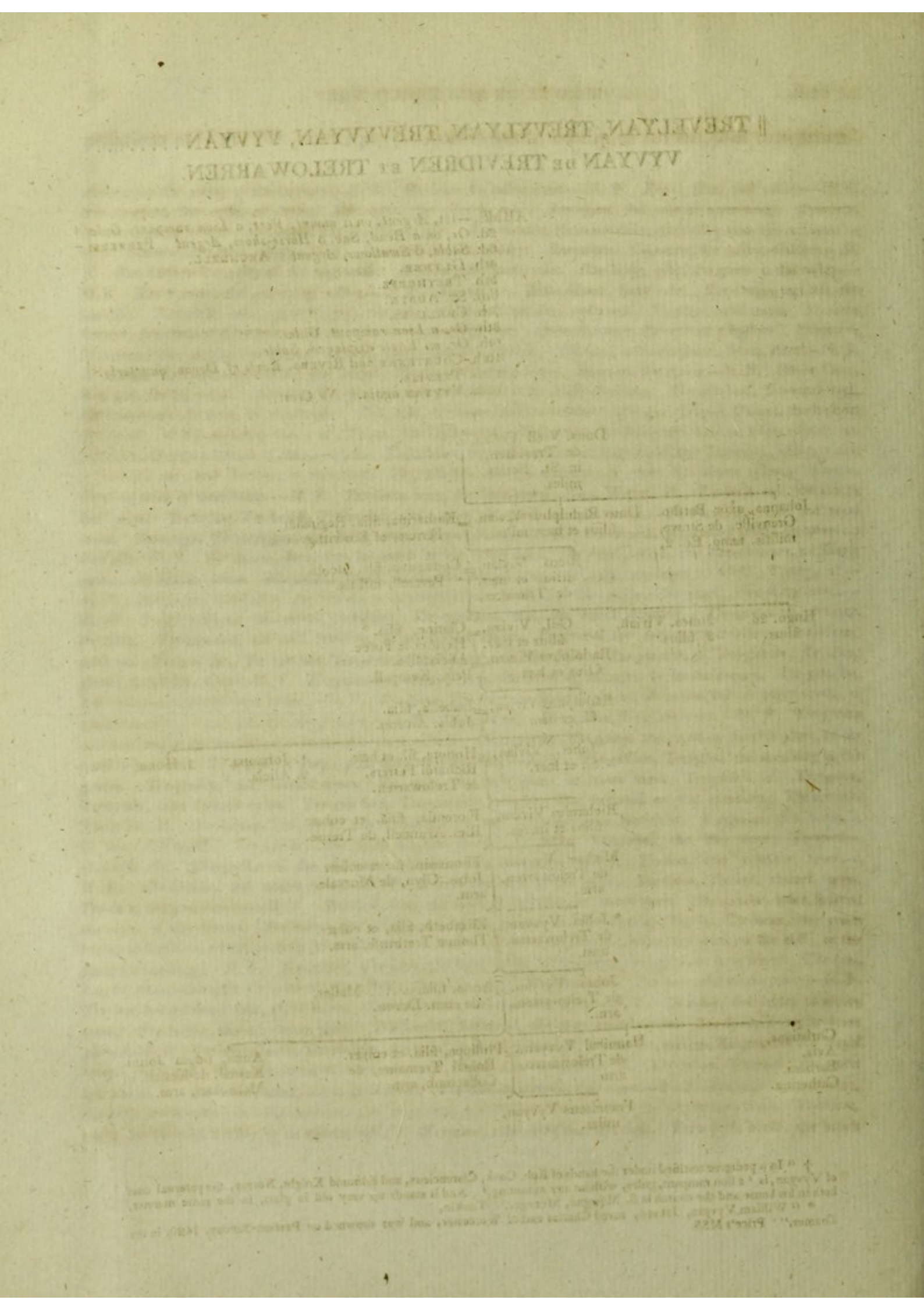
Hannibal Vyvyan, = Philippa, filia. et cohær. Rogeri Tremaine, de Collacomb, arm.
de Trelowarren, arm.

Franciscus Vyvyan, miles.

Anna, nupta Johni. Kestell, de Kestell, in Manackan, arm.

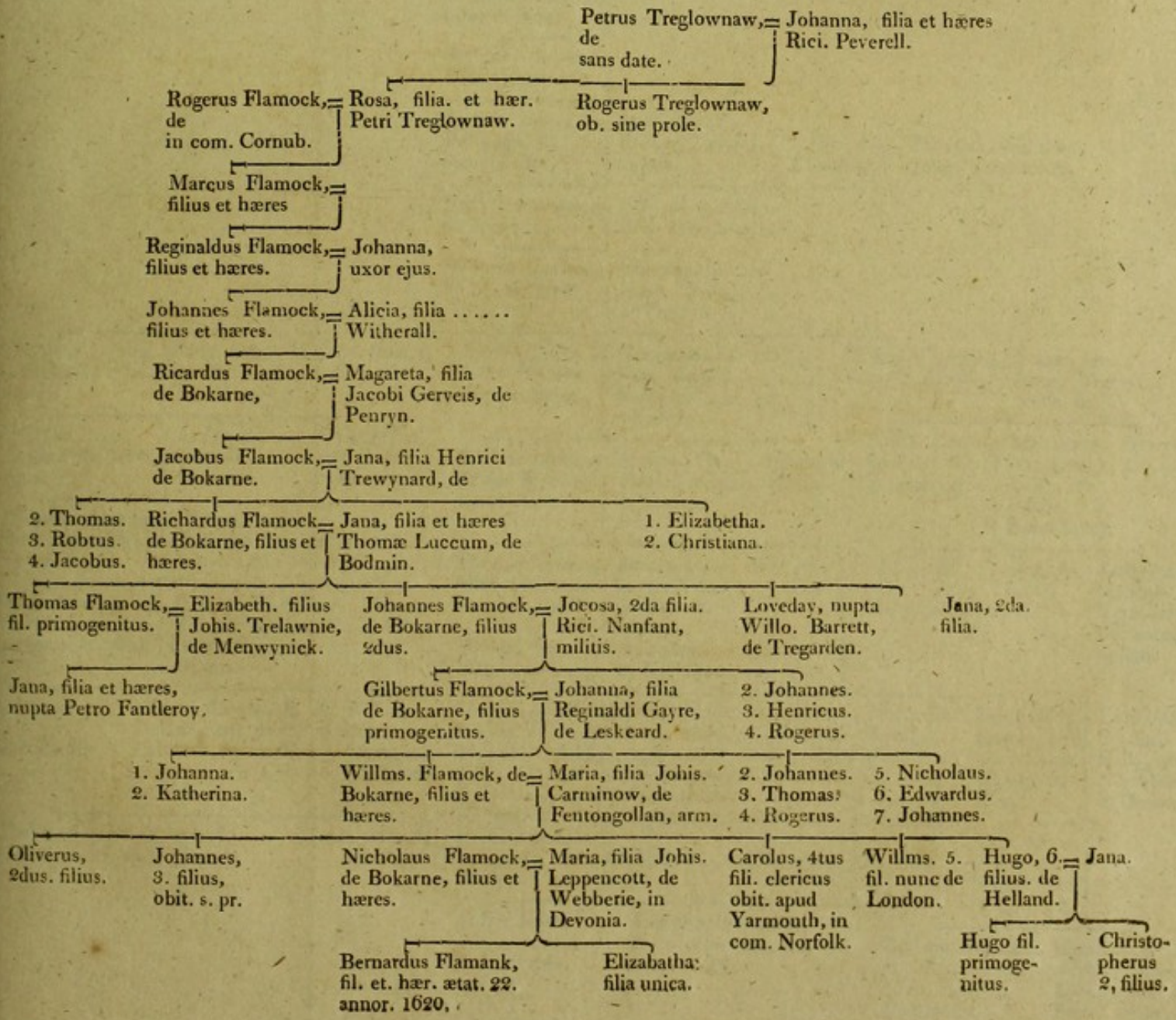
† "In a pedigree testified under the hands of Rob. Cook, Clarencieux, and Edmund Knight, Norroy, the paternal coat of Vyvyan, is 'a lion rampant, gules, without any mounting.' And it stands up very old in glass, in the same manner, both in his house and the church in S. Mawgan, Menege." Tonkin.

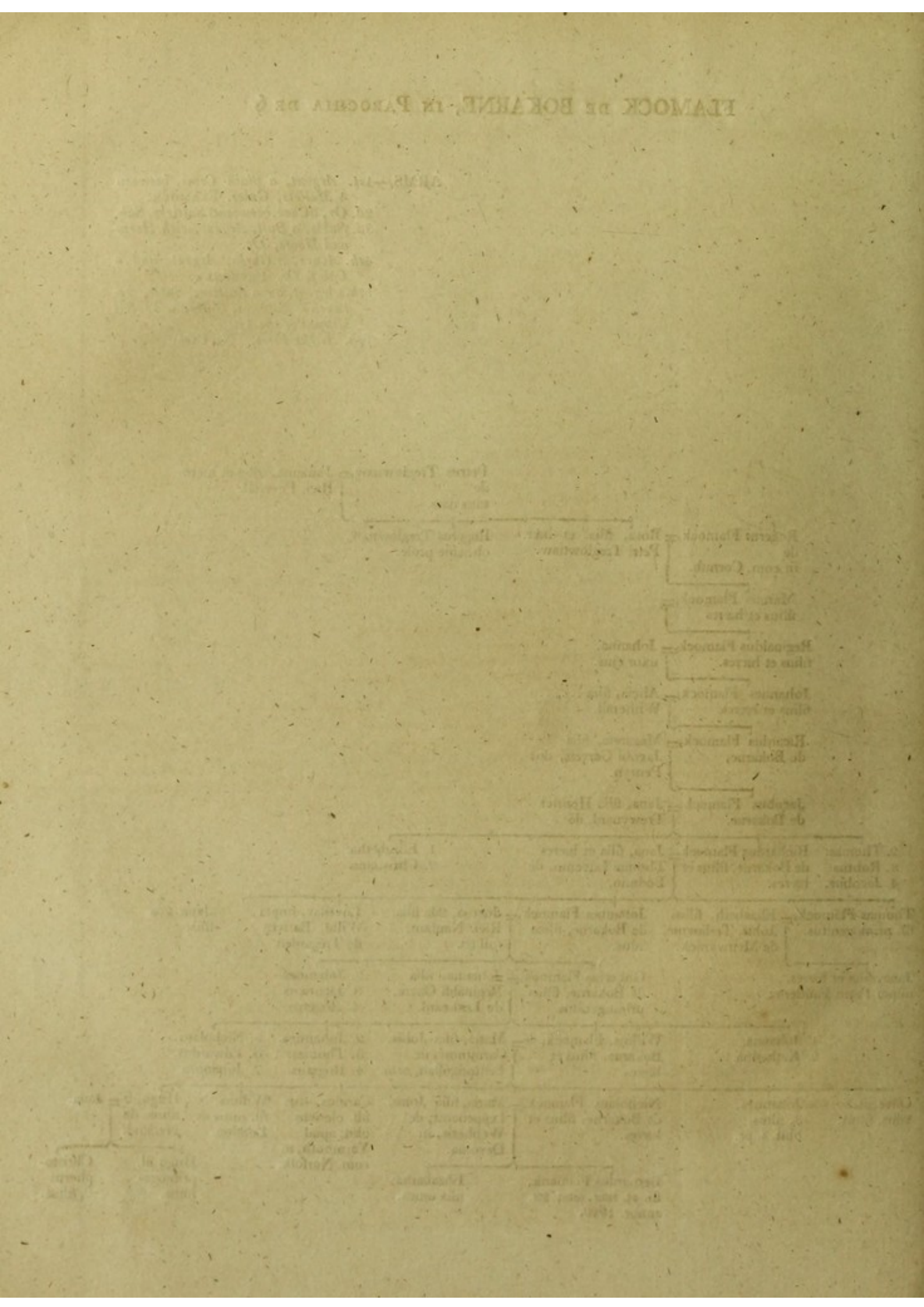
* "William Vyvyan, 1st son, saved Charles earl of Worcester, and was drowned on Passion-Sunday, 1420, in the Thames." Price's MSS.



FLAMOCK DE BOKARNE, IN PAROCHIA DE §

ARMS.—*1st. Argent, a plain Cross, between 4 Mullets, Gules.* FLAMOCK.
2d. Or, a Chev. between 3 Saltires, Sab.
3d. Sable, a Bull, Argent, with Horns and Hoofs, Or.
4th. Azure, 3 Garbs, Argent, and a Chief, Or. PEVERELL.
5th. Argent, on a Saltire, Sable, between 4 Estoiles, Gules, a Trefoil slipped of the 1st.
6th. As the First. No Crest.





LOWER, DE ST. WINNOW, &c. ‡

ARMS.—1st. *Sable, A Chev. between 3 Roses, Argent:* LOWER,
2d, ...

Philippus Lower, = de .....

Johannes Lower, = filius et hæres.

Johannes Lower, = filius et hæres.

Philippus Lower, = filius et hæres.

Richardus Lower, = filius et hæres.

Willms. Lower, = filius et hæres.

Johes. Lower, de Polscotes, in parochia de = Jana, filia 2da Willmi. Moyle, militis.

Ricardus Tresithney, = Johanna, filia et hær. Johis. Tregonnou,

Nicholaus Lower, de Polscotes, = Amy, fil. et cohær. Ricı. Tresithney, de .....

Willms. Lower, de St. Wynow. = Elianora, fil. 2da Johis. Penture, de Pentire.

Nicholaus Lower, de Trelaske, 2dus filius. = Jana, filia, et cohær. Tho. Upton.

Willms. Lower, 3. filius.

1. Gratia, uxor Johis. Polwheele, arm.

2. Jana, uxor Johis. Lampen.

3. Catherina. uxor Rogeri Tubb.

Thomas Lower, de Trelask, filius et hæres. = Margareta, filia Edmundi Percivall, de com. Somerset.

Petrus Lower, de Trelask, arm. superstes. ann. 1620. = Honora, fil. et hær. Willmi. Abbot, de Hartland, in com. Devon.

Jana, filia.

1. Margareta.
2. Elianora.

Thomas Lower, de Trelask, arm. duxit Eulaliam, fil. Arth. Tremaine, de Collacomb, arm. =

2. Willms.
3. Petrus.
4. Georgius.
5. Nicholaus

Thomas Lower, fil. et hær. ætat. unius, ann. 1620.

Maria, ætat. 3. annorum.

Johes. Lower, de St. Wynow, filius et hæres. = Margareta. fil. Tho. Upton, de Trelask, et cohæres.

Thomas Lower, 4tus fil. duxit = Janam, filia Johis. Trevenen, de ..

Willms. Lower, de St. Wynow, fil. et hæres. = Agneta, filia Thos. Trefry, de Fowey, arm.

Johannes 2dus fil.

Johes. Lower de Polmakin, in parochia de = Margareta. filia. Jacobi Luke, et cohær. ... Beauchamp.

Marcus 2ds fil.

Thomas Lower, filius et hær. superstes. 1591. = Jana, filia, et hær. Willmi Roskymer.

Walterus 5. filius.

Johes. fil. et hær. ob. ante patrem.

Georgius Lower, 2dus. fil.

Jana, uxor Georgii Carminow de Fentongollan.

Willms. fil. et hæres.

2. Johes.
3. Nicholaus.

Henricus Lower, 2dus fil. duxit = Elizab. relict Anton. Fox, de Highampton, Devon.

Edwardus Lower, 3. fil. de Tremere, in St. Tudy, superstes, 1620. = Maria, fil. Hump. Nicoll, de Penvose.

Ferdinando Lower, de Lezant, 4tus fil. supers. 1620. = Lora, filia Willmi. Kelly, de Northlew, in Devon.

Katherina, uxor Francisci Courtney, de Lanivet.

2. Agneta.
3. Elizabet.

2. Willms.
3. Edwardus.

4. Gracia.
5. Jana.

Jana, fil. et cohær. uxor Tho. Grosse de Leskerd.

4. Nicholaus.
5. Philippus.

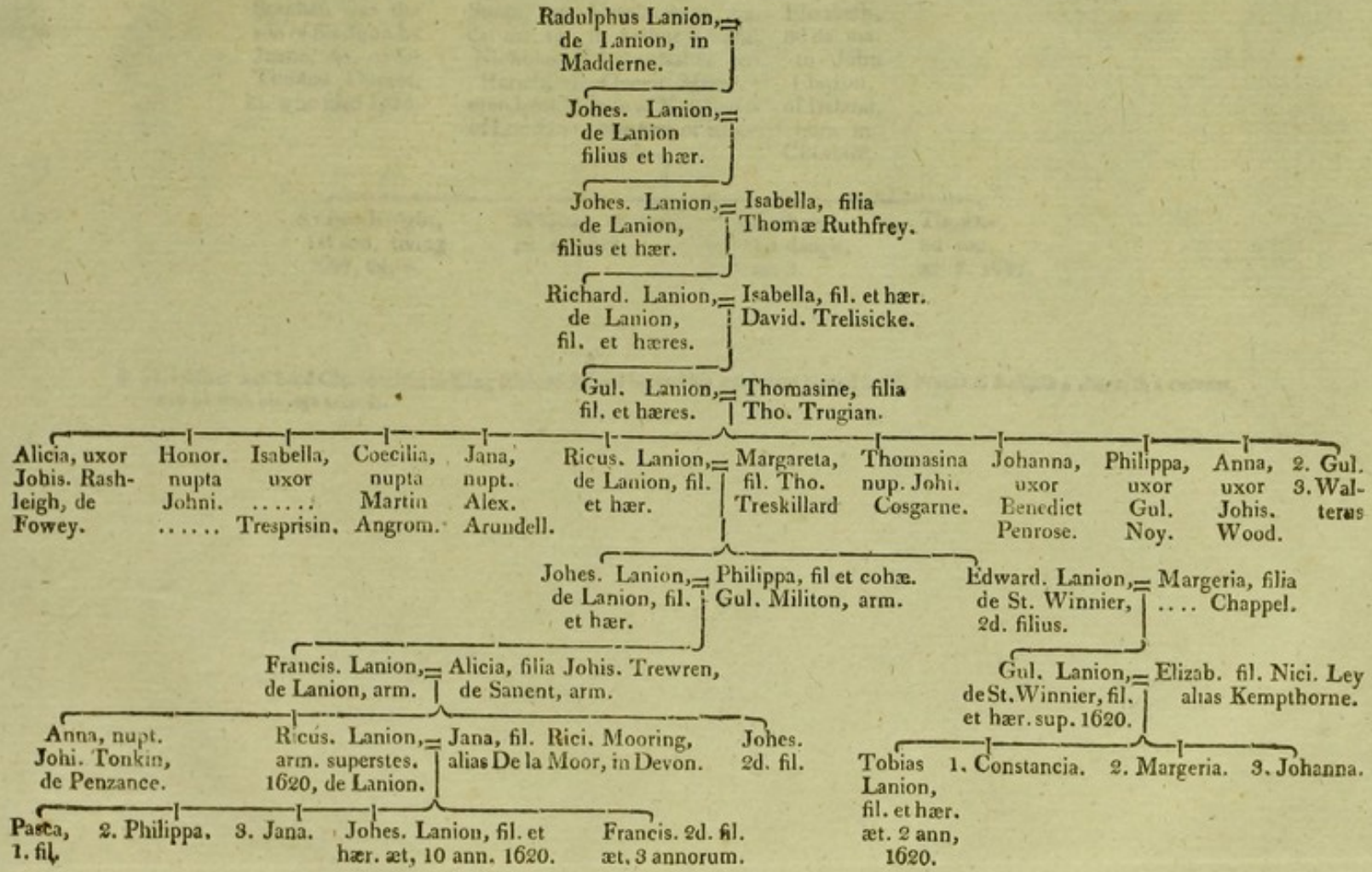
Humphredus Lower, fil. et hæres. ætat. 21. annor. 1620.

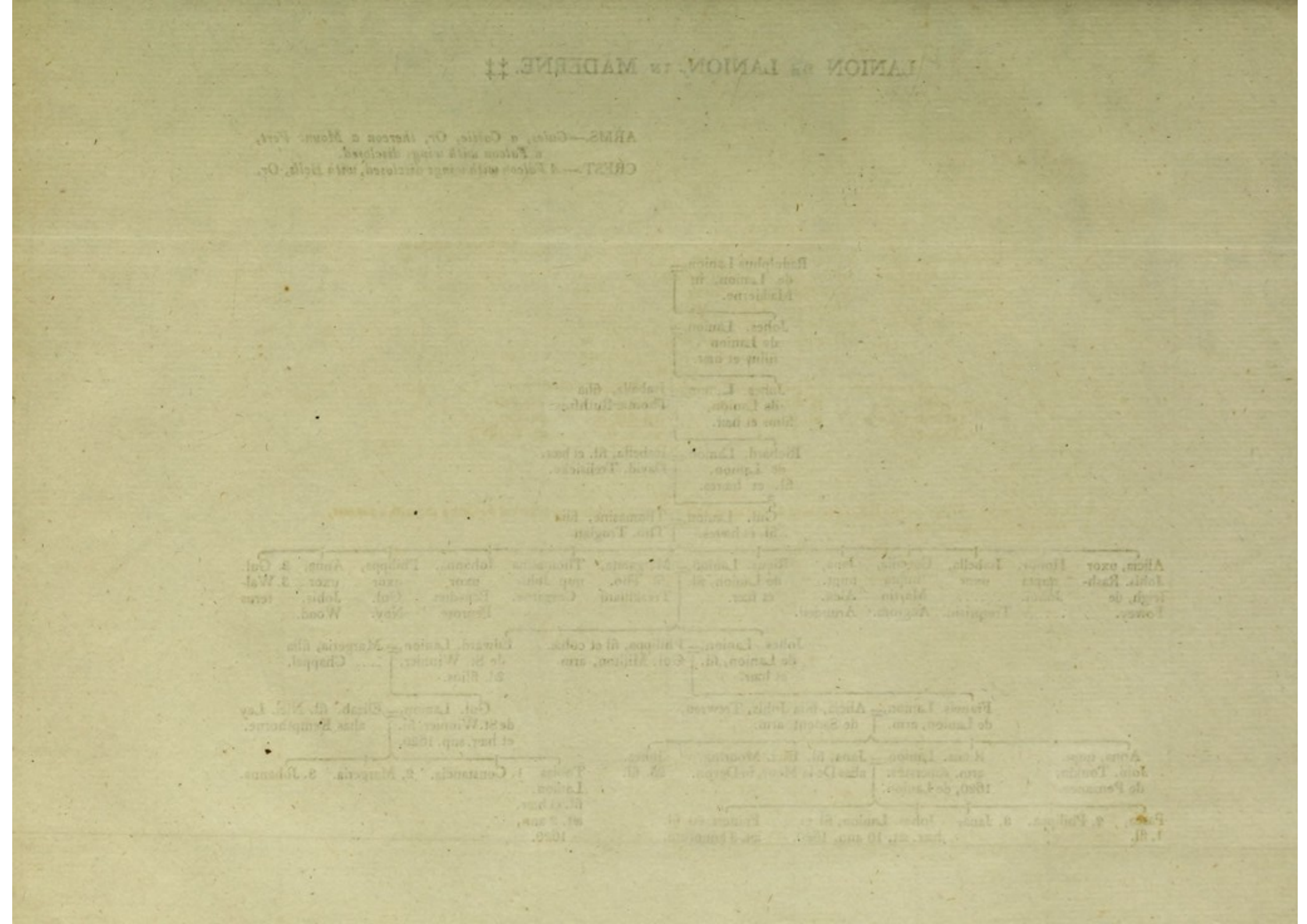
Barbara. 2da fil. et cohær. nupta Nico. Ley, de Quethiock.

Elizab. 3. fil. et cohær. nupta Nico. Cock, de South-Petherwin.

LANION DE LANION, IN MADERNE. ‡‡

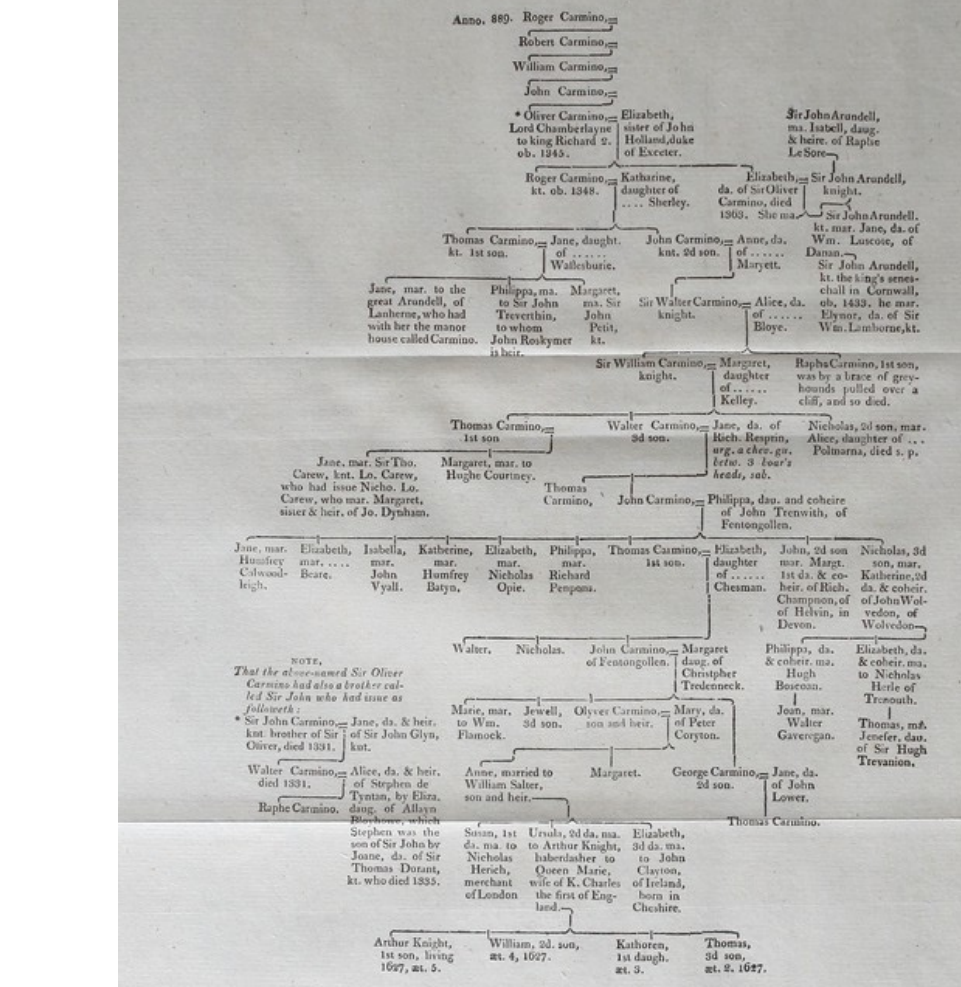
ARMS.—*Gules, a Castle, Or, thereon a Mount Vert, a Falcon with wings disclosed.*
CREST.—*A Falcon with wings disclosed, with Bells, Or.*





CARMINO. §§

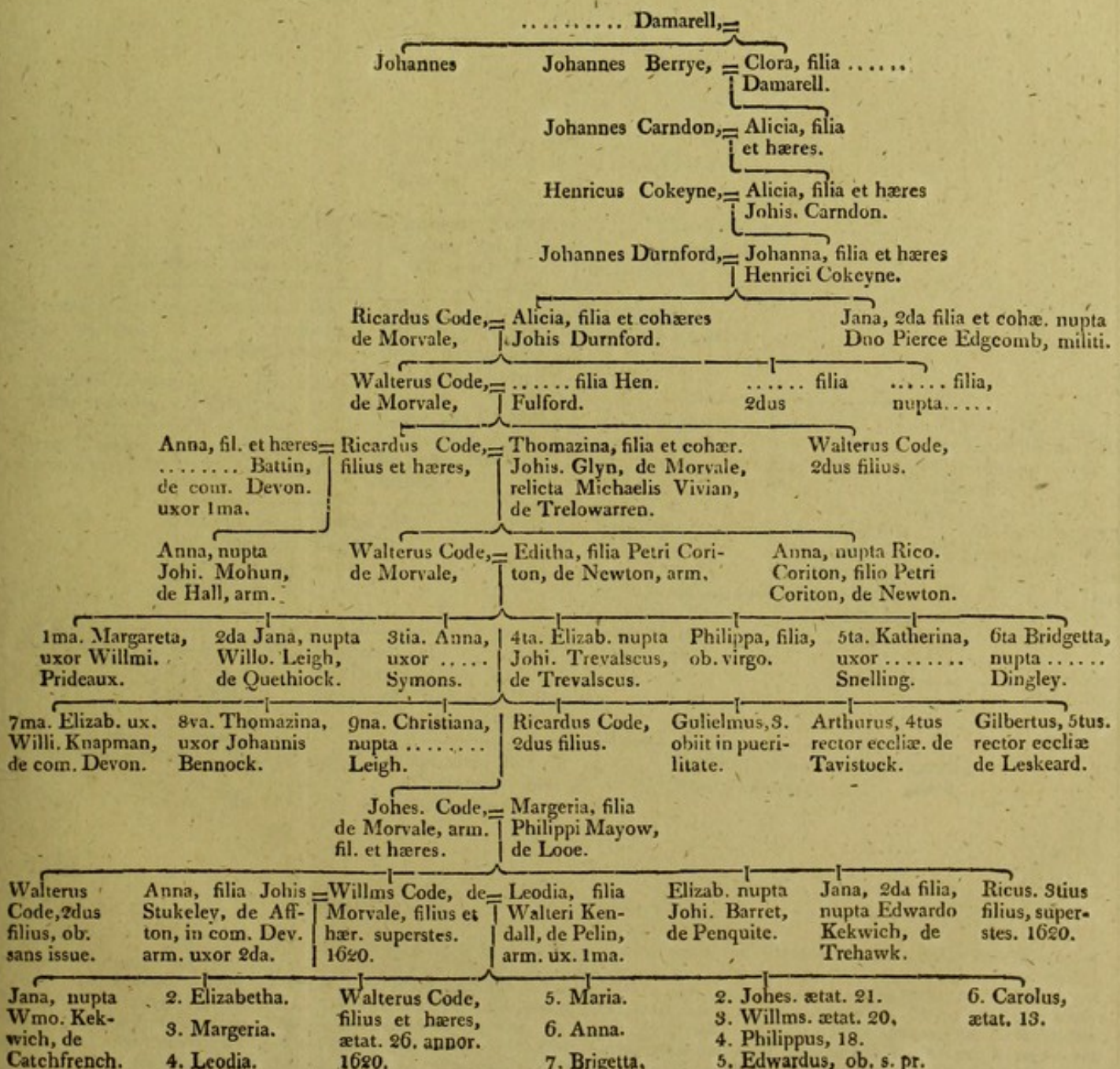
ARMS.—*Azure, a Bend, Or, a Lable of 3 Points, Gules.*
CREST.—*A Dolphin, Or.*



* This Oliver was Lord Chamberlain to King Richard 2. and he and his wife were buried in the Fryers at Bodmin; she with a coronet, and he with his legs a-cross.

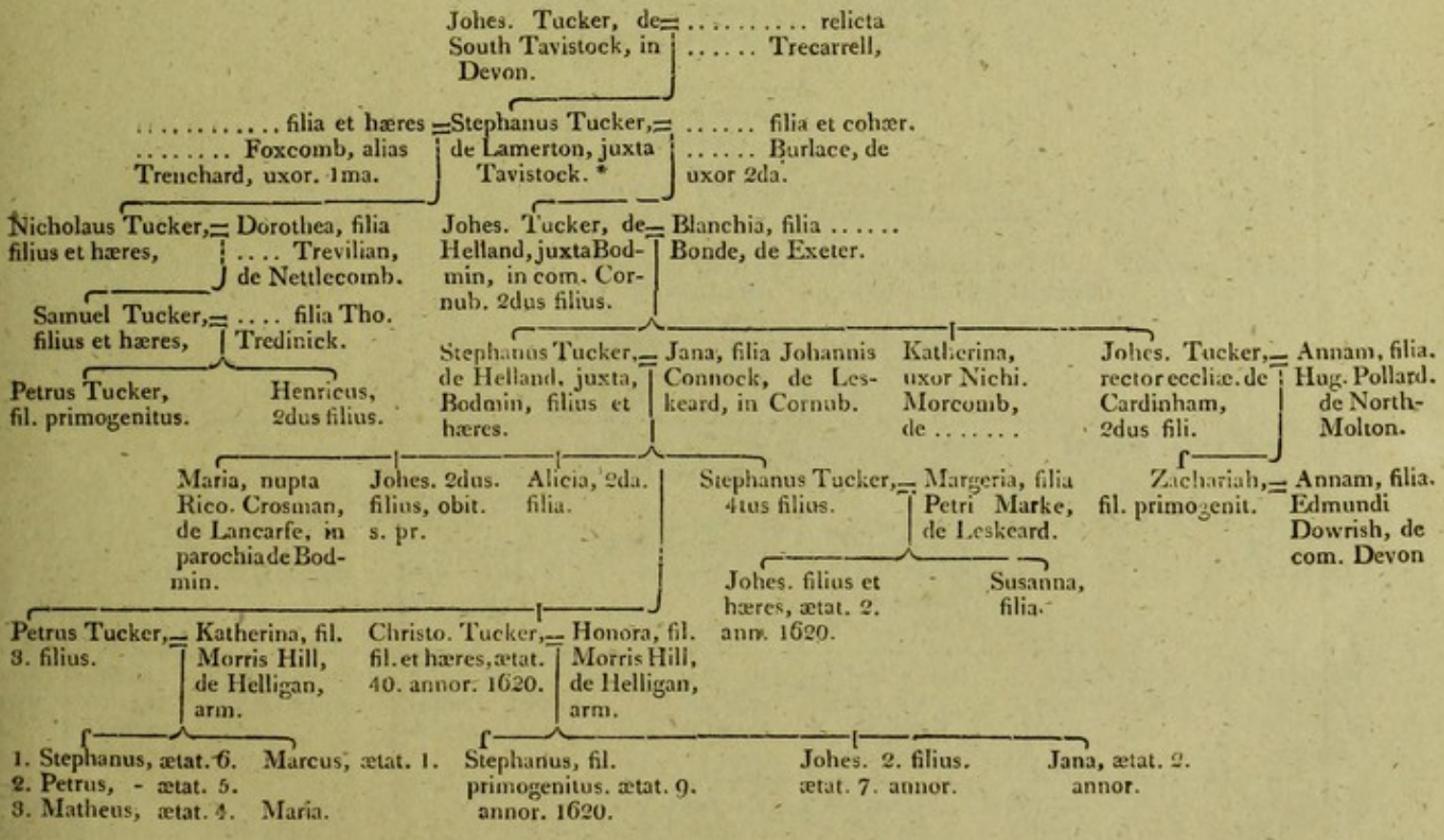
CODE, DE MORVALL. ‡

ARMS.—1*st*, *Argent, A Chev. Gules, between* 3 *Heathcocks, Sab. crested, jelloped, and legged, of the* 2d.—2*d. Gules,* 3 *Crescents, Argent.* No Crest.



TUCKER DE IN PAROCHIA DE †

ARMS.—*Barry wavy, Argent and Azure, A Chev. Crenelle, Or, Embattled. Or, Charged with 5 Guttes or Drops, Sable, between 3 Sea-horses, naiant, Argent.*
His CREST.—*An Arm, couped, Gules, (on which are 3 Barshumet, Or,) the Hand clenched, and holding a Battle-Axe, the Handle, Or, the Point, Proper.*



* *HENRY, REX:*

Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland, To all manner of Our Subjects, as well of the Spirituall Preheminence and Dignitie, as of the Temporall Authority. These Our Letters heiring or seeing, Greeting.—Forasmuch as we be credibly informed that our trusty Subject, Stephen Tucker, of Lamerton, in our County of Devon, Gent. for certain Diseases and Infirmities, which he hath and daily sustayneth in his head, he cannot conveniently without his great danger be discovered of the same, We let you witt, that of Our Grace especiall in tender Consideration thereof, We have by these Presents licensed the said Stephen Tucker to use and weare his Bonnet upon his head, As well in our Presence as elsewhere att his Libertye. Wherefore We will and Command you and every of you to permit and suffer him so to doe, without any your Challenges, Lettes, or Interruptions to the contrary, as yee and every of you tender our Pleasure.——Given under our Signet, at our Manner of Woodstock, the 2d day of July, in the 10th year of Our Reigne.

CARNSEW, DE BOKELLY, IN ST. KEW.

ARMS.—*1st, Sab. a Goat passant, Argent, (attired & tripped, Or.)*.. CARNSEW.
2d, Or, a Bull passant, Sable.. TRECARNE.
3d, Paly of Six Argent & Azure, on a Bend, Gules, 3 Cinque-foils, Or.. STRADLING.
4th, Argent, on a Fess, Sable, 3 Cheverons, sideways of the First.. TRENOWTH.
5th, Sable, a Chev. Ermine, between 3 Pair of Wings, conjoined, Argent.. NANFANT.
6th, Argent, on a Chev. Sab. 5 Bezants, between 3 Torteauxes.. TREJAGO.
7th, Gules, a Lion rampant regardant, Argt. between 9 Acorns, Or.. CHENDUIT.
8th, as the 1st.
CREST.—*On a Cap of Maintenance, doubled, Ermine, a Greyhound, passant regardant.*

Watkin Carnsew, de Tenbrise, in parochia de = Honora, filia .... Tregose, de

Johannes Carnsew, filius et hæres =

Johannes Carnsew, filius et hæres = Jana, filia et hæres Johis. Nuling.

Ricardus Carnsew, filius et hæres. = Alicia, filia et hæres Johis. Trecarne, de Trecarne, in Tintagell.

Willms. Carnsew, filius et hæres. = Isabella, 2da filia Nici. Cavell, arm.

1. Jana, 2da. Alicia.

..... filia ..... Shirston, uxor 1ma. = Willms. Carnsew, filius et hæres. = Elizab. 2da filia Rici. Tregose.

Johannes, 2dus filius.

Jana, nupta Johi. Beauchamp; 2do. Rico. Langdon.

Millicent, 2da filia, uxor Johis. Gaverigan, arm.

Edm. Stradling, arm. = Catherina, fil. et cohær. Johis. Trenowth.

Willms. Carnsew, filius et hæres. = Jana, fil. et hær. Edmi. Stradling, de St. Donat's, in Wallia, arm.

Thomas Carnsew, 3tius filius.

Maria, nupta Willmo. Langford.

Johes. Carnsew, 2dus filius. = Anna. filia. Gilberti Ashurst, de com. Lancast.

Willms Carnsew, de Bokelly, fil. et hæres. = Honora, filia Johis. Fitz, de Tavistock, arm.

Georgius Carnsew, 4tus filius, de St. Kew. = Thomazina, fil. Johis. Nicoll, de St. Kew.

Margeria, uxor Roberti Flamock.

Margareta.

1. Francisca, 2. Gratia.

2. Matheus, 3. Willms. (of whom see Carew, fol. 127.)

Dns. Ricardus Carnsew, de Bokelly, miles.

Honora 1 fil. nupta Johi. Joliffe, de Devon.

Anna, 2da fil. uxor Hugonis Prust, de Hartland Devon.

Margareta, 3tia fil. nupt. Johi. Lukie, de Helland, in com. Cornubiæ.

Franciscus Carnsew, de Philly, superstes, 1620. = Maria, fil. Johis. Webber, de St. Kew.

2. Matheus, 3. Franciscus.

Georgius Carnsew, fil. et hæres, ætatis 16. annor. 1620.

1. Philippa, 2. Maria.

KESTELL DE KESTELL, IN PAROCHIA DE EGLESHAILE.*

ARMS.—*1st. Argent, A Chev. Sable, between three Falcons, Proper, with bells,* KESTELL.
2d. Gules, three Lambs, passant, full-faced, in pale, Gules.
3d. BILLING.
4th. As the first. No Crest.

Willms. Kestell, made a deed to his son John of Kestell, then Lord of Kestell

Johes. Kestell de Kestell, filius et hæres, = Alicia, filia Willmi. Egleshaill.

Petrus Kestell de Kestell, fil. et hær. temp. Edw. 1. = Meliora, filia Johis. Cammes.

Johes. Kestell de Kestell, fil. et hær. an. 5. Edw. 2. = Margeria, filia Rici. de Crowan.

Willms. Kestell de Kestell, fil. et hær. temp. Edw. 3. = Alicia, filia Johis. Tenant.

Johes. Kestell de Kestell, fil. et hær. temp. Ric. 2. = Margareta, filia Laurencii Penerance.

Johes. Kestell de Kestell, fil. et hær. tem. Hen. 6. = Johanna. filia et unica hæres Nicholai Golopin.

Johes. Kestell de Kestell, fil. et hær. temp. Edw. 4. = Margareta filia et cohær. Rici. Billing de Trevorder, arm.

Jacobus Kestell de Kestell, fil. et hær. temp. Hen. 7. = Elizabeth. filia Robt. Tredinick de Tredinick.

Johes. Kestell de Kestell, fil. et hær. temp. Hen. 8. = Jacqueta, filia Johis. Coffin, de Portledge, in Devon, arm.

Symon Kestell 4tus filius = Jana, filia. Rici. Botternell, temp. Edw. 4.

Thos. Kestell, filius et hæres. = Agneta, fil.

Willms. Kestell. 2dus filius ..... Lukie = Alisona, filia. Tho. Kestell, Blanch, filia Willi. Rouse,

Johes. Kestell de fil. et hæres = ... filia .... Marrett als. Treluddero

Thomas Kestell, de Bodmin, fil. et hær. = ... fili. et hæres .... Lukie

Wm. Kestell, de Butternell, dux. Aliciam filiam ..... Edgecomb =

Tho. Kestell, fil. et hæres duxit ..... filiam ..... Trevill

Wm. Kestell, de Bakedock, in parochia de Lanivet. = Margaret. fil. et hær. Johis. Ford, de Egleshaile

Ricus. 2d. fil. ob. s. pr. 4. Jacobus.

Johes. Kestell de Kestell, obit. temp. Elizabeth. = Anna, fil. Johis. Vivian de Trelowarren, arm.

1. Francisca. 2. Thomasina. 3. Elizabetha.

Robert Kestell, 3. fil. duxit Johannam, fil. .... Billing, de Egleshaile.

Thos. Kestell de Kestell, fil. et h. superstes. 1620. = Dorothea, filia .... Tredinick.

Johes. 2d. fil. ætat. 12 ann.

Hannibal Kestell fil. et hær. ætat. 14, ann. 1620.

3. Carolus, ætat. 8. 4. Thomas, ætat. 5.

Johanna uxor Thomæ Kent de

William, fil. married in the Low-Countries.

3. Thomasina, uxor Johannis Pierse de

Richarda, 3. filia Johannis Warren de

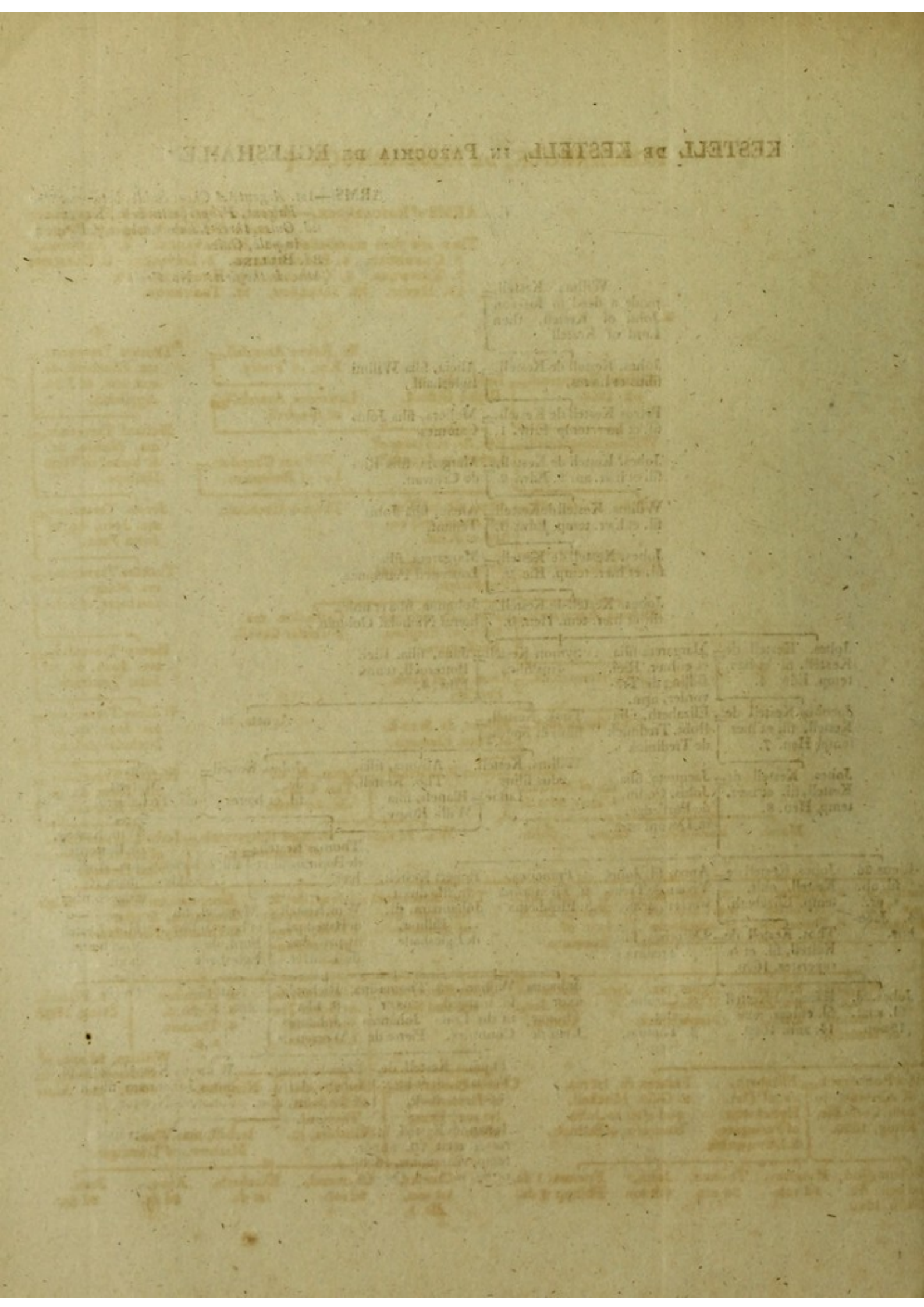
Antonius obit. s. pr.

Thomas Kestell, de Pendavy, fil. et hær. superstes. 1620. = Francisca, filia Johan. Harris, de Lanvest, arm.

Walterus Kestell, 2dus fil. duxit Johannam filiam Johannis Newton

Johannes Kestell, fil. et hæres. ætat. 20. annor. temp. visitationis, 1620. nunc. in Acad. Oxoniæ

Francisca, filia unica ætat. 21.



ROSCARROCK, DE ROSCARROCK. †

ARMS of ROSCARROCK,---*Argent, a Chev. between 2 Roses, Gules and a Sea Tench, nayant, Proper.*
They are thus marshalled:---1. ROSCARROCK. 2. ARUNDELL 3. CHENDUIT. 4. BODILESGATE. 5. DEVIOCK. 6. CLEMENS 7. KNOWLES. 8. CLEMENS. 9. KNOWLES. 10. ..... 11. DEVIE. 12. HALLOPE. 13. TREVENOR.

Richard Roscarrock, ob. 1300. = Isold, da. of Raphe Gifford.

Sr. Reyne Arundell, Knt. of Trefry.

Lawrence Arundell, of Bleyboll.

Thomas Trevennor, ma. Elizabeth, da. and heir. of John Appledon.

Richard Trevennor, ma. Nicola. da. & heire, of Wm. Hallope.

William Roscarrock, = Eva, da. and heire of Lawrence Arundell.

William Chenduit, Lo: of Bodennan.

John Roscarrock, = Alice, da. of Wm. and cousin and co-heir of John.

Thomas Chenduit,

James Trevennor, ma. Joan, da. of John Petit.

Thomas Roscarrock, = Anne, da. of Walter Penwarren.

Thomas Trevennor, ma. Margt. sister and heire. of John .....

Thomas Roscarrock, = Isabell, da. and co-heire of Stephen Bodilesgate.

Catharine. ma. Nicholas Cavell.

Henry Trevennor, ma. Joan, da. of John Trethurfe.

John Roscarrock, = Alice, da. of John Pentier.

William Trevennor, ma. Joan, da. of Nicholas Aston,

John Roscarrock, = Ellinor, da. & co-h. of Thos. Clemens.

Richard Trevennor, ma. Joan, da. of John Boscoan.

Marie, da. of Nicholas Cavell, 2d wife. = John Roscarrock, = Agnes, da. of Tho. Grenvile, 1st wife.

Marie. Elizabeth. Oates. John.

Wm. 2d son.

Richard Roscarrock, of Roscarrock. = Isabell, da. and heire. of Rich. Trevennor. alias Dewey.

Katherine, ma. Fra. Penkevill.

4. Humfrey. 5. Nicholas. 6. Trevennor.

3. Anthonie, = ma. Isabell, da. of John Stone.

2. Hugh, ma. Phillip. da. & heir. of .... Roswarra.

Thos. Roscarrock, son and heir, of Roscarrock. = Jane, da. & sole heire of Wm. Pentire, of Pentire.

Jane, ma. to Wm. Tremayne, & after to Humfrey Nicholas.

Marie.

Margaret, ma. Littelton, of Trenance.

Elizabeth, ma. Lewis Dart.

Agnes, ma. William Menwenack.

Jane.

Katharine, ma. John Tanner.

John Roscarrock, = son and heir.

Elizabeth, da. of Hugh Trevanion, of Caryheyes.

2. Humfrey. 3. Richard. 4. Thomas. s. p.

3. Francis, living, 1620.

William, 2d son, of Padstow, living in 1620, ma. Anne .....

John Roscarrock, = of Crawne, in com. Cornubie, living, 1620.

Elizabeth, da. of Tho. Hynckston, of Parkegate, & Dunwarthie.

Frances, da. 1st ma. to Gilbt. Mitchell, and after to John Saunders, of Bodmin.

Charles Roscarrock, = of Roscarrock, 1st son, living 1620.

Dorothy, da. of Sir John Thyn, of Wiltshire, kt.

Nicholas,

Isabell, ma. Wm. Mathew, of Tresanger.

William, son and heir, Æt. 8. ann. 1620.

Humfrey, 2d son.

Thomas, 3d son.

John, 4th son.

Frances, 1 da. Philipp. 2 da.

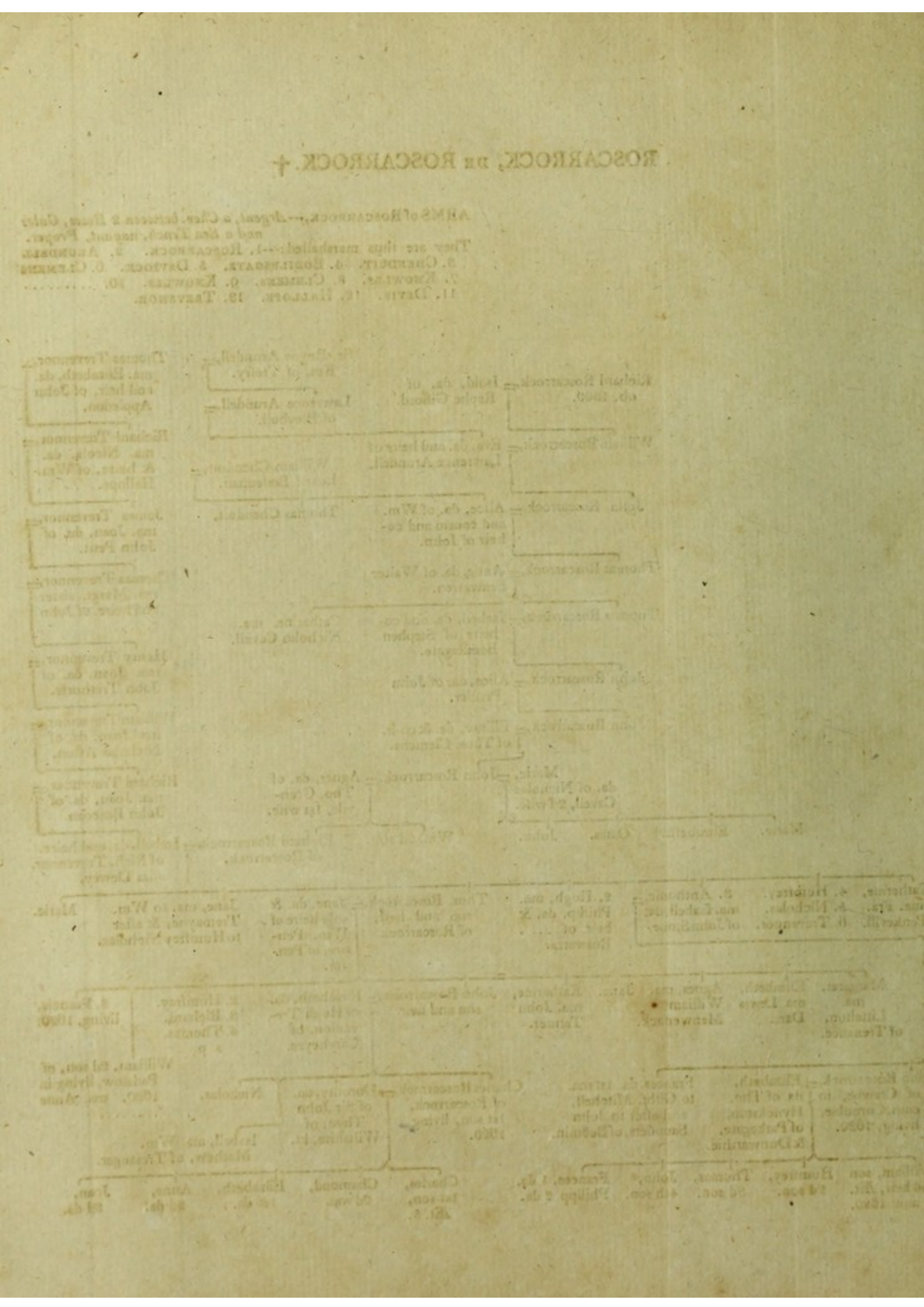
Charles, 1st son, Æt. 5,

Chamond, 2d son.

Elizabeth, 1st da.

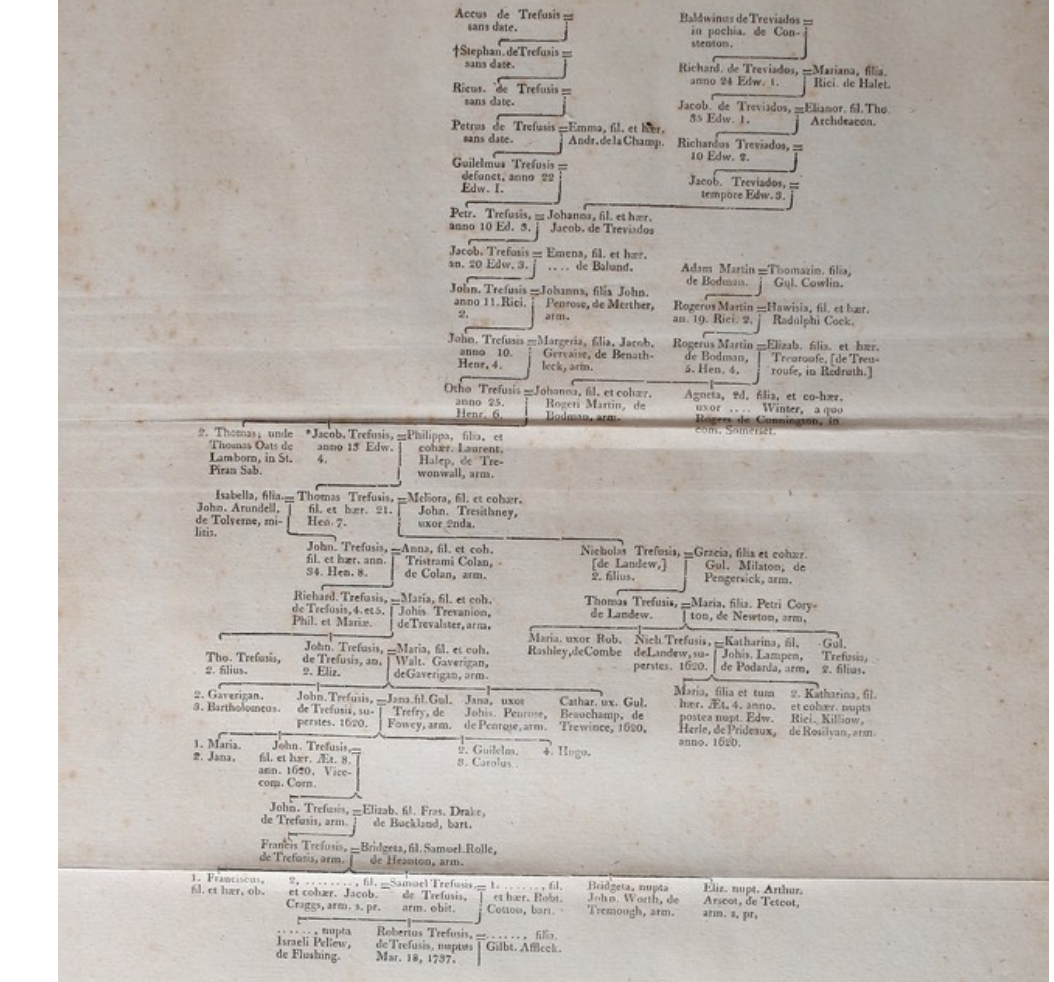
Anne, 2d da.

Joan, 3d da.



TREFUSIS, DE TREFUSIS.*

The ARMS of TREFUSIS, are—*Argent, a Chev. between 3 Fusils, Sable.*
The coats which TREFUSIS quarters are thus marshalled:—1, TREFUSIS. 2. DE LA CHAMPE. 3. TREVIADRES. 4. DE BALUN. 5. MARTIN. 6. TRENROUFFE. 7. HALEP OF TRENROUFFE. 8. TREWITHINECK. 9. TREVILA. 10. PENFONS. 11, PENKIVEL. 12. COLAN. 13. TREVANION. 14. GAVERIGAN.

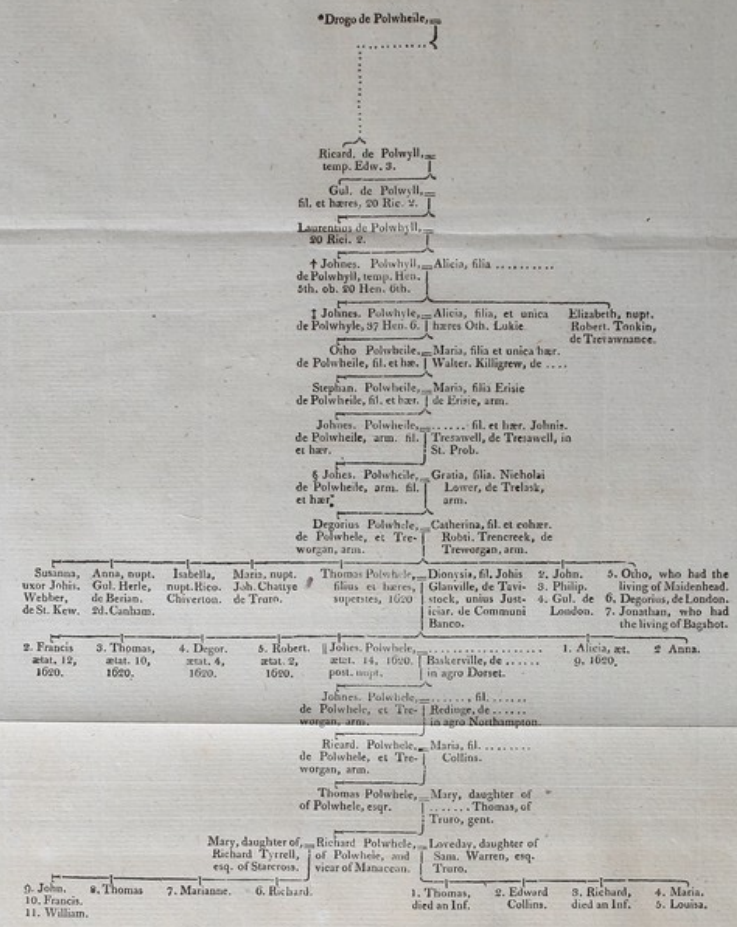


† Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus de Lew dedi et concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi Rice, filio Stephani de Trefusis, pro homagio et servitio suo terram in villa de Trefusis, cum pertinentibus, sicut mota facta sunt et perambulat. &c. usque ad ortum quod fuit quondam Acci de Trefusis. &c. Testibus Waltero de Penbergard, Herves de Trewinse, Reginaldo de Killigabes, Willmo de Benedict. &c. &c. Sans date.

* This bill indented made at Westminster the second day of July in the 19th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Henry 7, witnesseth, that John Wallis, clerk, hath received (in the name and for the use and behoof of our said Sovereign Lord) of James Trefusis, in the county of Cornwall, esq. vL. vjS. viijD. of lawful money of England, for his fine made and given to the King's Majesty, for his pardon to be released from the Order of Knighthood of the Bath, at the marriage of my Lord Arthur, late Prince, In witness, &c. pr. me John Wallis.

POLWHELE, DE POLWHELE.

ARMS.—1st, *Sable, a Saltire ingrailed, Ermine.* POLWHELE.
2d, *Azure, 3 Goats Heads, erased, Arg. attired, Or.* LUKIE.
3d, *Arg. 3 Mullets, Gules, between 2 Bendlets, Sab.* TRESAWELL.
4th, *Arg. a Cross Patee, surmounted by a Chev Sab.* TRENCREEK.
The CREST,—*A Bull, Gules, with Horns, Or.* Another Crest of the Family is "*A Blackmore's Head, with an Olive-Branch in its Mouth.*"



* "Was chamberlain to Maud the Empress, who gave him certain lands, &c. in Cornwall, anno 1140, by a deed lately in possession of John Polwhele, esq." *Tonkin's MS.*

† This John is the first mentioned in this visitation, and his wife is called Elizabeth, but falsely, as appears by deed.

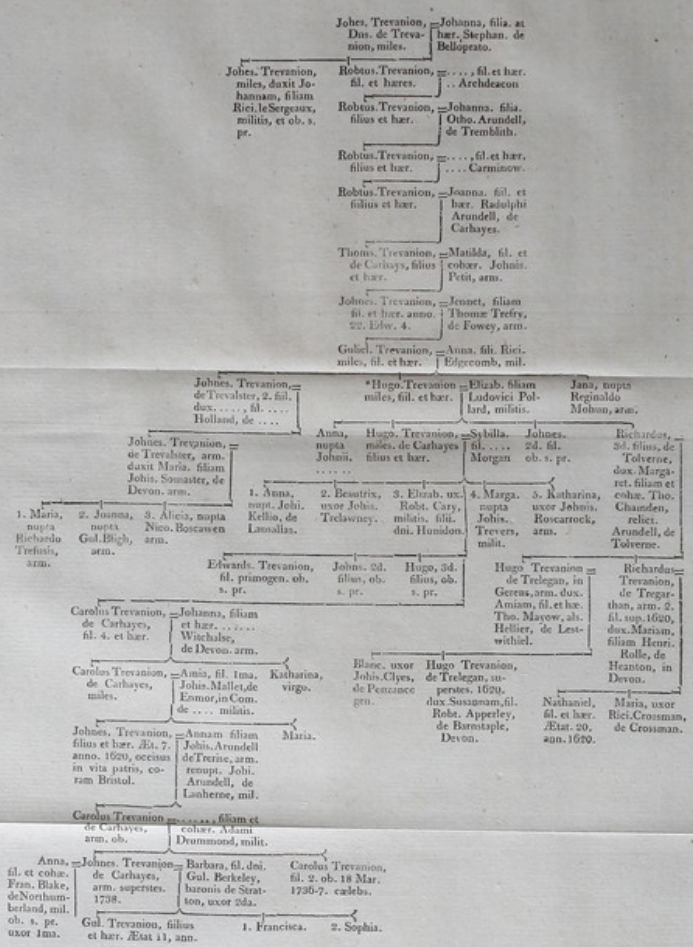
‡ This John is called Otes in this visitation, but falsely. See the deed.

§ Knight of the Shire 4th & 5th Philip and Mary.

|| Member of Parliament for Tregony, in 1640.

TREVANION, ‡ DE TREVANION.

ARMS.—*Argent, on a Fess, Azure, between 2 Chev. Gules, 3 Escalops, Or.*



* This Sir Hugh Trevanion was (it is said) a banneret.

tatives of Tre, and Pol, if not of Pen, there exist several families who have possessed

dwelling.—N. F. *Trenneage*, the mossy, or thatched dwelling, or the deaf town. *Trenethick*, the great dwelling; the large town or dwelling. *Tren-ewan*, eyn, the cold dwelling. *Tren-goff*, Tren-gove, the smith's dwelling.—N. F. *Tren-gwainton*, venton, the dwelling near the spring or rivulet. *Tren-inick*, the dwelling on the creek. *Tren-ithen*, eithen, the furzy dwelling. *Tre-noweth*, the new town. *Tre-now*, the noisy town. *Trenwith*, Tre enwith, the town among ash trees. *Tre-ravon*, Tre-avon, the town on the river. *Tre-rice*, reese, the town on the decline of the hill; Trerise, id. *Tre-rose*, the valley town; or town on the heath. *Tre-sadron*, sadern, the strong town or town of Saturn.—N. F. *Tre-sare*, sair, the woodman's, or carpenter's town; q. d. Sair, a sawyer of wood. N. F. *Tre-saule*, the exposed dwelling place. *Tre-sillian*, the place for eels; or in open view.—N. F. *Tre-simple*, the miry place. *Tre-skewes*, skuis, skez, the shady town. *Tre-sooth*, soath, the fat or fruitful place. *Tre-strail*, the town for mats made of sedges, or rushes; or, Strail, the tapestry town.—N. F. *Tre-sugga*, sug, the moist or boggy town. *Tres-wethan*, the town among the trees. *Tre-tane*, tan, the under town. *Tre-theage*, the fair or pleasant town. *Tre-thew*, du, dew, the black town, the holy town. *Tre-thewy*, the town by the water, or the holy town by the water.—N. F. *Tre-thowa*, dour, the town by the water. *Tre-vailer*, the workman's town.—N. F. *Tre-vanion*, a town in a hollow plain.—N. F. *Tre-varth*, the high town. *Tre-varthen*, Trevardun, the town on a hill.—N. F. *Trevaunance*, the town in a great valley. *Tre-vear*, veor, the great town. *Treve*, a house, a habitation.—N. F. *Tre-vedren*, vydran, the town by the brambly river. *Treveneage*, the mossy dwelling. *Tre-vena*, venna, vennen, venner, the bee's town, old town, or women's town.—N. F. *Tre-vethan*, the town among trees, the meadow town; the old town.—N. F. *Trevethen*, the birds town. *Tre-villion*, the dwelling of the seamen. N. F. *Tre-vilva*, vilvas, the mean low town. *Tre-vince*, fince, the town of springs; Trewince, id. *Tre-vissan*, the lower town. *Tre-vithick*, vethick, the town in the meadow on the creek.—N. F. *Tre-vivion*, the dwelling by the small water.—N. F. *Trevorder*, vor-dour, the town by the great water, or on the road by the water. *Tre-vry*, the town on the round hill.—N. F. *Tre-wartha*, the higher town.—N. F. *Tre-war-thenick*, the higher town by the creek or rivulet. *Tre-wavas*, gwavas, the winterly or exposed dwelling.—N. F. *Trewen*, the fair town.—N. F. *Tre-wheela*, the dwelling by the works or mines.—N. F. *Tre-wiggett*, wick, wickett, a village, a little village; the little village town. *Tre-win*, the dwelling on the marsh; Trewinick, id. Trewinnow, pl. Trewint, id.—N. F. *Trewithan*, withen, withick, within, the town among the trees. *Tre-wollack*, the lower town; Trewoolla, id. *Tre-woon*, the dwelling on the common. *Tre-worder*, wordra, worga, worgen, the dwelling near the water. *Tre-worgy*, wirgie, the house up the water. *Tre-worlas*, the town on the high green. *Trewothick*, the noted town. *Tre-yew*, yuk, the upper town. *Tre-zela*, the salt town. *Trezise*, Tre-yz, the place for corn.—N. F. *Truthell*, Truath-hal, a barren moor; Tre-uhal, a high town; or, Treuth-hal, the entrance of the moor. *Tu-coise*, coyese, gus, on the wood's side. *Tule-mena*, the holed stone. Tolmen, id. *Turs-cot*, the short or low tower. *Venton*, the spring, fountain, or well. *Venton-gimps*, the continual, ever flowing spring or well. *Venton-gollan*, the holy well, or the hart's well. *Venton-neage*, the mossy well. *Venton-vean*, the little well. *Venton-vease*, the outward well. *Venton-vedna*, the high well. *Venton-veor*, the great well. *Venton-verth*, the green spring. *Venton-win*, the well in the marsh. *Venton-zeath*, the dry well. *Vounder*, the lane.

* See *Carew*, f. f. 1, 2.

† "And to his younger son Ethelward, he devised (among other lands) all that he had in *Weal*-district (i. e. all that he had in the west of England) except TRICONSHIRE," or Cornwall. For some account of this curious will, see HISTORY OF DEVON, vol. I. p. 201.

§ "Touching the personall estate of the Cornish inhabitants, to begin with their name in generall, I learne by master *Camden* (who, as the Arch-antiquarie *Iustus Lipsius* testifieth of him, *Britanniæ nebulas claro ingenij sole illustravit)* that *Ptolomey* calleth them *Damnonii*, Strabo, *Ostidamnii*, and Artemidorus, *Cossini*. Touching their particular denominations; where the *Saxons* haue not intruded their newer vsances, they partake in some sort with their kinsmen the *Welsh*: for as the *Welshmen* catalogize *ap Rice, ap Griffin, ap Owen, ap Tuder, ap Lewellin, &c.* vntill they end in the highest of the stock, whom their memorie can reach vnto; so the westerne *Cornish*, by a like, but more compendious maner, intitle one another with his owne & his fathers christen name, and

from all antiquity, and still retain unalienated, the very estates whence they derived their names. There are said to be no less than one thousand five hundred names of persons and places in Cornwall, beginning with *Tre*. Yet TREFUSIS* of *Trefusis*, I conceive, is almost the only family of the *Tres*, that may be regarded as flourishing in Cornwall, both in ancient times, and at the present day.---The TRELAWNEYS of *Trelawney*, indeed, may trace their lineage to times before the conquest.---To TREVANION‡ of *Trevanion*, the same claim of long transmitted inheritance might, a few years since, have been allowed; though the local name hath for ages, been sunk in that of Caerhayes, and almost lost.---Of the TREVYLYANS or Trevelyans, of *Trevelyan*, I should scarcely deem it an omission not to speak; as this family, though still holding a part of Trevelyan and other Cornish property, seems to derive all their importance from their place of residence in another county.† There are some of opinion, that the TREVYLYANS and VYVYANS,‖ were branches from the same stem. ---For the POLWHELES of *Polwhele*, though their ancient estate of a few hundred acres only, may have been deemed of small account, since the loss of the circumjacent lands which were of considerable extent, and for many ages in the possession of the family; still is it the hereditary estate, transmitted to the present race from their British ancestors.‖ Here, in the Norman times, stood the castle of Polwhele; which William of Worcester (as we shall see in the next period) describes as reduced to ruins.

conclude with the place of his dwelling; as *Iohn*, the sonne of *Thomas*, dwelling at *Pendaruis*, is called *John Thomas Pendaruis*. *Rich.* his yonger brother is named, *Richard Thomas Pendaruis*, &c. Through which meanes, diuers Gent. and others haue changed their names, by remooving their dwellings, as *Trengoue* to *Nance*, *Bonithon*, to *Carclew*, two brethren of the *Thomasses*, the one to *Carnsew*, the other to *Rescrowe*, and many other. Most of them begin with *Tre*, *Pol*, or *Pen*, which signifie a towne, a top, and a head: whence grew the common by-word.

By *Tre*, *Pol*, and *Pen*,
You shall know the *Cornishmen*.

Neither doe they want some signification, as *Godolfin*, *alias Godolghan*, a white Eagle: *Chiwarton*, the greene castle on the hill: which gentlemen giue such armes; *Reskimer*, the great dogges race, who beareth a wolfe passant; *Carnsew*, alias, *Carndew*, a black rock, his house *Bokelly*, which soundeth the lost goat; and a goate he beareth for his coate; *Carminow*, a little citie: *Cosowarth*, the high groue." *Carew*, f. 54, 55.

† The family-arms are, *gules*, a demi-horse *argent*, armed *or*, issuing out of the sea in base proper; a bearing, according to tradition, adopted from the circumstance of one of the family swimming on horseback from the Seven Stones to the Land's-end, at the time when these rocks were separated from the continent by a violent inundation of the sea.

Yet the family was still possest of large property.---To Tre, Pol, and Pen,¶ Camden adds **Ros, Lan,* and *Caer.*---From *Ros* we have ROSCARROCK of *Roscarrock*;† from *Lan,* LANYON, *de Lanyon*;‡‡ and from *Caer,* CAERMINOW.§§---But there are many other Cornish names of remote antiquity; such as ERISEY‖‖ of *Erisey*; KILLIGREW ††† of *Killigrew*; GODOLPHIN‖‖‖ of *Godolphin*; PRIDEAUX§§§ of *Prideaux-castle*; KESTLE* of *Kestle*; SCAWEN;‖‖‖‖ and BOSCAWEN.§§§§ Of those who came in with the conqueror, and were chiefly indebted to him for their possessions in this county, the first was his own uterine brother Robert de Moretaigne,‡ to whom William gave the earldom of Cornwall, and two hundred and eighty-eight manors.§ And in the lists‖

¶ I scarcely recollect a family with this initial, as here entitled to our notice.

* "Tre and Pol and Pen, (says *Fuller)* are the dictionary of such surnames as are originally Cornish: And though nouns in sense, I may fitly term them prepositions.

1. Tre 2. Pol 3. Pen	signifieth	a town. Hence TREFRY, TRELAWNY, TREVANION. an head. Hence POLWHEEL. a top. Hence PENTIRE, PENROSE, PENKEVIL.

Some add to these a fourth inchoation, viz. *Car,* which signifies a rock; as CARMINE CARZEU."---But *Camden* (in his Remaines, p. 114.) hath a more comprehensive rhyme:

"By *Tre, Ros, Pol, Lan, Caer* and *Pen,*
You may know the most Cornish men."

Which signifyes (says he) a *town,* a *heath,* a *pool,* a *church,* a *castle* or *city,* a *foreland* or *promontory.*" But *Ros* or *Rose* sometimes signifies a valley near a promontory of land, as *Penrose, Trerose*; or a valley only, as *The Rose, Whealrose, Rosteage*---POL sometimes signifies a top, as *Polkil,* the top of the neck; *Polgover,* the top of the brook.---*Lan* often signifies, a *yard,* an *enclosure,* a *plain*; and *Car* in some names, a rock, as *Carthew,* the black rock.---The names of the more ancient families of Cornwall, were taken from their seats; as the names of such places existed long before the appropriation of surnames. And in process of time, the surname adopted from the place of residence became an appropriated name. Thus the descendants of Drogo de Polwhele, were afterwards called by the name of Polwhele. In these latter days, the case is reversed: People impose their own names, *ad libitum,* on their places of residence.

‡ Among the Normans, where surnames obtained, they were not (in general) hereditary. The royal family itself had no hereditary surname, at the time of the compilation of the Domesday. The conqueror was called, *William, the bastard*; one of his sons, *Rufus*; and another, *Beauclerk.*

§ Lists of all the tenants in capite or serjeants, stand at the head of each county, in Domesday. Those of Devon and Cornwall, are as follows:---"Civitas Exonia, 100 a. 1, Rex Willelmus, 100 a. 2, Bishop of Exeter, 101 b. 3, Bishop of Constance, 102 a. 4, Church of Glastonbury, 103 b. 5, Church of Tavistock, 103 b. 6, Church of Buckfesth,* 103 b. 7, Church of Hortune, 104 a. 8, Church of Cranburn, 104 a. 9, Church of Battel, 104 a. 10, Church of our Lady at Rouen, 104 a. S. Maria de Pratis; Notre Dame de bonnes nouvelles.† 11, Church of

* Buckfast, in Devonshire.

† A Benedictine Abbey, founded A. D. 1063. on lands belonging to Bec Abbey, by queen Matilda, wife of the conqueror, and so called, because, according to tradition, she was here when she received the news of her husband's victory over Harold, in 1066. Mon. Ang. t. II, p. 995. Al, Pri. v. II. p. 23.

of those gentlemen, stand ARUNDEL;** ST. AUBYN;†† BASSET;‡‡ BLUET;§§ BEAUCHAMP;‖‖ BELLOT;¶¶ BRAY; BEVILLE;*** BARRET;††† BEAUFORT;‡‡‡ CHAMOND;§§§ CHALONS;‖‖‖ CHAMPERNOWNE;¶¶¶ DENIS; DENHAM;**** FORTESCUE;†††† FLAMOCK;§ GREINVILE;‡‡‡‡ LE GROSSE;§§§§ LEVELIS;‖‖‖‖ MOHUN;¶¶¶¶ MALET;‡‡‡‡ MINERS;§§§§

the Mount of St. Michael,† 104 a. 12, Church of St. Stephen, of Caen, 104 a. 13, Church of the Holy Trinity, of Caen, 104 a. 14, Earl Hugh, 104 b. 15, Earl Moreton, 104 b. 16, Baldwin Sheriff, 105 b. Baldwin de Brioniis, (sometimes called Baldwin de Exeter on account of his principal residence there,) had the trust of the county of Devon, and was reputed earl of it. Peer. 2 v. p. 86. He had no less than one hundred and fifty-nine lordships of his own in that county. 17, Judhel de Totness, 108 b. 18, William de Moion, 110 a. 19, William Chievre, 110 a. 20, William de Faleise, 111 a. 21, William de Poilgi, 111 a. 22, William de Ow, 111 b. 23, Walter de Douai, 111 b. 24, Walter de Clavile, 112 a. 25, Walter, 112 a. 26, Goscelmus, 112 b. 27, Richard, filius Gilberti Comitis,§ 113 a. 28, Roger de Busli, 113 a. This baron enjoyed many lordships, and his principal places of residence were at Tikhil in Yorkshire, and Hougham, Lincolnshire; but the barony terminated in John his grandson, who left one daughter and heiress, married to Robert de Vipount, a great baron of that time. *Peerage*, 2d v. p. 101. 29, Robert de Albemarle, 113 a. 30, Robert Bastard, 113 a. 31, Richard, filius Turoldi, 113 b. Thorold was sheriff of Lincolnshire, and founded the priory of Spalding in Lincolnshire, in 1052; but whether he was father of this Richard, does not appear. *Brad. Int.* 275. 32, Radulfus de Limesi, 113 b. 33, Radulfus Pagenel, 113 b. 34, Radulfus de Felgeres, 113 b. 35, Radulfus de Pomerei, 113 b. 36, Ruald Adobed, 114 b. 37, Tetbaldus, filius Bernerii, 115 a. 38, Turstin, filius Rolf, 115 b. 39, Alured de Ispania, 115 b. 40, Alured Brito, 115 b. 41, Ansgerus, 116 a. 42, Aiulfus, 116 a. 43, Odo, filius Gamelin, 116 b. 44, Osbern de Salceid, 116 b. 45, uxor Hervey de Helion, 117 a. 46, Giroldus, the Chaplain, 117 a. 47, Girardus, 117 a. 48, Godeboldus, 117 a. 49, Nicholaus Balistarius, 117 a. 50, Fulcherus, 117 b. 51, Haimericus, 117 b. 52, Willelmus, and other servants of the king, 117 b. 53, Colvin, and other thains of the king, 118 a.----1, Rex Willelmus, 120 a. 2, Bishop of Exeter, 120 b. 3, Church of Tavistock, 121 a. 4, Churches of St. Michael, and other Saints, 120 b. 5, Earl Moreton, 121 b. 6, Judhel de Totness, 125 a. 7, Goscelmus, 125 a."

‖ "Heere I lay downe the names of such Cornish gentlemen, (says *Carew)* as I find recorded to haue come in with the conquerour: *Arundell*; *Basset*; *Bluat*, alias, *Bluet*; *Beauchamp*; *Bray*, *Bellet*; *Beuill*; *Barret*; *Courtenay*; *Chaumont*, alias, *Chamond*; *Denis*; *Greinuile*; *Karrow*, alias, *Carew*; *Mowne*, alias, *Mohun*; *Malet*; *Miners*; *Pomeray*; *Rouse*; *Santalbin*, alias, *Sentalyn*; *Saulay*, alias, *Saule*." F. 64. b. "In this list I take *Bray* to be Cornish. *Courtenay* came with Henry the Second. *Denis* is of Danish extraction. *Karrow* or *Carew*, though a Norman family, from Carew-castle in Pembrokeshire, before called *Montgomery*. Add to these (says Tonkin) *Beaufort*, *Chalons*, *Champernowne*, *Denham*, *Fortescue*, *Flamock* or *Flamanc*, *Leveles*, *Le Gross* als. *Grosse*, *Maynard*, *Mahew* als. *Mayow*, *Noy*, *Richard*, *Tibbot* or *Tippet*, *Vacy* or *Facy*." *Tonkin's MSS.*---- See in Will. of Worcester, (as edited by Hearne, vol. 2. p. 522.) the cognomina conquestorum, &c. &c.---among which are *Maignard*, *Malett*, *Bluet*, *Belet*, *Basset*, *Baret*, *Greinvile*, *Beauchampe*, *Tibotot*, &c. &c. See, also, the *Battel-Abbey-Roll*, as exhibited by Holinshed, p. 3, 4, 5. and by Stowe, p. 105, 106, 107. These and other lists of names are presented us by Fuller---(see *Church-History*, pp 153 ..... 171.)

† This is a benedictine abbey in the diocese of Lisieux, and famous throughout Europe for the great devotion of the people to St. Michael the archangel, the magnificence of the abbey, and its romantic situation. The rock on which the abbey is founded is 300 feet high, and covered with the sea twice every day. At this place is a small town, called St. Michael in periculo Maris, from the great danger of approaching it, which can only be done at low water. This abbey in situation very much resembles its namesake on St. Michael's Mount, which was annexed to it by Robert earl of Moreton and Cornwall, before 1085, and is the most intire religious house now standing in this county. Mon. Ang. t. II. p. 949. Al. Pri. v. I. p. 145.

§ Earl of Clare.

MAYNARD;‖‖ MAHEW;¶¶ NOY; POMERAY;*** ROUS;††† SAULE;‡‡‡ TIBBOT;§§§ VACY;‖‖‖ VAUTORT.¶¶¶ Among others, who, of foreign extraction, settled in Cornwall in subsequent reigns,* the most eminent was COURTENAY.

* The Liber Niger Scaccarii for Cornwall. Henr. II. "Cornubia. *Carta Comitis Reginaldi.*(1) Baronia Comitis Reginaldi talis est in Cornubia. Radulfus de Valtort tenet feodum de LIX. militibus, tam in Devonia, quam in Cornubia. Ricardus de Luci tenet de antiquo feodo X. milites inde, & de feodo Adæ Malherbe. IX. milit. Robertus, filius Willelmi, tenet feodum de LI. militibus, & de feodo Walteri Hai. XX. milit. Willelmus de Boterell tenet feodum de. XII. militibus. Rogerus de Mandavill tenet feodum IIII. milit. Ricardus, filius Willelmi, tenet feodum V. militum. Gralanus tenet feodum VII. militum. Ricardus, filius Aluredi, feod. I. mil. Galfridus, filius Baldewini, tenet feodum X. militum. Prior de Triwardreit tenet f. I. militis. Radulfus de Tremodret tenet feodum II. militum. Daniel de Botton tenet feodum I. militis, & tertiam partem militis. Willelmus, frater Comitis, tenet feodum IIII. militum. Radulfus de Borehard tenet feodum II. militum. Hoel et Jordan feodum III. militum. Willelmus de Dun tenet feodum. I. militis. Henricus de Pomeria tenet feodum III. militum. Ricardus, filius Osul, feodum I. militis. Eiulphus feodum I. militis. Erkenbaldus, filius(3) *S*, tenet feodum VIII. militum tam in Devonia quam in Cornubia. Summa. CC. XV. milites & tertia pars." *Hearne's* Lib. Nig. vol. 1. pp. 131, 132.---"*Cornubia.* Anno 40. Henr. tertii. *Illustri viro, Domino Henrico, Dei gratia, Regi Angliæ, Domino Hiberniæ, Duci Nor. Aquitan. & Com. Andeg. vicecomes Cornubiæ, salutem, cum omni reverentia & obsequio. Ad mandatum vestrum, nomina illorum qui ten. quindecim libratas terræ vel plus, & tenent per seruitium militare, & milites non sunt, excellentiæ vestræ præsentibus transmitto, videlicet.* Thomas de Tracy, cuius terræ in Cornubia valent 40. libras & plus. Rogerus de Mesy. 16. li. Stephanus de Bellocampo. 15. li. Henr. filius Henr. de la Pombre. 30. li. Robertus de Carmeneu. 16. li. Willi. filius Roberti. 15. li. Marc. le Flamanc. 16. li. Willi. Wise. 16. li. Iordanus de Hacumb. 14. li. Robertus de Draenas. 15. li. Philippus de Vallétorta. 40. li. Richard de Grenuile. 40. li. Henricus de Dones. 15. li." *Carew*, f. 50. 50, b.

After these general lists of names, I shall rapidly survey the county from *Stratton* to *Penwith*; noticing the principal families that flourished here during the present period, whether *Cornish*, or *Norman*, or otherwise derived. 1. In the hundred of STRATTON, (containing twelve parishes) the parish of S. MARY-WEEK first presents itself. Here the manor of *Week* (in Domesday *Wich)* was one of the 288 manors given by William the conqueror to his uterine brother Robert, earl of Moreton. WHITSTONE.---The manor of *Whitstone*, in Domesday *Witestan*, is one of the 288 manors. "The name of this parish is derived from a white rock, on which part of the church is founded. It is a large white stone in the south side of the church: the part which appears is of an oval form." *Tonkin.* "The name of the parish is not derived, I apprehend, from any white stone on which the church is founded. From this very description, it could never have given name to the church itself. Only "part of the church is founded" on it. Nor is this part founded on it. There is only a large white stone *in* the south *side* of it. And this is plainly built up in the side, as it is said to be of an oval form. The reference of the name to this stone, therefore, has been merely the idle play of intellect in those, who in antiquarian matters did not know how to exert their understandings seriously. The real name of the church is St. Petnel, St. Petronel, I suppose. The church then could not give name to the parish. And the parish actually received its name from the manour, as the manour received it from its manorial house; this being built upon a white rock---that very rock assuredly, from which the white stone in the wall of the church had been brought." *W. T. MSS.* vol. 4. p. 242 BRIDGERULE The river Tamar, running from the N. W. to the S. E. about 12 miles from its source, divides this parish into the "East and West sides;" the east side being in Devon, and the west in Cornwall. Here the Tamar is so deep that it cannot be passed without a *bridge*. This seems to have given rise to the primitive name of the place, *Bridge*; by which name it was simply called, till the Norman conqueror bestowed it on *Reginald* Adobed, when it took the adjunct of its

(1) E filiis illegitimis Henrici Imi. qui nimirum genuit e filia D. Richardii Corbeti. Vide Dugdalii Baronag. T. I. p. 610.

owner *Bridge Reginald*, or *Bridgrenald*, vulgarly *Bridgrael*, and then *Bridgerule*. *Frananius* a Saxon, formerly held this land. See "*History of Devonshire*," vol. III. On the west side of the Tamar, the manor of *Tackbere* (in Domesday *Tacabere)* was one of the 288 manors. MARHAM-CHURCH contains the manor of *Marham-Church*, or *Morwyn-Church*, in Domesday *Marone-Cherche*, one of the 288 manors. STRATTON.---The manor of *Stratton*, in Domesday *Stratone*, one of the 288 manors. POUGHILL.----The manor in Domesday, *Pochehelle*; one of the 288 manors. KILKHAMTON.---"*Stowe* (says *Hals)* was the seat of that famous and knightly family surnamed De Grenvill, or De Granvill, i. e. the green-manor, or the great manor village or farm of lands; descended from Hamon Dentatus, earl of Carboil, lord of *Thorignay*, and Greenvill, or Granvill in Normandy, lineally descended from Rollo, duke thereof; which Hamon had issue two sons, Robert surnamed Fitz Hamon, earl of Carboil, lord of *Thurignay*, and Grenvill; afterwards lord of Glamorgan, in Wales, who died without issue---and Richard surnamed De Grenvill. These brothers came first into England, military officers under William the conqueror, in 1066. Earl Robert was, by the conqueror, made general of all his forces in England; enjoying also his lands in Normandy, with other boons (A.) from that prince. And his brother Richard de Granvill, being a man of great valour, conduct, and experience in war, had also by the conqueror settled upon him at Bideford, three knight's fees of land, where he resided." "Richard De Granville, knight, who first settled himself at Bytheford, was a great assistant to his brother Robert Fitz-Hamon, in his expedition against the Welsh, when he slew Rees Ap Theodore, prince of South Wales, and Jestin, lord of Glamorgan; for which noble services the said Robert divided that country among those twelve knights which had so faithfully assisted him, whose names are these.* William de Londres. Richard de Grenvil. Pain Turberville. Robert St. Quintin. Richard Siward. Gilbert de Humfraville. Reginald de Sully. Roger de Berkrells. Peter de Soore. John Le Fleming. John de St. John. William Le Esterling, *alias* Stradling. Sir Richard Granville had, as a reward of his valour and courage, for his partage, the town and country of Neath, in Glamorganshire, allotted unto him; who to manifest his piety, as well as generosity, according to the devotion of those days, gave it all to God and his church; erecting and endowing a monastery, at Neath aforesaid, dedicated to the Virgin Mary for Cistercian Monks, upon whom, 'tis said, he bestowed all his military acquests for their maintenance; so that at the dissolution of those houses, it was valued at an hundred and fifty pounds *per annum*. Having finished and settled this foundation, he returned to his patrimony at Bytheford, where he lived in great honor and reputation the rest of his days.†" In the Roll of Battle-Abbey, recording the names of the eminent persons who came over with William the conqueror as it is given in Hollingshed p. 4, we find the name of *Grenevile*. Another copy of the same Roll, supposed to be the best in *Fox*, mentions *P. de Grenvile*, the first initial being, no doubt, a mistake for R. In a manuscript account of eminent families in Devon and Cornwall, subjoined to a copy of Risdon's Survey, also in manuscript, I found the following memorandum and verses. "I have had very lately" says the anonymous author, "25th July, 1658, communicated unto me by Mr. John Nichols, of Hartland, a prophesie said to be found in the abbey of Neath, in Wales, which was kept in a most curious box of jett, written in the year 1400, concerning the founder of that monastery, which is as follows, viz.

Amongst the trayne of valliant knights that with King William came,
Greenvile is great, a Norman borne, renowned by his fame.
His helmet ras'd and first unlac'd upon the Cambrian shore,
Where he in honour of his God, this Abbey did decore;
With costly buildings, ornaments, and gave us spatious lands,
As the first fruits which victory did give unto his hands.
Now let me see what happyness shall light upon his line,
Or what endowments shall succeed to his in future time.
They shall in honour long subsist, and fortune still shall smile,
Until at length (as woe is me,) when Merlin with a wile
Shall them subdue, and bodily in woman's shape appear,
To shew them Mars his shield, which they kept full many a year,

* Dugdale's Baron. of Eng. vol. 1, p. 406. vol. 3. p. 419.

† Prince's Worthies.

Within Carnarvon ; and in brass, still seeks to have immur'd,
But never finding means, indeed, by Mars to be secur'd,
Because that Vulcan crav'd a boon of Jupiter the strong,
That Mars his arms should never free a suppliant from wrong.
Then shall that famous name decline from worldly wealth awhile ;
But then again Charles-Magne's reign shall grace them with a smile."

"This prophesie was originally written in latin, and kept there in parchment, Anno 1400." The following notice is from Sir William Pole's celebrated M. S. "The name of Richard contynewed in yt. famyly many discents, and I never find any interruption of any other name in many discents. "Richard de Grenvill held of the honour of Glocester 3 knight's fees, and half of Glocester, Anno 13 of kinge John; Richard Grenvill held in Bideford half a fee Anno 27 kinge Henry 3."

2. LESNEWTH contains seventeen parishes. ALTARNUN.---"In this parish lies the barton of *Trelawn-y* ; *the oak grove town**—from the natural circumstances of the place ; it being situate between two hills then notable for *woods*. From this place was denominated that old and famous family of *Trelawney*." *Hals.* TINTAGEL "*Dun-dagell* gave name and original to an old family of Gentlemen, surnamed De Dundagell, now extinct ; of which family was Robert de Dundagell, who, temp. Richard I. held in this county by the tenure of knight's-service, five knight's fees." *Hals*, p. 96, TREVALGA.---"This manor, which has given name to the parish, has drawn its own from Trev Alga the noble house ; Alga (I) signifying noble, as in Inis Alga, an old name for Ireland. And this affords an instance of the necessity of recurring to the kindred dialects of the British, in explaining Cornish names." *W. T. MSS.* vol. 4. p. 198. MINSTER.---"*Botereaux*-castle, vulgarly *Boscastle*, was built by its lords, the Botereauxs, who bore, in a *shield, argent, three toads sable.* William Botereaux, the first of any great note in this family, married Alice daughter of Robert Corbet, whose sister was concubine to Henry I. And by her, he had Reginald, earl of Cornwall." *Gibson's* Camden, p. 12. "BO-TER-ILL, (says *Hals) Bos*-ox or Bull-*castle*, town, kine or cattle land, whence was denominated an ancient family of gentlemen, named De Boterill ; and the first that assumed this name was Geoffry de Botterill, third son of Stephen Darien, earl of Ponthieur, in Normandy, and third earl of Richmond, in England, to whom king Henry the Ist. gave Waltham and Soke, in Lincolnshire. He married Haweis, countess of Gwingamp, by whom he had issue, Allan surnamed the Savage, and Henry earl of Ponthieur, and Geffery surnamed De Botterill, from this place aforesaid ; the which Stephen died 1104. Geoffery de Boterill, had issue William de Boterill, who married Alice daughter and coheiress of Robert Corbet, lord of Alencester, in the county of Warwick, 1120, whose other daughter Matilda, by king Henry I. 1115, was the mother of Reginald Fitz-Harry, earl of Cornwall. The said William de Boterill had issue by Corbet William de Boterill, sheriff of Devon six years from the year of our Lord 1158, to the year 1164. He held by the tenure of knight's-service, twelve knight's fees of land, temp. Richard I. This Allen Cester, also Old Cester, *i. e.* Old Castle, or Allen's Castle, as may be seen in the Inquisition Book of the Exchequer, was a frank burrough of our lord king Henry I. and the same king gave that burrough to Robert Corbet, for his service (or more truly for the service of his daughter Matilda aforesaid) ; and when the said Robert died, it came by descent to Sir William de Boterill, knight, and Sir Peter Fitz-Herbert, knight; and when Sir William de Boterill died, the moiety of this borough fell by descent to Sir Reginald de Boterill, knight, as his heir, who now holdeth it ; and when Sir Peter Fitz-Herbert died, that moiety descended into the hands of Herbert, the son of Peter, which Herbert gave it to Sir Robert de Chandoys." *Walker's Hals's MSS.* See *Minster.* LESNEWTH.---The manor of *Lesnewth* in Domesday, I fancy *Lisniwen.* If so, it was one of the 288 manors. OTTERHAM ; perhaps, from its otters. The manor of *Otterham*, in Domesday *Othram*, one of the 288 manors. POUNDSTOCK, in Domesday *Ponpestock*, one of the 288 manors. PENFOWNE, in Domesday *Penfon*, one of the 288 manors.

* Though now there is not left standing any house or trees to countenance this etymology, yet I have been told by some of the inhabitants of this parish, that the greatest part of the stones which built the present church and tower of Altar Nunn were brought from the dilapidated walls of Trelawny, and much of the oak timber that roofs the same were also cut and carried from that barton.

3. EAST, contains 34 parishes, exclusive of *Maker*, *Werington*, and *N. Pederwyn*; to which Devonshire has at least a partial claim. ST. GERMANS. It appears from Domesday, that the manor and parish of *St. Germans* consisted of 24 hides; whereof the bishop of Exeter had 12, and the canons of that place 12. What belonged to the bishop was valued at 8*l.* 1*s.* per ann. and what belonged to the canons at 100*s.* S. JOHNS. "*Ins-worth*, a peninsula formed by rivers of water, which leave behind them an angled or three-cornered promontory of land called in British, *Inis*. This place, before the Norman conquest, was the land of Condura and Cadock, earls of Cornwall, by one of whose daughters or grand-daughters, Agnes, it came by marriage to Reginald Fitz Harry, base son to king Henry I. by Anne Corbit, who, in her right, long after William earl of Cornwall of the Norman race, forfeited the same to the king by attainder of treason, was made earl thereof; from whose heirs it passed to the Dunstavills and Vawtorts: and by Vawtort's daughter Joan, the widow of Sir Alexander Oakston, knight, who turned concubine to Richard earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans, who had by her a base daughter, named Joan, married to Richard Champernowne." *Hals*, p. 9. MAKER. "Halfe of *Mill-Brook*, in this parish, and of *Mount Edgecumbe* lands are part of the county of Devon, though severed from it by the Tamerworth sea or harbour, ever since king Athelstan separated Devon from Cornwall, and made them several jurisdictions, which before were but one county or regniculum; and the reason in all probability why several parcels of land not only here in this place, but in diverse other, on the east and west side of the Tamar river, the Devonshire side lands are annexed to Cornwall, and the Cornwall side lands to Devon, was from the owners of those lands being possest of lands in Devonshire and Cornwall; and it could not in any sense consist with justice that the Cornishmen should lose their lands in Devon; or the Devonshiremen lose their lands in Cornwall, because these countys were divided by the riuer Tamar, and both people under the dominion of one kinge. Moreouer the then division of the Cornish earldom or kingdom by kinge Athelstan from Devon, tooke not away any Cornishman's right to his lands in this or other parts of Devon; nor any Devonshireman's title to his lands in other parts of Cornwall, as in this place is manifest; of which sort of proprietors I doubt not at that tyme, but there were greate numbers, as there are at this daye. And soe those lands for som sueh reasons haue euer since passed, and been accounted as part of Devon and Cornwall, to which formerly they belonged." *Hals's* MSS. S. ANTHONY. "Mr. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwal, p. 65. tells us, that his first ancestor came out of France with William the conqueror, by the name of Karrow. In the same book, p. 103. he saith that

Carew of ancient Carru was, and Carru is a plow;

viz. in French. But then it should have been written Carue. And to countenance this opinion of this family's French descent, Camden in his Remains, p. 143, tells us, 'that the same holds by tradition, I know not how truly, that Adam, or rather Arnold, alias Montgomery, marrying the daughter of Carew of Molesford, his son, relinquishing his own name, left to his posterity his mother's name Carew; from whom the Carews of Surry, Devon, and Cornwal, are descended.' Contrary to this opinion, Prince, in his Worthies of Devon, p. 148. saith, that Walter de Windsor, about the time of the Norman conquest, a Norman-Frenchman (as some say) Governour, Castellan, constable, or steward, of Windsor castle, son of that Otho that came in with William the conqueror, had issue William and Gerald his sons, who stiled themselves (after the mode of that age) William and Gerald of Windsor from the places of their residence, or for that they were born there. From William the lord Windsor is descended, and from Gerald the Fitzgeralds earls of Killdare, and the Carews of England. Gerald of Windsor was steward or castellan of Carew in Pembrokeshire in Wales; upon whom king Henry I. bestowed Molesford in Berkshire. He married Nesta, daughter of Reece prince of South-Wales; to whom the said king gave the castle of Carew in those parts. Gerald had issue by Nestar, Otho de Windsor, who had issue William de Windsor, or Carew, to whom king John by deed, dated 1212, made a further grant of Molesford, reciting the former deed of king Henry I. to his grandfather. 'So that this William was the first of this family who assumed the name of Carew.' Again, the author of the Antiquities of Oxford is positive 'that this family of Carew was denominated from Castle Carew in Pembrokeshire, and not otherwise." *Hals*, p. 9. S. STEPHENS. "The great dutchy manor of *Trematon*, called in Domesday "Tremetone: Ibi habet comes Castrum et Mercatum." It is valued in the extent of Cornish acres (*Car.* f. 48, b) in 80. It is said (id. fol. 41. b) that "Aqua de Tamar di. feod. in manu Regis de Honore de Tremeton:" whence I guess that this manor was likewise in

Henry the IVth's hands, this being in the third of his reign. And from its being called in Domesday book *Tremeton*, and by Mr. Carew sometimes (ib. fol. 41) *Tremerton*, I guess that the original name was *Tremerton*, the great dwelling on the hill. Mr. Tonkin thus resolves the name into Tre Maur Don. But the name being positively written in the oldest records, just as it is now pronounced, precludes all possibility of such a variation and such an analysis. The name is Trematon; and the nearest etymon for this, and one that accords best with the original designation of the house, as one of the castellated palaces of the Cornish kings is *Tre-matern*, (C.) the king's house, pronounced in the English mode Trematon. Just so we have Mathra fael, in Montgomerishire, the royal seat of the princes of Powys; that shews no remains of its ancient splendor, and has only lent its name to a farm-house, which stands where the castle once stood. The word *matern*, indeed, is unknown to all the branches of the British, except the Cornish. But the main half of the word remains in the Irish *Tiarna*, and the Welsh *Teyrn*, a king. And the former half is only Mad (W.) Mat (C.) good, and so gives to *Tern* the same peculiarity of meaning, as *Megtern* carries in Cornish, being the same word with *Mechdeyrn* in Welsh, and signifying a chief king. Since Hen. the IVth's time, it hath always been held, and had the same owners, with the rest of the Dutchy manors. *Leland* gives this account of it, (Itin. vol. 3. fol. 20.) "By St. Stephene, and in St. Stephenes paroch, is the great and ancient castelle of *Tremertown*, upon a rokky hille; whereof great peaces yet stond, and especially the dungeon. The ruines now serve for a prison. Great liberties long to this castelle. The Valletortes, men of great possessions, wer owners, and, as far as I can gather, builders of this castel, and owners and lords of the town of Aische." But that Leland was mistaken as to this castle, appears by Domesday; since it is plain, that the earl of Cornwall and Moreton had at that time (20 Will. I.) a castle and market here. And, saith Mr. Camden (Brit. in Cornwall), it was the head of a burrow of the earls and dukes of Cornwall, as we learn from the inquisitions." *W. T.* vol. 3. pp. 152, 153. "BLOFLEMEN is situate in the hundred of East, and hath upon the north Pillaton, south Saltash and part of St. Stephens, east Landulph, and west Landrake. For the first part of the word, it signifies Flemmen's parish (*Blo*, in Cornish signifying a parish)---for the second, it signifies *Flemmen's making amends*, or supplying defects, and seems to have been a church founded or endowed by some gentlemen of that name in order to the commutation of penance for sins committed, and to pray for the founder's soul, his ancestors and relatives; by which expedients most religious houses and churches in this land heretofore were built. Originally, those Flemmens came from Stoke-flemen in Devon; so called, for that once a nobleman of Flanders resided there, and was lord thereof; one of whose posterity in the time of Richard I. in this place held, by the tenure of knight service, seven knight's fees, by the name of Stephen Flandrensis, who probably was the founder of this church still bearing his name. His son, Richard Flandrensis, was sheriff of Cornwall three years, from the third to the sixth year of king John's reign. Finally, the estate, name, and blood of those Flemens, temp. Henry IV. ended in a daughter and heir who was married to John Coplestone, of Coplestone, in the county of Devon. This district of Boteflemen, at the time of the Norman conquest, was rated under the name of Pillaton, still contiguous therewith." *Hals*, p. 13. PILLATON. The manor of *Pillaton*, in Domesday, *Pileton*; one of the 288 manors. ST. DOMINIC. The manor of *Halton*, in Domesday *Haltone*, was one of the 288 manors. "*Halton*, a town notable for a hall, or a moor town; to determine which the natural or artificial circumstances of the place ought to be considered. By this name the now parish of St. Dominick, was taxed in the Domesday; which place gave name to an old family of gentlemen, surnamed De Halton, who flourished here in genteel degree for many generations after the Norman conquest." *Hals*, p. 95, 96. The manor of *West Newton Ferrers*, in S. MELLIN, is so called from its situation, in relation to another Newton, and its ancient lords the family of Ferrers. There are two manors called *Newton* in Domesday, and both of them given by the conqueror to the earl of Moreton. MENHENIET. The manor of *Menheniet*, alias *Tregelly-----Trekelli*, the *house in the grove*. "*Tencreek*, was formerly the lands and possessions of Richard, earle of Cornwall, kinge of the Romans, and second son of kinge John, who probably, at som tymes, liued at it, (as also at his castle of Leskard) for in the old dilapidated houses of this once famous fabrick, I saw the ruins of a moorstone, even about 14 foot diameter, in testimony of the hospitallitie once kept here: And moreouer in the front of the castle-wise moorstone gate or portall, I beheld his armes cutt in stone, viz. within a bordure bezantee, a lyon rampant, crowned. Here groweth a sort of tree bearing a strange sort of leave, and fruit, or berrys not seen in any other part of Cornwall,

and therefore without name, given by me or others." *Hals*, f. 31. S. IVE. The manor of *Bickton*, in Domesday *Bichetone*, was one of the 288 manors given to the earl of Moreton; under whom it is supposed to have been held by a family of the same name. "At the time of the Domesday roll, this district was taxed under the jurisdiction of Biche-tone, i. e. *little town*; then, and long before, by prescription, the voke-land of a manor, barton, and court-leet; the same now extant by the name of *Tre-bighe*, or *Tre-biche*, i. e. *town little*. Yet not so little but that it was a kind of franchise royal, exempted and privileged in some respects against the common law, and within its precincts held pleas of debt and damages before the steward thereof (life and limb excepted); and had its prison and bailiff for the publick service, as the hundred courts have. Now, the writ to remove an action at law depending in this court was thus directed---*Seneschallo et Ballivo Manerii sui de Trebiche, alias Trebighe, in Comitatu Cornubiæ, Salutem.* This lordship was either by king Stephen or king Henry II. given to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John baptist of Hierusalem, about the year 1150. Here they had their preceptory, or commandery; a corporation under a preceptor, or commander, who took care of all their revenues, lands, and tenements, churches, chapels, and tythes. And those their churches were wholly appropriated to them, though they were not in holy orders to preach or administer the sacraments." *Hals*, p. 116. SOUTHILL. "The manor of *Manaton*, I take to signify the *stony hill*, as corrupted from *Maen* a *dun*. It has been ever the seat, perhaps too before the conquest, of the family of the same name." *W. T.* vol. 3. p. 168. KELLINGTON, *Killiwick*, *Callington*. "I take this to be the same place mentioned by the Welsh poets or bards, and called by them Kelly-wick, and kinge Arthur's palace or court, viz. his court-leet or baylywick. Such in his tyme vndoubtedly it was, as duke of Cornwall or kinge of Britaine; for this manor of land with its appurtenances was by act of parliament, giuen to Edward the black prince as parcell of the lands of the ancient kinges or earles of Cornwall, then translated into a dutchy or dukedom." *Hals's MS.* "In this towne or burrough of Killington, for retirement and delight liued Sir Edward Braii, knight, originally descended (as tradition saith) from the Brays, of Braye, in St. Just, that came into England with William the conquerour; otherwise Ralph de Braye, sheriff of Hantshire, 3d of kinge John." *Hals's MS.* CALSTOCK, in Domesday *Calestock*, one of the 288 manors. The manor of *Calstock*, was a parcel of the ancient inheritance of the princes, earls, and dukes of Cornwall. STOKE-CLIMSLAND. "*Carybullock* park. So Mr. Carew calls it (fol. 115) "Carybullock," saith he, "sometimes a parke of the dukes, but best brooking that name, now it hath lost its qualitie, through exchaunging deere for bullocks. Sir John Dodridge (Hist. of Wal. and Corn. p. 84, &c.) calls it Kerrybollock. But what if I should say the right name was Caerbollick (see St. Agnes, vol. 1. p. 10.), and did signifye the intrenched inclosure on the river; the situation would exactly answer this derivation." But, since the writing of this, I find (Salmon's Surv. of England, vol. 2. p. 714.) that Mr. Baxter, on Bullæum, or Buelt (according to Mr. Camden) in Brecknockshire, interprets it to be Caer-Bulack, or "Principis Domus," the prince's town or inclosure; which (if true) would suit very well with this. [This is a judicious application of one of Baxter's etymons, to the present place. Bulæum, as Baxter says the name is written in the superior copies of Ptolemy's Geography, Baxter thinks with Lhuyd to be the modern Caer Phylli. Bel, he says, is properly a head, and figuratively a king. This makes Caer Bulach, "quod arx est Regia." "Certe," he adds very usefully, "vel ipsi novimus in Montegomerica nostra regione, Domunculam antiqua Rhesi filii Theodori progenie nobilem," ennobled by the birth of Rhys ap Tudor, "vel hodie nominatam Caer Bulach, tanquam Principis dicatur domus." In proof of Mr. Baxter's seemingly unfounded interpretation of Bel, Bol, or Bul, a head and a king; we may observe the name of the sun *Beal*, in the Beal-tine of Cornwall and the Beil-tine of Ireland, for the fires on May-day in honour of the sun; Beal Bil (I.) a mouth, Bil (W.) the mouth of a vessel, Bellog (I.) a shell, a scull, the top of the head, Fal (I.) a king or great personage, Folarthoir (I.) an emperour, Folladh (I.) government; Flelaig (W.) a general, a captain, a leader; Belee, plural, Belein (C.) a priest or priests, Belek (A.) a priest, Pol-kil (C.) the hinder part of the head or the top of the neck; and in *Belinus*, *Cuno-belinus* and the promontory *Bolerium*, of the ancient Britons. And Caer Bulach, as a royal house is called equally in Wales, would in the Cornish mode of pronunciation be Cerry-bullock, as Car-hayes is Carry-hayes at present]." *W. T.* vol. 3. pp. 160, 161. LINKINHORNE. The manor of *Carnedon-Prior*, in Domesday *Carneton*, was one of the 288 manors. In LAVANNICK, the manor of *Trelaik* or *Trelosk*, the burnt town, in Domesday *Trelosk*, was one of the 288 manors. LEZANT. *Trecarell*; a manor which gave name to an eminent family seated here, tis said, before the conquest. The Trecarells gave for their arms,

ermine, two chev. sable. *T.* EGLESKERRY. By Dugdale's account (see Warwickshire, p. 569.) I guess that the manor of *Penheale* in Egleskerry was in Sir Robert Corbet, and probably given him by Henry I. for the sake of his fair daughter, by whom the king had a son called Reginald, who, we have seen, was earl of Cornwall. This Reginald had a son Henry Fitz-Conte, who (says Dugdale) was called Henry de la Pennel. After his decease it was possest by Botereaux.

4. WEST. CARDINHAM. Robert de Cardinan lived here in the time of Richard the First. "I find its much questioned (says Hals) amongst antiquaries and historians whether the Dynhams, that afterwards became possest of this manor and barton, were the descendants of this Robert de Cardinan or not; some averring one thing, and some another. But certain I am they were possest thereof as his heirs or assigns; but whether denominated from them or the local places of Dynham in St. Minver, or Dinham-bridge, in St. Kewe, I know not. Nevertheless, contrary to both these conjectures, Mr. Camden tells us, that those Dinhams were a French tribe, that came into England with William the conqueror, particularly one Oliver de Dinant, one of whose sons, viz. Galfride de Dinham, (temp. Hen. II.) was a great augmenter of the abbey of Hartland, and changed the secular priests founded there by Githa, wife of earl Goodwin, into black canons Augustine." *Hals*, p. 50. At *Glynn*, lived the Glynns, an ancient family which will occur in our future pages. WARLEGAN. "As for the name, I take it to be an abbreviation of *Warth-la-gan*, the higher place on the downs, or the higher downy place; which will agree very well with the situation of this church and parish, that lies high, and is mostly coarse ground, though some of it be now much improved." "*War Le Gun*, upon the down, forms a nearer etymon. The manor of Warlegan, gave name to the parish, and took it from its own house built upon a down." *W. T. MS.* BRADOCK. The manor of *Bradock*, in Domesday *Brodehoc*, was one of the 288 manors. BOCONNOCK. *Boconnock*, in Domesday, *Bochenod*, was one of the 288 manors. In the time of the conqueror, the manor of Boconnoc was held by Robert earl of Moreton; but was seized, on the attainder of William, his son and successor, who had aided the rebellion of Robert duke of Normandy against Henry the first. It appears to have been afterwards annexed to the possessions of the earls of Cornwall. In S. VEEP, is *Trevilian*, the ancient seat of the Trevilians. There are traces of a large mansion-house. A part of it still belongs to the Trevilians. LANSALLAS, in Domesday *Lansalhas*, one of the 288 manors. PELYNT. "In Domesday *Plunent*; from *plu*, a parish, and *nent nynt, nunn*, the parish of S. Nunn." "This is a harsh derivation. We have *Pellyn*, a place near Lestwithiel. With the addition of the letter *t*, so frequent in Cornish, *Pellyn* is lengthened at once into *Pelynt*, and contracted again into *Plynt*. And *Pelen* a spire, furnishes us with a much easier etymon." The manor of *Plunent*, was one of the 288 manors. ST. NEOT. The manor of *St. Neot*, in Domesday *Neotestou*, *St. Neot's Place*; one of the 288 manors. ST. CLEER. "From this parish was denominated an ancient family of gentlemen, surnamed de St. Cleare; from whence are descended the St. Cleares, of Tudwell, in Devon, who, suitable to their name, give for their arms,—in a field, azure, the sun in its glory, or, transparent. Of which tribe was that Robertus de Sancto Claro, qui tenet decem libratas terræ in hundredo de Mertock, in comit. Somerset, de domino rege in capite, per servicium inveniendi unum servientem armatum, cum uno equo in exercitu domini regis in Wallia, per xl dies, sumptibus suis propriis. *Pleas of the Crown, in Scaccario* 8. Edw. I." *Hals* p. 45. MORVAL. The barton of *Morville*, or Morvale, gave name to an old family, hence called *de Morville*. And, as tradition saith, Hugh de Morville knight, one of the murderers of Becket, was of this house. *Hals's MS.*

5. TRIG, contains 12 parishes. BODMIN. "*Bocarne*, (that is cattle and white sparstones, comparatively rocks) is the dwelling of Flamock, who giveth for his arms, supposed in allusion to the name,—Argent a cheveron between three estoils, sable (that is in a wavy or flaming posture); for Flamock after the Cornish-British must be interpreted as flame and smoke, since the Latin word *flamma* and *flammans* are both derived from the British word *flam*; *exæstuo* being the proper and native Roman word for *to burn* or *flame*. Again, this family indifferently wrote their name *Flam-mank*, or *Flam-manc*, i. e. (in Cornish) *flaming* or *burning glove, sleeve*, or *gauntlet*; so called perhaps for that some one of this family was a notable soldier, and famous in combat at sword and gauntlet, (viz. a military glove) or a sleeve and gorge of mail: as the said name, and *Flam-mock*, may relate to some soldier of this tribe who was renowned in his charge with the fusee or firelock, soon after the invention of guns. For Camden in his Remains tells us, that in Edward III.'s French war, *gunaria* or gunary had its pay: Which was before the invention of guns in Germany. But if *Flammeck, Flammeg, Flammock*, be a simple, not a compound or conjugated word, it signifies (in British) *Blear-eyedness*, or one that hath a sparkling or flaming eye, by natural or accidental infirmity.

Mark Le Flamanc, was possessed of 16*l.* rents, in lands and tenements in Cornwal, 40 Hen, III. [Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 50.] that were held by the tenure of knight-service, and was no knight; who was obliged by his said tenure to send into the king's army a man and horse armed with—*Lorica, Capello ferri, gladio et cuttello*, a breast-plate or, brigandine, an iron headpiece, a sword and cutler." *Hals*, p. 24. HELLAND. Among the manors given by the conqueror to Robert, are *Henland* and *Hesland*. ST. MABYN. *Colquite*, in Domesday *Chilcoit*, the neck of the wood; one of the 288 manors. EGLESHAILE. "*Parke*, i. e. a *field* of any sort, otherwise a deer park, was one of the ancient seats of the *Peverells*, lineally descended from William the conqueror, by Jane his concubine; the wife of Randolph Peverell, of Hatfield Peverell parish, in Witham decanet. in the county of Essex, who abdicated the said Jane, and left her wholly on the conqueror's hands; who had issue by her a son, named William Peverell (who, because born during the joint marriage and lives of the said Randolph and Jane, was surnamed Peverell), on whom the conqueror settled the honour, manor and borough of Nottingham, and town of Lyndeby and his heirs male lawfully begotten for ever, with divers other lordships, lands, and tenements in other places. The which Wm. Peverell had issue another William Peverell, his son and heir, lord of Nottingham, Roger and others. The which Wm. Peverell was disinherited of the honour of Nottingham by act of parliament, temp. Hen. II. 1156, for consenting to poison Randolph, earl of Chester, by the hand of Mauld his wife, with whom he is said to have been too familiar. Which Mauld was the daughter of Robert earl of Gloucester, base son of K. Henry I. both the conqueror's illegitimate offspring in the third degree. This honour of Nottingham being thus revested in the crown, K. John, by virtue thereof, 1206, seised also into his hand by escheat the town of Lindeby in that county, which was given by the conqueror to his base son Peverell, on condition of being held of the said manor or honour of Peverell, by paying yearly a grey furr into the exchequer. [See *Blunt's Tenures*, p. 93.] This last Wm. Peverell left issue only a daughter, called Margaret, married to Robert Earl Ferrers, of Tutbury, in Stafford, and Okeham in Rutlandshire, who on her restored right was by king Henry II. created the first earl of Nottingham of that family. The other lands of Peverell, which were not sequestered or confiscated for the crime aforesaid to the crown, by virtue of the conqueror's gift and entail upon the heirs male, descended to Roger Peverell, younger brother of the last Wm. Peverell, who had issue Hugh Peverell, of Ermington parish, in Devon, who by that name was witness to Reginald de Moun's giving the manor of Axminster to Newham abbey, in Devon, 14 Henry. III. A. D. 1230." *Hals*, p. 108. ST. ENDELIAN. "Within this district now stands the barton and manor of ROSCAR-OK, rated as the voke-lands of two manors or parishes in Domesday. The same, I suppose, mentioned in Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 47, by the name of *Roscarock-bigan*, that is to say, *little* or the *less Roscarock*, rated for three Cornish acres, that is to say, about 200 statute acres; and the other *Roscarock-ham*, (i. e. *Roscarock-home*, house, dwelling, or habitation) rated for nine Cornish acres, that is to say, six hundred statute acres." *Hals*, p. 114. ST. KEW. Its ancient name was *Lanow*, from the manor of *Lanow*, in Domesday *Langenewit*. "Penpons, in this parish now Penpont; signifies the head bridge, or the bridge at the head or top of the sea in this place, according to the natural and artificial circumstances thereof, which was the voke-lands of an ancient and extensive manor privileged with the jurisdiction of a court-leet before the conquest. Whence was denominated an ancient family of gentlemen now extinct, surnamed Penpons."

6. PIDER. Twenty-one parishes S. AGNES. "*Trevawnance*, (the dwelling in the valley by the sea, or the town of the fanning or vawning valley, where continually great numbers of boys are employed about washing vanning, or cleansing tin in the rivulets thereof.") *Hals*, p. 4. "*Trevawnance, Trevownance, Trefownance Trevonans*, (for after those several ways, I find it written in [my] ancient deeds) I take to signify more properly, *a town in a valley of springs of water*, taking *fown, vown, von*, as a corruption of *fons*. And such it was, since my own time, till an adit was brought to the Pell, which cut off all the water; for in my remembrance there was a well in the kitchen, and a fine stream of water ran through the town-place; nay the land behind the house, though it lay high, was called Trevawnance-more." *Tonkin's MSS.* PIRAN-SAND. "All the lands in this parish, except the manor of Penhall and Halwin, are either part of or held from the manors of Tywarnhaile and Tywarnhaile-Tieis. The manor of Tywarnhaile, so called from the situation of the once principal place, signifies a house on a river of salt water; it being seated on the west side of Piran bay, on a small river to which the tide cometh every day. [Borlase interprets *Tiwarnal*, the same word with the present, a house upon the moor, as, ti war an hal; *hal* (C.) being a hill or moor, as *her th an hal* is to go to moor, and *hal-gaver* is the goat's moor. Yet I incline to Mr. Tonkin's derivation, and shall only alter it a little. The name is *Ti war an haile*, the house

upon the river; *Hayle, Hel, Heil,* or *Hail* (C.) being a river, according to Borlase himself; and the *Heyle* river in this county, the *Hal* beck in Yorkshire, &c. concurring to prove what he says]. This, and the manor of Tywarnhaile-Tieis, were originally but one manor; and the toll of tin is still amain between them; though all the lands are divided, and the toll of all other metals goes with the lands and owners of the several divisions. But the royalty remains, and they both hold courts cum visu Franci Plegii." *T. W.* v. 1. p. 27. "The manor of St. Piran lyeth joyning to the east with Penkaranowe and Reenwartha, between them and the churchlands of St. Piran; from whom it takes its name. This is now wholly destroyed by the sands, but was once the seat of a family of the same name." *W. T.* v. 1. p. 38. CUTHBERT. "*Chynowen,* now *Chynoweth,* i. e. *new house,* was the voke land of a considerable manor, under which jurisdiction this parish was taxed 20. William I. from which place was denominated an old British family of gentlemen, now in possession thereof, surnamed De Chynoweth; which (were not comparisons odious) I would for antiquity rank with or set before the tribe of any other family extant in this province. Though I do not understand their estate or post in the publick service of their country was ever above the degree of a twelfth man of the parish of Chynoweth (now Cuthbert) or that of a hundred constable: for, if tradition may be credited, some of this blood were possessed of those very lands before the Norman conquest; and then at length, after the manner of the French, writ de Chynoweth." *Hals,* p. 84. NEWLYN. The great manor of *Cargol,* the holy town; having been from the settling of the bishop's see, at Bodmin, part of the lands of the bishop of Crediton, and still of the bishop of Exeter. I take Cargol to be *Ceeling.** "About the year 905 (says *Camden* in Cornwall) when the discipline of the church was quite neglected in those parts, Edward the elder by a decree from Pope Formosus, settled a bishop's see here; and granted the bishop of Kirton three villages in those parts; Polton, Cœling and Lanwitham, that he might every year visit the county of Cornwall, in order to reform their errors; for before that, they resisted the truth to the utmost of their power, and would not submit to the apostolical decrees." *P.* 8, 9. This manor extends itself not only over this, but likewise over a great part of the parishes of Crantock and S. Allen, and Truthan in S. Erme. A large prison still standing, but not much used at present, with a barn of the same size, shows something of its pristine glory; though the rest be but a sorry village of three or four poor houses. In the manor of *Degembris,* is Pollamounter, (the pool or mire under the hill) the seat of Pollamounter, since removed to Trevyvick in S. Columb minor. *Trevarthen,* the house on the hill. Walter de Treverbin of this place was sheriff of Cornwall, 7. Henry III. *T.* *Trerice.* The *ancestor* of the Lanherne family, who came over with William the conqueror, left a *widow,* afterwards married to the *ancestor of Arundel of Trerice,* that came over at the same time. So that both these families are descended from that same woman. But as she was first married to the ancestor of Arundel of Lanherne, tis thence supposed, that he was descended from the elder brother, and the other from the younger, as being both of the same stock. Doubtless, the Arundels of Lanherne had always the greater estate, and made the greater figure in the country, hence called, the great Arundels: But the Arundels of Trerice were, likewise, very eminent. *T.* The manor of *Crigantallan, the high burrow,* from some noted burrow. *T.* COLAN. The manor of *S. Colan* belonged to the family of S. Colan or Colan. The great lordship of *Cosowarth,* (or *the high grove.*) "From this place the French family of *Escudifer,* took their denomination at the time of the Norman conquest; and long flourished here in great wealth and tranquillity." *Hals,* p. 58. S. COLUMB. "*Truan.* This place and *Trenowth,* for four descents, hath been the dwelling of the genteel family of the Vivians; who have flourished here in worshipful degree. Whether Vivianus, or Vivian the pope's legate in Britain, temp. Henry II. 1169, was the first planter or progenitor of this tribe or family; or whether prior Tho. Vivian at Bodman, bishop of Megara, was descended from him or them, I know not." *Hals, p.* 64. S. COLUMB *minor.* "This district in Domesday passed under the name and jurisdiction of the great lordship and manor of Ryalton, heretofore pertaining to the prior of Bodman; which lands are held of the bishop of Exon's manor of Penryn, and pay yearly 10*l.* high-rent to the same. From whence I gather, that formerly both pertained to the bishopric of Cornwal, afterwards concerted into Kirton and Exon; and that by compact between the said bishop and prior of Bodman, it was dismembered from that bishopric, and

* Ceeling may be a corruption of Newling: And when it became a seat of the bishop's, the capital place which gave name to the whole, was thence, perhaps, called Cargol, or the holy town. There is a grant from Walter bishop of Exeter, to the church of S. Piran, dated at S. Newlin. T.

restored to that priory, as parcel of the antient bishop of Bodman's reuenues, of which that priory consisted, and was endowed with at its first foundation, at the requests of the antient earls of Cornwall. For the name Rial-ton, Ryal-ton, it signifies the *royal, kingly*, or *princely town*, as pertaining heretofore to the earls of Cornwall. And, suitable to this etymology, it claimeth the jurisdiction and royalty over the whole hundred of Pider. So that whosoever is now farmer thereof is by custom its head bailiff, as the prior of St. Pedyr at Bodman was; from whose font-name it was denominated Pider; the which farmer, or bailiff, is steward of the court-baron of the said hundred, and also of the court-leet held within the jurisdiction or precincts of the manor aforesaid; and his substitutes constantly attend the service of both. To remove an action at law depending in the court-leet of this manor the writ was thus directed: --- *Senescallo & Ballivo Manerii nostri de Rialton in Comitatu Cornubiæ Salutem.* --- To remove an action out of the hundred-court, whereof, as I said, the farmer of this manor is lord, the writ was directed thus: --- *Senescallo et Ballivo Hundredi et Libertatis de Peder in Comitatu Cornubiæ Salutem.*" *Hals*, p. 68. MAWGAN. The manor of *Lanherne*, the ancient name of the parish, had formerly possessors of the same name. The last of the Lanhernes, John de Lanherne, by Margaret the daughter and heiress of Richard Fitz-John, had only one daughter and heiress. --- Alice, married in 1231, (Herald's office) to Sir Remfry Arundell of Tremblith, knight; from which time, Lanherne has been the seat or property of the Arundells. "From this church is denominated the manor and barton house of Lanherne, contiguous therewith; which of old was the lands of Symon Pincerna, id est butler, soe called for that, as tradition saith, he was the butler of the cellar, or wayted vpon the cup, bottle, or glass, of kinge Henry II. and is mentioned from the records of the exchequer, in Mr. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 45, to haue held by the tenure of knight service in Lanherne, one knights fee Morton; which gentleman was also lord of the manor of St. James, in Middlesex, at Westminster, who exchanged the same with kinge Henry II. or kinge Henry III. for the manor of Conerton, in the parish of Gwythian, and hundred of Penwith, in this county; which deeds of conveyance are yet to be seen at Lanherne." *Hals's MS.* "*Carnanton* in this parish, id est, the rock valley towne; otherwise Carnanton is the sparstone rock downe; which lande is situate amongst rocks and stones, as that name implies. It was the voke-land of a considerable manor taxed in Domesday. As it was then, soe its now a franchize royall pertayninge in chiefe to the crowne, invested with the jurisdiction of a court-leet within its precincts, and had lately its steward and bayliff, to attend the public services, in tryalls at law between party and party on pleas of debt and damage; and here Robert Thomye held the fourth part of a knight's fee of land, tempore Henry IV. as Mr. Carew informs us." *Hals's MS.* S. ERVAN. *Trewinnick*, the town in the marshes. In Domesday, *Trewiniec*, one of the 288 manors. *T.* "*Trembleigh, Trem-bleth, Trembleith, Tremblet*, signifies the terryfying or afflicting of the wolf, or a place heretofore perplexed or frighted with that rapacious creature; as many other places heretofore were in this land. Whereupon king Edgar, about the year 990, in order to their destruction, imposed upon the princes of North and South Wales in consideration of remitting the tribute taxed upon them by king Athelstan, that they should yearly pay a certain number of wolves' heads, viz. the prince of North Wales 300, as long as any were to be found: Whereupon, after the hunting and pursuit of those creatures three or four years, there was not a wolf to be found in this kingdom. From this place was denominated an ancient family of gentlemen surnamed de Trembleth, who, suitable to their name, gave the wolf for their arms, whose sole inheritrix, about king Henry II.'s time was married to John de Arundell, ancestor of the Arundells of Lanherne; who, out of respect and grateful remembrance of the great benefit they had by this match, ever since gave the wolf for their crest, the proper arms of Trembleth. Though Nich. Upton, in one of his latin manuscripts before printing was invented, now in my custody, treating of heraldry, hath observed thus of this creature: The bearing of a wolf in arms is proper for such persons as in parliaments and places of assembly are accustomed to wrangle, and shew themselves contentious, and do put on a resolute determination to be contrary to the nature of all others: For the nature of wolves is, when they meet together, to fall a howling. And others write, that whosoever looks on a wolf, shall suddenly lose his voice. But I presume, those gentlemen took up the wolf for their arms from the circumstances of the place, not any disposition to strife or wrangling in the bearers thereof." *Hals*, p. 106. "The barton of *Trembleigh* is exempt from paying tithes, either great or small, to the rector; by reason, as tradition saith, there was a bargain or compact made betwixt the Trembleths, or Arundells, lords thereof, the prior of Bodman, and the rector of the said church, at such time as it was first endowed, that the possessors or owners of the said barton's land should for ever annually pay upon the high altar to the said rector the full sum of ten shillings of lawful money of England, in lieu of those tithes (which

money, I take it, is constantly paid, as aforesaid). Now, though when this bargain was made, the consideration of ten shillings per annum, was a great price for those tithes, by reason of the then scarcity and value of monies; yet now in these days, when the plenty of money hath much abated the value thereof, the rector sustains a great loss thereby. Though when this agreement was made, the said ten shillings bore proportion with the tenth part of the whole revenues of this church; as is evident from the first inquisition into the value of Cornish benefices in the king and pope's books." *Hals*, p. 106. S. Issey, the *white moor*. Situate on an arm of the harbour of Padstow, and the Alan river, and the rivulet that watereth Higher, Lower, and Middle Halwyn; and floweth by Halwyn house, under two arches of stone, into the Alan. This place was the seat of the old family of De Campo Arnulphi, now Champernowne. Here, they had a great and magnificent house, as appears by the ruins thereof, as also their chapel and burying-place, before the endowed church of St. Issey was erected. *T.* S. Breock. "In Domesday, this parish was rated under the districts of *Polton*, or *Penpaw*, now *Pawton*, and *Thersent*, now *Hurston*; which Polton, was the voke-lands of one of those manors, which was by king Edward the elder dismembered from that bishoprick, and annexed to Kirton in Devon, in order to defray the charges of that bishop's visitation of the Cornish people, and to constrain them to lay aside their errors, and obey the decrees of the church of Rome. (See Godwin on the bishops of Exon, p. 453.) At which time this Polton was the place of that bishop's residence when he came for that purpose into those parts: But how at length it became dismembered from the bishops of Exon, in part or whole, and annexed to the priory of St. Peter at Bodman afterwards, I know not; for assuredly the prior was possest of it, and had here his house and deer-park, the double walls or fences of which are still extant on the barton thereof; and to this manor they annexed their manors of Ide and Trevose. which were all the lands of a certain pious gentleman, who gave it to the bishop, or prior, of Bodman, for the maintenance of the worship and service of God, and for praying for the souls of him and his relatives, under the common curse or execration on all such persons as should violate or infringe his donation. His name is to be seen in the old court-book of the manor of Polton or Pawton, now in Sir William Morice's custody. The form of which curse of sacrilege as Indulphus, abbot of Croyland, secretary to William the conqueror, tells us, anno dom. 1066, by the donors was,---- *Qui augere voluerit nostram Donationem, augeat Omnipotens Deus Dies prosperos. Si quis vero mutare vel minuere præsumpserit, noscat se ad Tribunal Christi rationem redituram.*"--- *Hals*, p. 32. S. Wen. The manor of *Borlase*, id est, the green summit or rising, [as Bar Glas or Las (C.)]. This lordship was given by king William the II. surnamed *Rufus*, to ....., lord of the castle of Palfer in Normandy; ever since which, his posterity have flourished here, and at Treluddero, &c. in great esteem by the name of Borlase. See *Upton* de re militari. [This is a singular, perhaps a single instance of a Norman or Saxon family, assuming a Cornish name. Indeed I suspect it not to be true. And, what is more certain, that species of apples which in Cornwall we call a Borlase, and more commonly a Treluddero Pippin, appears plainly to have taken its name from this family and that place; and serves as a good opening, for explaining all those other names of apples, which are merely Cornish in themselves, like this."] *W. T.* v. 4. p. 241. Withiel. Manor of *Withiel*. "Since I cannot find any saint of this name, I take it to signify the same as in Lestwithiel; and that this parish is so called from its situation, which is very high, and full of great hills, with deep vallies, which set them the more off. [But how is this possible to be true? Lestwithiel is not like Withiel, "very high and full of great hills;" as lying very low. Nor can the meaning be derived from any other locality, than the site of the manerial house. Nor is it derived from any at all, I apprehend; the manor and manerial house, I believe, being denominated only from the personal name of its owner Withiel."] *W. T.* v. 4. p. 247. Lanivet. The manor of *Tremare*, or the *great town*, in Domesday *Tremer*; one of the 288 manors. *T.* Lanhidrock.* The manor of *Lanhidrock*, in Domesday *Lanredock*; one of the manors given by the conqueror to Robert earl of Moreton. *T.*

7. POWDER, thirty-seven parishes. Kea. In Domesday, the manor of *Key* or *Landegey*, is called *Landighe*, being one of the 288 manors. *Trigavethan*, in Domesday *Tregamedan*; one of the 288 manors. Kenwyn. The manor of *Alet*, in Domesday *Edelet*, has its old name pretty well preserved in *Edelis*, which, though now a village, was formerly the capital place of this manor. This was one of the 288 manors. *T.* See *Carew*, f. 44. f. 47. St Allen. *Gwarnike*. "The manor and barton of *Gwarnike*; the old inheritance and dwelling of the once rich and famous family of the Bevills for many generations, whose ancestor came out of Normandy into

* See Carew f. 46. misprinted Banhedreck.

England with William the conqueror, and was posted an officer at Trurow, under William earl of Morton and Cornwal, or Robert his father." *Hals*, p. 5. S. Erme. *Polsew*, in Domesday *Polduh*; one of the 288 manors. S. Clements. The great dutchy manor of *Moresk*, in Domesday *Moireis*; one of the 288 manors. The name, (whether *Moresk*, *Morek*, or *Moireis*) signifies *the place on the sea*. Most of the lands in St. Clements are either held from the manor of Moresk, or are a part of it. Polwhele is not a part of the manor. There is a manor in Domesday called *Tregal*, probably *Tregols* in St. Clements, near Truro. If so, it was one of the manors given by the conqueror to the earl of Moreton. It is seated on a gentle ascent, whence there is a pleasant prospect of the subjacent town of Truro and its river. "Here is *Conor-Cundura*, that is, *the king or prince's water*, (viz. of Cornwal) whose royalty is still over the same, and whose land comparatively the whole parish is. From which place in all probability was denominated *Cundor*, or *Condor*, in latin *Condorus* earl of Cornwal at the time of the Norman conquest, who perhaps lived or was born here. And moreover, the inhabitants of this church-town, and the neighbourhood, will tell you, by tradition from age to age, that here once dwelt a great lord, and lady called Condura. This Condurus as our historians tell us, 1066, submitted to the conqueror's jurisdiction, paid homage for his earldom, and made an oath of his fealty to him. But this account doth not look like a true one: For most certain it is, he in the third year of the conqueror's reign was deprived of his earldom, the same being given to the said conqueror's half-brother Robert; whose son William succeeded him after his death a long time in that dignity. Is it not therefore more probable, that this earl Condorus confederated with his countrymen at Exeter in that insurrection of the people against the conqueror, in the third year of his reign, and for that reason was deprived of his earldom? Be it as it may, certain it is, that he married and had issue Caddock his heir, whom some authors call Condor the second, who is by them taken for, and celebrated as, earl of Cornwal. But what part of the lands, or estate, he enjoyed whilst Robert and William, earls of Morton aforesaid, his cotemporaries for thirty years, were alive, and were doubtless possessed thereof, as well as his title and dignity, hath not yet appeared to me. His chief place of residence was at Insworth, near Saltash and Trematon; where he marryed, and had issue one only daughter, named Agnes, as some say, others Beautrix, who was married to Reginald, base son of king Henry I. in whose right he was made earl of Cornwal, after William earl of Cornwal had forfeited the same, by attainder of treason against the conqueror and his sons, and was deprived thereof. This earl Caddock, or Condor the second, departed this life 1120, and lies buried in the chancel of St. Stephen's church by Saltash, and gave for his arms,---*In a field sable* 15 *bezants pale-wise*, 4, 4, 4, 2, 1." *Hals*, pp. 55, 56. "*Polwhele* (says Carew, f. 148.) i. e. the miry work. I think it should rather signify the top of the work, according to the situation of the place, it lying high. This place gives name to a family of very great antiquity, which flourished here before the conquest; about which they were so eminent, that Drue de Polwhele was chamberlain to Maud the empress.*" From this Drue they lived in much esteem, in their ancient habitation, throughout the period before us. S. Michael Penkivell. *Penkivell*. "This district or parish church of St. Michael, in Domesday, was taxed under the jurisdiction of Penkyvell, or Penkyvill; which compound words etymologie is the head or chief dog, vill, or manor, or the manor, or village of the principal dog. Otherwise if the name Penkyvill, be a corruption of Penkevall, it signifies the head or chief hack or geldinge. It seems that this place in former ages was notable for some dog kept, or bred here, for its lord or proprietor; and was the lands either of the ancient kings, dukes, or earles of Cornwall, or kings of England; and was held in capite, or immediately from the crown or our lord the kinge by the tenure of sergeanty and rated together with the dutchy manor of Tybesta in Creed. Which sort of tenure was of two kinds distinguished by the names of grand sergeanty, and petty sergeanty; grand sergeanty was to be performed by a personal service to the kinge, and his heirs; petty sergeanty is a yielding or payinge to the kinge some small instrument of war, as swords, spears, shields, broaches, targets, head pieces and such like, also hawks and dogs. *Hals's MS.* "The manor of *Probus* appears from Domesday Book, to have been possessed by Edward the confessor (Borlase's Ant. p. 389, edit. 2d). It was therefore one of the demesnes of the crown, at that time; and probably one of those belonging to the sovereigns of Cornwall, when they were reduced by the Saxons. Then an English family, I apprehend, settled upon the lands, and held them from the crown of England. This, or the successors of this at the conquest, I take to be

* The late John Polwhele esq. had in his custody a grant from the Empress to the above Drue of several lands in Cornwall.---See Tonkin's MSS. in St. Clement, p. 188.

the family, which is called the *Wolvedons* before, and apparently bears an English appellation. They settled for some time, I apprehend, in the bottom and near the church; even long enough for the present hill of Golden to take from their tongues the English denomination, of Wolvedon or Wolf-hill, being covered with a wood, and haunted by wolves. On this very hill they afterwards erected their house, and in progress of time derived their denomination from it." *W. T. MS.* vol. 2. p. 50. That part of Probus which joins with St. Clements, is part of, and is held from the great dutchy of the manor of Moresk. LADOCK. The manor of *Nansoath*, or the fat valley. *Trethurf*; softened from *Tredrew*, the town of tillage; the seat of the *Trethurfs* before the conquest. CREED. All the lands in this parish are either held from, or are a part of the great dutchy manor of Tybesta. *Tybesta*, the house of *bullocks or cattle*, lies on a fruitful soil, and was a part of the ancient inheritance of the dukes of Cornwall; and on account of its fruitfulness, was the place where the duke kept his herd. *T.* "*Ty-bes-ta* may signify (says *Hals*, p. 75.) a house of good prayer.---And there are yet extant on this manor, an old chapel or consecrated well, called by the name of Tybesta." The bailiwick of the hundred of Powder, and royalty of the whole, (whose particular lords interfere not, by virtue of some grant) belong to the manor of Tybesta. *Tencreek*. Here lived the Tencreeks.----*Nancar*, the valley-rock. "The family of QUARME, which, in after-ages, settled in this place, was probably, an ancient British tribe, and was never totally ruined by the Romans, Danes, Saxons, or Normans. However, a great many of that tribe about the year 454, or 455, (when Hengist and Horsa had betrayed king Vortigern in the first place, and afterwards conquered him and his son Guortimer) departed the island of Great Britain, and went into Armorica, now called Little Britany in France: In which province a great many of their posterity and name are at this day, to confirm it. The ancestors of that house from which Walter Quarme is lineally descended, lived, in good wealth and honour, either at, or soon after the coming in of William the Norman, at a seat of theirs in the Southams, in the county of Devon. About the year 1045, the heir of the family married a daughter and heiress of Sir William Crispine, and had with her the barton and manor of Woodhouse and Alwynton, which has a famous royalty, and was a brave lordship; the said Quarme being then possessed of other brave manors and estates, viz. the manor of Dartmouth, and the manor of Westcomb." "Sir William Crispine had the like bearing in his arms with Quarme, they differing only thus---Sir William bore argent and sable; Quarme argent and gules. There heretofore ran an old rhyme in Devonshire,

> When William the conqueror did come,
> Quarme, Cruis, and Crocker, were at home."

Hals, pp. 76, 77.

S. CUBY. Manor of *Tregoney*. Henry Pomeray, lord of this manor, in the time of Henry the first, was the descendant of Ralph de Pomeraye, who came into England with William the conqueror, and was such a favourite of his, as Dugdale saith in his Baronage, that he conferred upon him 58 lordships, whereof this Tregny and Wich (now Mary-Wike) in Cornwall were two: Perhaps they were such lands as fell to the crown by virtue of their lords or owners rebelling against the conqueror in that insurrection at Exon in the second year of his reign. This Ralph de Pomeray had issue Joel, who married one of the natural daughters of king Henry I. by Corbett's daughter (mother also by him of Reginald Fitz-Harry, earl of Cornwall); the which Joel had issue by her Henry and Joscelin. Henry married De Vittre's daughter, and by her had issue Sir Henry de Pomeray, lord of this place, and Biry-Pomeroye in Devon, who sided with John earl of Moreton and Cornwall against king Richard I. then beyond the seas; and afterwards gave to the knight's hospitallers of St. John baptist the church of St. Maderne in Penwith: Whereupon it ever after belonged to their preceptory at Trebigh, or Trebitch, in St. Eue." "King John, by virtue of his manor of Tibesta, granted the liberty of fishing, or the royalty of the river Vale, to one of the Pomeroyes, lord of this manor. To remove an action at law depending in the court-leet of Tregony, the writ of *Certiorari*, or *Accedas ad Curiam*, was thus directed, as was also the precept for members of parliament: *Henricus Pomeray Seneschallo et Ballivo Mancrii sui de Tregoni Pomeray in Comitatu Cornubiæ Salutem.* Again, *Ad Curiam C. W. Arm. de Tregony in Comitatu Cornubiæ Salutem.* This C. W. esq. set down in the Exchequer, I take to be Charles or Christopher Wolvedon, of Golden, and this to be that manor set down in Domesday by the name of Tregny-Medan." *Hals*, p. 81. S. JUST. *Treveres*; from *Trevura*, the town on the ways. GERANS, according to Lhuyd, (*Arch.* p. 239) took its name from *Gereint ap Erbyn*, a nobleman of Cornwall, about the year 540, who is mentioned in the *Triades* as one of the three greater admirals of the British seas. And *Treverbyn* in St. Austel was so denominated from his father. In this elegy, it is said, that he was slain at *Llongborth*, probably *Langport* in Somerset. See chapter the

ninth of this book. "*Tregare*, in this parish, i. e. the *town of love or friendship*, was the voke land of the bishop of Bodman, now the bishop of Exon's great lordship, so called. In the Domesday book for Cornwall, its named *Tregaradu*, i. e. the town of the friend, or lover of God." *Hals*, p. 138. VERIAN. "Manor of *Elerky*; in Domesday book it is called *Elerchi*, which signifies the swan's house or swannery; for *Elerk* in Cornish is a swan, and there are the remains of a large pool under the house which seems to have been designed to that end. It is in the said book inserted among the manors given by William the conqueror, to his half-brother Robert earl of Morton and Cornwall." *W. T. MSS.* p. 229. "The original name of this parish was the same, with the name of the manor, Elerchi or Elerky; *that*, the appellation of the manor in Domesday book, *this* in the present time; and both derived from the manerial house. This house stood upon a rising ground nearly opposite to the church, and on the west of it; which is now covered with several houses of a mean condition, and yet marked as something considerable to the eye by a grove of tall trees upon it. The great house, which the ancestors of these trees shaded, has been long down, I suppose; and the mean houses on the ground have been constructed, of the poorest remains of it. It was bounded on the south by the lane leading down to its own mills, still called Elerky mills, and distinctively noted as Higher and Lower; and on the east and north by its lively brook without a name, that divides the glebe from the manor, then environs the house, and finally runs to the two mills below. The manor is accordingly noticed so late as the fifth of Charles the first, to have *two* mills within it. These mills even now proclaim their original relation to each other, by the restrictions which the Higher is under to the Lower; in not being allowed to keep up the water from the other, beyond a certain space of time. And the house thus environed by the brook could not have been very small, as it was the manor of a district; which in the twelfth of Edward the first, was reckoned at 42 acres, when so many are valued in much less, and when so few are valued in more. But whence is the original name of this house derived? Mr. Tonkin derives it from Elerk (C.) a swan, and makes Elerky to signify the swannery; adding, that "there are the remains of a large pool under the house, which seems to have been designed to that end." In all that part of antiquarian researches, where the eye is to be assisted by the imagination, and the past to be collected from broken appearances of the present; every active and lively mind is apt to cry out, against the creative fancies of the *antiquarian poet*, and exclaim in the language of Shakespeare;

------As imagination bodies forth
The form of things *unseen*, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.

But this spirit of exclamation should be checked. What depends in any degree upon *imagination*, may by minds without imagination be easily turned into ridicule. What is only to be inferred by the slow and painful collation of circumstances, will be ridiculed at once by those, who are too brisk to be slow, and too lively to take pains. And the very *ingeniousness* of antiquaries themselves, will at times be a snare to them also; by inducing them to cut short the labour of investigation, to ridicule the dull laboriousness of conjecturing industry, and to leap over the difficulty which it will not take the trouble to remove. On the whole therefore, I think Mr. Tonkin's etymology of Elerky, to be the only one which is easy and natural; and his reference to "the remains of a large pool under the house," to be sufficiently grounded. There has evidently been something of the kind, there. A little dam below would easily make one, now. The remains were probably more in Mr. Tonkin's time, than they now are. And these corroborating, and corroborated by, the positive import of Eala (I.) Alarch (W.) and Elerk, Elerchy (C.) a swan, and the undoubted signification of the latter, when thus combined, Elerch Chy (C.), for a swan's house; compel us to adopt the etymon." *W. T. MS.* v. 4. pp. 230, 231. This manor of Verian and Ruan united, was one of the many manors which William the conqueror found in, or took into, the possession of the crown. The earl of Cornwall had been in arms against him, no doubt. His lands were forfeited by the act, in that severity of feudal principles, which considered rebellion as ruin, and bound all the parts of a kingdom in a strict tie of allegiance to the governing part, for the sake of the whole. And William was too resolute and revengeful in his purposes, not to seize the forfeitures; and too generous in his spirit, not to reward his adherents with them. He gave these and all the possessions of the earldom along with the title, to his half-brother Robert. Hence, in the 3d of Henry the IVth, William Stanley, and John De Ripariis earl of Rivers, are said to have held in this manor, one knight's fee mo. or 1 fee mort. as having been a part of the possessions belonging to the united earldoms of Moreton and of Cornwall. But, when William took

away the possessions of the earl, he took not also the estates possessed by his capital tenants under him. Though equally engaged in opposition to William perhaps with the earl himself, yet their lands were not equally forfeited. The same principle of feudal law, which bound the tenant to obey the lord, and the lord the king, had so much respect for the very obedience which it enjoined; that it punished only the lord for the rebellion of the whole, as the lord was the only master of its power, and the only caller of it out into rebellion. The very same spirit, which punished the lord, absolved the tenant. That duty of obedience which the lord had broke, the tenant had discharged. And though the tenant had by accident rebelled against the lord of his lord, yet all was imputable to *him* alone, who had a right to demand his obedience, and who had directed it when paid in opposition to his own. In this manner, I apprehend, would the Archdeacons (whom we shall recognize in the next period at Ruan-Lanyhorne) escape with their possessions, when their earl had forfeited all. The archdeacons had settled on the acclivity of Lanyhorn I suppose, when they were put in possession of the manor of Elerke, by Athelstan in 936, on the extinction of the Cornish family, and by his paramount prerogative over the Cornish crown-demesne. They then deserted the old house of the Cornish lord, and chose a new situation for themselves. The manor house of Elerkey was thus left to the ravages of time and the dilapidations of plunder; for all the ages, in which Lanyhorne castle continued inhabited. And it therefore exhibits no remains at present; and is not even remembered by tradition itself, to have ever exhibited any; whilst the castle is so conspicuous in its ruins. The possessions of the earldom of Cornwall, I have repeatedly supposed to have been the previous possessions of the crown of Cornwall. What could they be else? On the reduction of Cornwall by Athelstan, the kings of Cornwall must have been in possession of a large quantity of demesne land. This mass of property would be kept together for the crown, as long as the regent of Cornwall wore a crown on his head. And when this crown contracted into an earl's coronet, the royal lands would naturally go with it still. But the earls seem to have made a considerable change in the tenure of these royal lands. Held before as the demesnes of the crown, they would be held by the superior or free sort of villenage; that copyhold tenure, which is not at the will of the lord, but by copy of court roll. Yet they were now so far alienated by the earls, I suppose, as to be held by their vassals in military service. And hence Trelonk, in the parish of Ruan-Lanyhorne, continued still probably to be royal demesne; while all the rest of the parish, belonged to the lord of the castle." *W. T. MS.* vol. 4. pp. 232, 233, 284. S. Goran. The manor of *Goloures (Goluar,* "at the garden," in Domesday, *Gloera,)* one of the 288 manors. The manor of *Bodrigan,* or Bodrugan, "the house on the down of oaks." This place gave a seat and name to a very ancient family. *Tregarthyn*; the seat of the Tregarthyns. *Trewoola* gave name to a family of great antiquity, who flourished here before the conquest. Mevagissey. *Pentaan.* This manor, by the name of *Bentewoin, Bentewoise* in Domesday, was one of the 288. St. Ewe. "The manor of *Tucays.* In Domesday there are two manors mentioned, as part of the inheritance of Robert earl of Cornwall, viz. Ticoith, and Tucowit, which I take to be both of the same signification, the house in the wood, [as *Te koit,* wood house]; and fancy this to be the first named, Ticoith, now by corruption called Tucays." *W. T. MS.* p. 181. The manor of *Trevorrick,* called in Domesday *Trevoroc,* was one of the 288 manors, The manor of *Lanhadron,* (in Domesday, *Lanlaron,*) was one of the earl of Moreton's manors.------*Lanhadron* and *Nansladron* are said to be one and the same; signifying the valley of thieves. But, (says Mr. Whitaker) "Lanhadron could never be corrupted into Nansladron, or Nansladron into Lanhadron. Each is too regular a word in itself, to be formed by the jumbling hand of accident. Lan hadron is Lan Cadarn, in my opinion, the inclosure of the mighty. Cad, (C.) is war; Cad, (W.) a battle, a foughten field; Cadwer, (C) is a soldier, a champion; Cadarn, (W.) is stout, valiant, mighty; and Cadarn-le, Cadernid, (C.) is a bulwark. This name therefore refers to some fortress here: and so does the name, Nansladron, the thieves or robbers, who have given name to the valley, being the garrison of the bulwark." *W. T. MSS.* p. 183. S. Mewan. The manor of *Trewoone*; the dwelling in the down, or the downy dwelling; suited to the situation of the place, which gives it name. It is now a pretty large village. St. Stephens in Brannell. "In Carew, (f. 47.) in the extent of Cornish acres, *Beranel* is valued in 36, the 12 Edw. I. I take this to be the same, which is called in Domesday, *Bernel,* being one of the manors given by William the conqueror to Robert earl of Moreton, when he made him earl of Cornwall." *W. T. MSS.* p. 147. "*Court,* in this parish, is the chief barton of the manor and lordship of Branell, both which appertained to the earls of Cornwall, in right of that earldom. King John settled them upon his second son Richard (born in the 11th year of his reign, A. D. 1209,) afterwards king of the Romans, who had issue by his concubine Jone de

Valletorta, widow of Sir Alexander Oakeston, a base son named Richard de Cornwall, (and a daughter named Jone, married to Champernowne,) on whom he settled this manor of Branell, and barton of Court; who had issue William de Cornwall, or Plantaganet, and Geoffrey de Cornwall, (afterwards knighted by king Edward I.) ancestor of the famous family of Cornwalls of Burford. Wm. de Cornwall was also of this house and tribe, who was first made abbot of Bewdley, afterwards elected abbot of Newham, in Devon, 1272. He died very aged and blind, about the year 1320. *Prince's Worthies*. p. 57." *Walker's Hals, MS.* ST. AUSTELL. "From this place was denominated an old family of gentlemen named De Austell; of which family William De Austell was sheriff of Cornwall, the 29th, 30th, and 31st of Edward III. His grandson John De Austell was sheriff of Cornwall, 25th Hen. VI. as also of Somerset and Dorset 27th and 28th of Hen. VI. who gave for his arms, argent a saltier reguled, vert. But in what families the name, blood, and estate of those gentlemen are terminated I know not, or where they dwelt." *Hals*, p. 11. *Treverbyn*, was the voke-lands of a considerable manor, long before the Norman conquest. It signifies in Cornish, the herb *rape*, and *town*, famous, it seems, in former ages, for this vegetable. From which place was denominated that old and knightly family of the Treverbyns (who had there a free chapel and burying-place lately extant, and of public use before the church of St. Austell was erected). Of this house was Walter Treverbyn, sheriff of Cornwall, 1223, the successor of Reginald de Valtort, 7 Hen. III. who had issue Sir Walter Treverbyn, knight." *Hals*, p. 11. "The manor of *Tewington*, taxed in the Domesday, is invested with the jurisdiction of a court-leet, and signifies *silence in town*, or *extraordinary silence in town*, viz. when that court sitteth!! which was afterwards by king Edward III. 1336, converted or fixed into the dutchy of Cornwall, by charter, with its appurtenances." *Hals*, p. 12. This place was the seat of the Sawles, before they removed to Penrice. "The first ancestor of the family of Sawle came out of Normandy, a soldier under Wm. the conqueror, 1066; and in all probability he was posted in these parts an officer under William or Robert, earls of Moreton and Cornwall some time after, in those standing troops of soldiers the conqueror kept here, in order to awe the people thereof to a submission to his dominion. For I take it beyond the records of time at Towan in this parish, and elsewhere in Devon, this family or tribe hath been extant in fame and splendour; as the descendants of that Sawley, or Sawle, mentioned in Battle-abbey roll." *Hals*, p. 11. S. BLAZE. "In this parish liveth .... Cur-lyon, gent. that married Hawkins, and giveth for his arms, in a field ..... a bezant between two castles ..... Now though the name be local, from a place in Keye parish so called, yet if I were admitted to conjecture, I would say this family of Curlyon, by its name and arms, were the descendants of Richard Curlyon, king Richard I." *Hals*, p. 15. TYWARDRETH. "As for its name, it takes it from its situation. *Trueardraith-bay*, says Mr. Camden, (Brit. in Cornwall) as much as if one should say, the bay of the town on the sand. Leland calls it *Tywartraith*, the house on the sand: and so it is more commonly named. As Robert de Cardinan was the founder of this priory, temp. Rich. I. according to Mr. Tanner (Notitia Monastica, p. 32.); this must be one of the seventy-one knights' fees, which the said Robert held in this county, 6th Rich. I. (Car. f. 50.); who, by consequence, must then have been lord of this manor. In Domesday, it is, by the name of *Tiwardrai*, numbered among the manors, which Wm. the conqueror gave to Robert earl of Moreton, when he made him earl of Cornwall." *W. T. MS.* GOLANT, GLANT, or ST. SAMPSON'S. "*Pencoit*, Pencoid, Pen-quite; synonymous words, signifying head or chief wood, or head of the wood; is a name given and taken from the once natural circumstances of the place, from whence was denominated an antient family of gentlemen surnamed De Pencoit. And here lived John de Pencoit, probably a taylor, temp. Henry III. and Edw. I. who held an acre of land in Lamellyn, of 5s. price, (that is to say a Cornish acre, consisting of sixty statute acres) for making and keeping the king's gray coat, when he came into Cornwall, due out of Cabulion from Peter the son of Ogeri. [Carew's Cornw. p. 45.] Thus the cathedral church of Lincoln was obliged yearly, for its lands, to pay the king of England a rich cloak furred with sables; which custom was bought out with 1000 marks of silver, by Hugh, bishop thereof, temp. Richard I. [Daniel's Chron. p. 105.] This barton is now the dwelling of John Barret, esq. sheriff of Cornwall, 3d Wm. III. whose ancestor is said to have come out of Normandy, with William the conqueror, 1066, an ensign under Col. Henry de Ferrers, commonly called Henry earl of Ferrers, son of Wakelyn; to whom the conqueror gave the castles of Tutbury in Staffordshire, and Oucombe in Rutlandshire," *Hals*, p. 148. The words in Carew are these, and have been strangely mis-interpreted here; "Petrus fil. Ogeri, 40. Cabulion, per unam capam de gresenge in adventum dicti. regis in Cornubiam. Rogerus Cithared. 5. pro portanda illa capa dum rex fuerit in Cornubia. *Johan. de Pencoit* unam acram in Lametyn, prec. de 5s. *faciens ibidem custodiam, per* 40 *dies*." (Pp. 44, 45.) Thus Johannes

de Pencoit "did *not* hold his acre of land, for making and keeping the king's gray coat when he came into Cornwall," as it was "Peter the son of Oger;" as even Peter held Cabulion by the tenure "of presenting one cap of gray cloth *at* the arrival of the king in Cornwall;" as Roger the Harper held five acres "by the tenure of carrying that cap after the king, while he remained in Cornwall," and as John de Pencoit "held an acre in Lametyn of the value of 5s. a-year, "by the tenure of keeping watch at Lametyn over the king for forty days." Thus the cathedral church of Lincoln was obliged yearly for its lands, to pay the king of England a rich cloak furred with sables; which custom was bought out with a thousand marks of silver, by Hugh bishop thereof. temp. Richard I. *Daniel's Chron.* p. 105. LESTWITHIEL. A corruption of *Les-uchel*, the lofty palace; as having been from all antiquity, the chief seat of the kings and earls of Cornwall. *T.* LUXILIAN. The manor of *Prideaux*, some would derive from a French original, as being *Pres d' eaux*, near the waters. For that the sea formerly flowed as high as this place, till the stream-works choaked up its entrance, any one that views the high cliff under it, and the opposite one in the parish of Tywardreath, must readily conceive. But in this case, it may as well be derived from *Pri* or *Prid*, clay, and *aus als*, the sea-shore. Here Prideaux-castle, was probably, before the conquest, the seat of the Prideaux's; a family eminent in Cornwall and Devon, and still flourishing in both counties. *T.* ROCHE. *Treroche*; alias Tregarrick, was, before the Norman conquest, the possession of an old British family thence denominated *Treroche*, afterwards *De Rupe*. Of this family, Ralph de Rupe held in Cornwall, by the tenure of knight's-service, three knight's fees of land, temp. Rich. I. A. D. 1189. One of the De Rupes or Roches was, as tradition saith, an officer in the Irish war, under John earl of Moreton and Cornwall; and when the said earl became king of England, and made a second expedition into Ireland, this Roche was again employed in reducing the rebels. And his conduct was highly approved by king John; insomuch that the king ordered Dr. John Grey (bishop of Norwich, formerly lord chief justice of England, and then) chief justice of Ireland and governor of Dublin, to reward our Cornish hero with the forfeited lands of divers rebels. Whence it happened, that De Roche built there the castle of Roche, A. D. 1220; and became the head of that distinguished family of the De Roches, in Ireland. Partly *Hals's MS.* in *Roche*.

8. KERRIER. Twenty-seven parishes. BREAGE. "At the time of the Norman conquest, if this parish was not taxed under the jurisdiction of *Lan-migell*, i. e. Michael's temple, or church, (now St. Michael's Mount) the priors whereof, or the king, or duke, endowed it; it was rated under the district of *Treskeaw*; that is to say, the skeawe, or elder-tree town; a place, as I am informed, well known, and still extant there. In this parish stands the barton and manor of *Good-ol-gan*, alias God-ol-gan, synonymous words, only varied by the dialect, meaning a place that was altogether a wood down; a name antiently given and taken from the natural circumstances thereof. Otherwise, if the name consists of English-Cornish, God-ol-gan signifies a place that was altogether God's down. As for the modern name Good-ol-phin, God-ol-fyn, it in like manner as the former admits of no other etymology or construction than that it was a place that was altogether a wood, fountain, well, or spring of water; or altogether God's fountain, or spring of water. But because the words *God*, *Gud*, *Good*, in Cornish-Belgick-British, are always taken and accepted in the first sense, to signify only a wood, and the words *Du*, *Duc*, and *Dyw*, are the proper appellations of God, and no other in Cornish: I cannot apprehend how that sacred name is concerned in the initial part of this word God-ol-phin; which refers, as I said before, to the circumstances of the place, viz. that notable fountain, well, or spring of water here, that passeth beneath the house through the gardens, and the woods and groves of timber trees that still surround the same. Contrary to this etymology, Mr. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, p. 153, says, that Godolphin signifies a white eagle; than which nothing can be more untrue; for in all those tacked or compound words there is not one particle or syllable relating thereto: For *wen Erew*, *wen Eryr*, *wen Eriew*, and by contraction *Wen-er*, is a white eagle in the Welsh, Little-Britannick, and Cornish tongues. [See Dr. Davis's British Lexicon, and Floyd upon Aquila] In like manner, Verstegan tells us, that in the Saxon tongue *Blond-Erna* is a white eagle; as also in the German and Dutch tongues; and the French dictionaries inform us, that *Blanch Ægle*, or *Aegle*, is a white eagle, ---ἀετὸς, in Greek, *Aquila* in Latin, *Nesher* in the Hebrew; from whence [possibly] our British *Erew*, *Erier*, *Eryr*, *Eriew*, is derived. In opposition to all these etymologies of the word Godolphin, Mr. Sammes, in his Britannia, and the author of the additions to Camden's Britannia, tell us that Godolac in the Phenician tongue signifies a land of tin; from whence they apprehend the name Godolphin is derived, especially because tin is found in the precincts thereof: But surely not comparable in quantity to what is made in forty other places in Corn-

wall, which yet come not under the denomination of Godolphin, as being tin land. Contrary to the conceit of these authors, the learned Bochartus saith, that *Bretanick, Britanack, Baratanick,* in the Phenician tongue, signifies a land of tin; and very likely to be true enough: For the Phenician merchants, in the time of Alexander the great, and Augustus, by way of Gaul and Spain, or the Midland sea, brought tin into Greece and Asia from the Britannick isle. and so that commodity was denominated from thence. And though before this time the word tin is used in our translation of the bible, as if in those days it had been known among the Jews, and their neighbours the Phenicians, when the original thereof was written by Moses, and the prophets, yet I assure the reader the word *Bdel,* Ezek. xxvii. 12. and the word *Bdil,* synonymous words, Isaiah i. 25. (only differenced by a vowel) which are by the translators of the bible rendered tin in the English, properly signify no other than *separavit, distinxit, particula separata, particula aurea,* i. e. separated, shining, or refined gold, or matter, Amos iii. 12. From which radix also proceeds *Bdellium,* Genesis ii. 12. Numbers xi. 7. which word the rabbin R. Sal. in the book of Numbers, and Kimchi upon Isaiah iii. 19. render *Crystallum,* and not *stannum.* Hence it is that Dioscorides, lib. 1. useth the word *Bodolchon,* and *Bolchon,* to signify crystal, and not tin." *Hals,* pp. 84, 85. "To the east of Mount's-bay, stands *Godolcan*; a hill famous for store of tin-mines; but much more noted for its lords of that name, whose virtues are no less eminent, than their family is ancient. The name, in Cornish, comes from *a white eagle.* And this family has still born, for their arms, in a shield *gules, an eagle display'd between three fleur-de-luces argent.*" *Camden,* p. 6. SITHNEY. The manor of *Penrose.* Penrose, (i. e. the head of the valley, or the hill of the heath) hath given name and dwelling to a very ancient family, seated there, (tis said) before the conquest. WENDRON, *Wendrone* in Domesday. The Seneschals of *Trenethick.* In the parish of MAWGAN in *Meneg,* were seated two of the greatest families in the county, Carminow and Roskymer. *T. Carminow,* "the little city;" pleasantly seated on an advanced rising to the east of the Loepool. Part of which pool hence called Carminow-creek, belongs to this place. It gave name and habitation to that most ancient and eminent family, who pretended to derive themselves in a direct male line from king Arthur. *T.* It is said, that one of the Carminow family, was an embassador from Edward the confessor, to William the conqueror, then duke of Normandy: By this circumstance he might have secured his ancient inheritance. *T.* Robert de Carminow, (grandfather of Sir John, hereafter to be mentioned) 48th of Henr. 3d, held by knight's fee, 16*l.* per annum. As his son, William de Carminow, (father of John) did at the same time 15*l.* per annum. *T.* This is not to be thought their whole estate, but only what they held by knight's fees, per *servicium militare. Roskymer* signifies the valley of the great dog---from some incident or other---to which the wolf, a part of the Roskymer arms, may possibly allude. *T.* The district that includes GRADE, MULLION, the RUANS, and LANDAWEDNECK, was taxed at the time of the Norman conquest, under the jurisdiction of *Lizart. P.* RUAN *major. Erisey,* partly in this parish, gave denomination to the very ancient and respectable family of Erisey. The manor of *Lizart,* (or the *Lizard)* in LANDAWEDNECK, appears from Domesday, to be one of the 288 manors. CONSTANTINE, *Trewardevi*; as noticed in Domesday. *Trethouan,* the dwelling of an ancient family said to have been in possession of it, either before, or very soon after the Norman conquest, hence surnamed de Trethouan. MAWNAN. "*Penwarne,* id est, the head notice, warninge, or summons, viz. the voke lands of the baylywick, of the hundred of Kerrier; and its court baron hath its prison and sub-bayliff still extant in Budock, which lands, and court-baron clayme the respectiue suits and seruices of the seuerall tithings or freeholders within its precincts, as of ancient right accustomed. And this barton of Penwarne, hath also still extant vpon it, an old vnendowed free chappell and buryinge place of publick vse, before the church of Mawnan was erected, for vnder the name and jurisdiction of Penwarne, this parish was taxed in the Domesday book, 20. William, 1087. From Pengwarne, alias Penwarne, synonymous words, signifyinge as aforesaid, was denominated an old British family of gentlemen, now in possession thereof, surnamed de Penwarne, (who by possession of those lands is bayliff or lord of the baylywick of the hundred of Kerrier by inheritance) whose ancestors haue been seased and possest thereof beyond the records of tyme; and have been possest, in former ages, of diuerse other lands of considerable value in those parts." *Hals's MS.* GLUVIAS. The manor of *Cosawse,* partly in Gluvias, and partly in Mylor. MYLOR. The manor of *Mylor,* a small lordship which takes its name from the parish, and in which the church is situated; as probably both that and the glebe, were formerly taken out of it, by the gift of some one of its lords. *T.* The barton of *Carclew,* anciently *Crucglew* and *Cruccleu* (from *Cruc, Crug,* a barrow, and *Clu, Cluth,* a ditch or fence.) "The enclosures by the barrows," of which are several in the adjoining commons. The first owner of this place that I meet

with (Herold's office) is *Dangeros*, (or D'Aungers) who married Margery, the daughter of Bartholomew Seneschall. He flourished, as I guess, in the reign of Henry II. Part of the manor of Cosawse, to the west of Carclew, is in Mylor; called the *Vycoos*, i. e. the wood by the river. *T.* The manor of *Restronget*. It joins Carclew. Formerly *Res-tron-gas*, (from *Res*, or *ros*, a valley, *tron*, a nose, and *gas*, deep) the valley with the deep promontory or (if *gas* means *wood)* the valley with the woody promontory---which agrees with its situation between two creeks of the sea. And it was very lately well wooded. 6. Ric. I. Robert de Cardinan held 71 knight's fees in Cornwall, some of which I suppose this manor was composed of; as he was then lord of the manor of Restrongas. See Carew, f. 44, 46. The manor of *Trefusis*, the seat of Trefusis from before the conquest. WENNAPE; GWENNAP. There is *Jemappe* in Brabant; says Peard. *(MS.)* *Trevince*, the habitation of the old family of the Beauchamps, or De Bello Campo---I suppose the descendants of that Stephen de Bello Campo, who had in this county 15*l*. per annum, in land and rents, 40. Henry 3. See Carew, f. 50.

9. PENWITH. Twenty-five parishes. ST. BERIAN. *Boscawen Ros*, in this parish, is a name given and taken from the natural circumstances of the place, and the cattle that grazed thereon, and signifies in Cornish-British, cows, kine, or cattle, a promontory or high piece of ground, and a valley beneath the same, notable for skeawe or scawen trees. And indeed this place being naked and exposed to the sea on the cliffs of the British channel, antiently, it seems, produced no other trees than *scawen*, [i. e. *elder*], proper to those parts of the country: Neither, I think, are there any other trees at present that grow there. For the initial particle of this compound word *Bo*, it is synonymous with our Japhetical greek, βῶ, βῶς, in latin *Bos*, an ox; or as *Vacca*, a cow. In like manner the conjunctive word, or particle *Scawen*, it is from the same original greek Σκωλιμ, *Sambucus*, or *Ebulus*, the skew-tree. For the terminative particle *Ros*, it ever in British signifies *a valley* and *a high promontory of land*, and not a rose: For *breila* or *breilu* is a rose, as *rosa* in latin. *Hals*, p. 41. *Trevidren*. This, the original estate of the Vyvyans, of Trelowarren, is still in their possession. The tradition of Vyvyan and Trevylyan both escaping on horseback from the Sylleh inundation, is certainly sanctioned, if not confirmed, by the coat-armour of both families. "At the Sylleh inundation *Trevilian* (says Tonkin) swam from thence, and in memory thereof bears *gules, an horse argent, issuing out of the sea, proper*. The family of the *Vyvyans*, (which in Cornish signifies *to flee away, to escape,)* formerly of *Trevidren*, in St. Berian, now of Trelowarren, pretend to the same; and that one of their ancestors was governor of that tract: In memory thereof, they anciently bore *argent, a lion rampant, gules, standing on the waves of the sea, proper*. (Which waves have of late been left out.) And they still give for their crest, *an horse, argent*, on which, they tell you, the governor saved himself; alluding both to the name of the place and the means of his preservation: and highly probable it is, that both families are descended from the same common ancestor.---I see no reason why we should not believe such a tradition. But whatever became of the *Lioness*, (See *Spenser's Fairy Queen*, B. 6. cant. 2. st. 27.) it amounts almost to a certainty that much land hath been lost by inundation round the Mount and the adjacent country. It appears that a thousand acres of the parish of Piran-uthno, were lost by a breaking in of the sea, at the same time that the Mount just by it was separated from the land and made an island. From the cliff, to a ridge of rocks called the *Greab*, as far as which (they say) the land extended, the water is very shallow, the land on the cliff very level, and the cliff itself low. Oak-trees, have been taken up, or driven in by the sea, and the roots of trees may be seen when the tide is low, between the mount and Penzance. And the inhabitants of Market-jew have a tradition, that the greatest part of their houses (in which there is fine old carved work) were built with oak-trees that grew between the Mount and Newlyn. I should add also, that off the Long-rock (a ridge of rocks so called, lying in the midway between the Mount and Penzance) may be seen in a clear day, about 20 feet under water, a firm wall running out directly to the south, and that for a long way: This, (they say) was the wall of a park there." *Tonkin's (Tehidy) MS.* *Trewoof*. It appears from an inscription on the tomb of the last of the family, thas *Levelis* flourished here from the time of the conquest. "*Troue*, in this parish, i. e. in Cornish and Armorick, a pit, cavern, or valley, (a name doubtless taken from the natural and artificial circumstances of the place, it being situate between two hills, as it were in a sort of a cavern) alias Tre-woofe; that is to say the town or dwelling of ob-yarn, such as the sale spinsters make, in order to be woofe or woven across the warp in cloth. Whence was denominated a family of gentlemen named Trewoofe, who mistaking the etymology of their said name, (as many others in Cornwall have also done) gave for their arms, *three wolves' heads*; though Try-bleith, or Try-bleit, is three wolves in Cornish." *Hals*, p. 43. From *Als*, now *Alse* and *Alsa*, signi-

fying lands upon the sea-coast; (as this whole parish and its members are situate) was denominated *John de Als*—(if not perhaps from *Bar-als-ton*, in Devon) temp. Hen. I. and king Stephen, ancestor of the *De Alses*, formerly of Lelant." *Hals*, p. 44. MORVA, Anciently *Morvale*, the sea-valley. *T.* GULVAL. Manor of *Lanistly*. "In Val. Benef. this parish is called Gulvale, also Lanistly, id est East Temple Place, with reference to that church being east of Maderne, and other places. This has given name to the famous and ancient manor of Lanisly, alias Lanistly, in this parish. This lordship, for good land, pleasant prospects, and its royalties over all that part of the Mount's-bay, between Longbridge and Chendower nigh Penzance, may compare with any lordship in those parts. It was reckoned in the extent of Cornish acres in the reign of Edw. I. 28 acres and ½. [See Carew's Survey of Cornwall, f. 45.] It extendeth throughout the parish of Gvlval, from above the sea to the down hills, as through part of the parish of Ludgian." *Price's MS.* "This manor of Lanesely in this parish, was in the time of Richard I. and king John, the lands of the family surnamed *De Als*, now *Hals*, so called from the barton and dismembered manor of Als, now Alse and Alsa in Buryan, as tradition saith (or Beer-als-ton, in Devon), in possession of Invarion and others, whereof they were lords. And in particular Wm. De Als, in the beginning of the reign of king Henry III. that married Mary the daughter of Francis Bray, was possesst thereof; father of Symon De Als, who lived at Halsham, in Yorkshire, from him denominated; that married Jane daughter of Thomas De Campo Arnulphi (now Champernowne), sheriff of York 2d, 3d, 6th, and 7th years of king Henry III. as appears from the catalogue of those sheriffs, and the Halses allowed pedigree, 1483. From which latter also, it is manifest by an authentic deed or record therein, yet legible; that the said Symon, for the health and salvation of his soul, his wives, his ancestors and other relatives, gave the said manor of Lan-esely to the prior of St. German's, his canonical brothers, and their successors for ever." *W. H. MS.* LUDGIAN, The manor of *Luduhan*, in Domesday *Luduham*; one of the 288. "The manour of *Ludduham*, formerly comprehending the parishes of Ludduham, Lelant, Tywednik, and St. Ives, now so many districts; is a lordship of great antiquity, and was priviledged with the jurisdiction of a court-leet before the Norman conquest. For under that name it was then taxed; though it is now transnominated from its great extent, to Ludduham Les, i. e. the broad or large habitation of the people of God. [Ludduham is mentioned in Domesday book as Lvdvham, f. 22, and the name, which is really Lugvan, though vulgarly Luduan, means (as Pryce very rationally interprets it) hill, tower, Lug being a tower, and Ban or Van a hill. Thus "Luddyham, formerly comprehending the parishes of Ludduham, Lelant, Tywednik, and St. Ives, now so many districts," yet still denominated Luduham only, is not "now," when it is so much contracted in its size, as Mr. Hals describes it, "transnominated from its great extent to Ludduham Les, i. e. the broad or large," as if it was denominated broad and large from its very contraction; but received the addition to its name, from its court-house, Lis or Les." *W. Hals, MSS.* vol. 2. p. 80. S. ERTH. "*Trewinard*, in Domesday *Trewinerdoi*, the haughty, beloved, town; or *Trewinar*, the town of the beloved lake, or water - - - on which those lands are situate, viz. the Heyl river - - - gave name and original to an old family of gentlemen, surnamed *De Trewinard*." *Hals*, p. 104. "*Trewinard*, I take to signify, a town on a marsh. The Trewinards lived here, probably, before the conquest." *Tonkin.* TAWEDNACK. In Domesday, this district is included under the jurisdiction of *Amel*, now *Amel-veor*, or *Trenwith*. The name *Tawednack*, expresseth the saint to which it is dedicated *St. Wednack*, or *Winnack*; *Ta* and *De* being synonymous, and signifying *good*. ST. IVES. This place is said to have obtained this name from St. Ia, the daughter of a nobleman of Ireland, a disciple of St. Barricus; who with Elwine and many others, came into Cornwall, and here landed at Pendinas, the peninsula and stony rock, where is now (saith Leland) the town of St. Ies; and where, at the request of St. Ia, or Ies, one Dinan, a great lord, erected a church to her name. In Domesday it seems to have been included in the manor and barton of Trenwith, anciently extending itself over a great part of this town. The barton and manor of *Trenwith*, (i, e. the wood-house) now in this parish of St. Ives; before the Norman conquest, was the king of England's lands, as got by William the conqueror on attainder of treason from the aiders of king Harold's party, much of which he disposed of to those friends or kindreds under the tenure of knight's service, that is in capite, as in after ages held it. And so considerable it was for its extendure and jurisdiction, that in the Domesday tax, the 20. William I. 1087, the now parishes of Lelant, Tywednick, and St. Ives, which then were not extant on record, passed all in that assessment under the name of *Tren-with*, as appears from that roll in the Exchequer". [Mr. Hals has previously said upon the former of his two pages of sameness, that it passed under the appellation of *Luduham*, and upon the latter (as here) that it passed under the title of *Tren-with*, a circumstance, that shows

For the mode of holding land, and the services and prestations to which the holders were subject, the observations on aids, scutages, tallages, fines, amerciaments,

the latter to be what it should naturally be from its position, the second and corrected page.]" *W. Hals*, vol. 2. p. 81. LELANT. *Trevethoe.* In Domesday, this district is included under the jurisdiction of *Trebethow*; which before the conquest was the folc-lands of a considerable manor, and in after times became the property of the De Als's, now Hals---a British tribe, so denominated, as tradition says, from Alsius, duke of Devon, the father of Orgar; or (more probably) derived from John de Als, lord of the barton of Als, now Alse, in the parish of Berian." In GWYTHIAN stands the great manor of *Conarton*. "Perhaps this may be the place called in Domesday *Chenower*, not very different from *Cenor*, which Leland calls it. If so, it was one of the 288 manors. Of old, Conarton was either parcel of the crown lands, or the earl of Cornwall's. For Henry II. (by letters patent, (yet to be seen at Lanherne) passed over this lordship with its appurtenances together with the bailiwick of Penwith, and the patronage of Phillack, to Simon Pincerna, or Butler, lord of Lanherne, in consideration of his enfeoffing the said king Henry, his heirs and successors, with his lordship and manor of St. James's, Westminster, in Middlesex. After which conveyance, the daughter and heiress of Pincerna was married to Arundell of Trembleth, in St. Ervan; to whom by her, accrued to those gentlemen not only the manor of Conarton, but the barton and manor of Lanherne, &c. in Edward the IId's days---these lordships being still in the possession of the Arundels, from whom the stewards of the court-leet for the bailiwick of Penwith, as also the steward of the court-leet for the manor of Conarton take their deputations to those jurisdictions." *Tonkin. Connerton*, in Domesday *Conarditone*, imports simply, the house of *Conner* or *Conard*. "It claims by prescription (says Hals) not only the royalties and jurisdictions within its limits, but also over the whole hundred of Penwith, i. e. the head tree country, containing 26 parishes, so called probably from some head or chief tree heretofore growing or standing on the voke-lands of this lordship,---[plainly from Penwith-point within it, once the head of the hundred; though Connerton became afterwards]. Hence it is that this manor of Connerton is privileged, not only with the jurisdiction of a court-leet for itself, but also with a court-leet or baron for the whole hundred of Penwith; in which two courts, are tried all matters of debt or damage between party and party within the same, life, land, and limb excepted. Wherein heretofore infinite number of causes have been depending, by reason of its being the most remote part of the kingdom from the courts of Westminster. The stewards or judges of which courts, (which offices are commonly vested in one person) take their deputation from the lord of the manor, not from the kings or dukes of Cornwall's stewards, as other bailiwicks do." *W. H. MS.* CROWAN. The manor of *Hellegan* and *Clowance*. Hellegan was the chief place; signifying the hall placed on the downs. There was lately standing in this place, and I believe still is, a hall of large dimensions, adjoining to Clowance. This was anciently the seat of Hellegan. *Clowance*, "the valley of moorstones." *Tonkin.* "*Clowens*, white oloos, a sort of grey marble stones so called, whereof an innumerable strag are visible upon a great part of the lands of this barton above ground, particularly in the deer park. Mr. Carew tells us, that Clowens is derived from cloow, *to hear*. But glowas, in Cornish, is to *hear*, and golsowens, to *hearken*. This place for many ages, hath been the seat of the genteel and knightly family of the Seyntaubyns, now baronets, whose first ancestors came out of Normandy with Wm. the conqueror, 1066, and settled in the county of Devon." *Hals*, p. 77. *Tregeare*, (the green or fruitful place) was the seat of the Tregeares before the conquest. ILLOGAN. The lordship and barton of *Tehidy*, or the narrow house. The lordship of Tehidy, hath the advowsons of three large parishes; Illogan, Camborne, and Redruth; with the royalties of wrecks, &c. thereto belonging. *T.* The first owner I meet with, of the lordship of Tehidy (see Testa de Neville) was Dunstanville: and Basset was "nepos ejus." Reginald de Dunstanville was a baron of the realm, 2d of Henry I. the person probably meant in Testa de Neville. *T.* The Bassets came with the conqueror from France, and were posted among the standing troops of Cornwall, under Robert earl of Moreton." *W. Hals*, v. 2. p. 62. "The first mention I find of this name in England, was *Osmund Basset*, who came in with the conqueror. *Prince*, p. 114. Tehidy passed from DUNSTANVILLE to BASSET, by the marriage of Thomas Basset, lord of Burcester, in Oxfordshire, 25th of Henry II. with Cecilia, daughter of Alan de Dunstanville of Tehidy, son of Reginald de Dunstanville, by Ursula, daughter and coheiress of Reginald Fitz-henry, earl of Cornwall.

and a variety of other particulars, exhibited in the note below, will curiously illustrate the subject.*

* I shall here make large extracts from "Madox's History and Antiquities of the Exchequer;" fully assured my time and attention will be not thrown away; repulsive as that subject may seem to a poetic fancy. ---- "I am persuaded, (says *Madox)* there is no history of any county in England, which will not receive some ornaments and improvements from the assemblage of persons, places, and facts here made; the earldoms and baronies with their knights' fees: the sheriffs of counties and proprietors of manors; the sergeanties annexed to offices; the several sorts of tenure; the estates and indowments of bishopricks and religious houses, being some of the many curiosities crouded into this treasure." *Advertisement to 2d vol.* Madox, vol. I. Chap. I. "Of the court of the kings of England." "By the king's court, (says he) we may here understand his palace, or the palace of his royal residence, where he was attended by his nobles and great men." P. 2. "King Henry II. in the tenth year of his reign, called a great council, about settling the laws, and composing a difference between him and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury." P. 15. "In the year 1165, (11 Hen. II.) the king called a great council at Northampton. The archbishop sent word to the king that he would not come to court, till the king had caused the men and horses, which he had put into the archbishop's hostels, to be removed. The next day after the council met, the archbishop came to the king's court into his chapel. The king challenged him to answer before him for a wrong done to John his mareschal, who had complained that he could not have justice done him in the archbishop's court, touching certain land which he had claimed there to hold of him by right of inheritance; in which cause the plea had long depended there undetermined. The archbishop alledged certain things in his own defence, and insisted, that the proceedings in that case in his court before his justices were according to law. But the barons of the king's court adjudged the archbishop to be in the king's mercy. Accordingly he was amerced five hundred pounds; and thereupon departed from the court, and fell sick. Soon afterwards he went to the king's court, bearing his crosier in his right hand. The king sent and ordered him to come and render straightway an accompt of all his receipts of the king's rents received by him whilst he was chancellor; and particularly, of thirty thousand pounds of silver. The archbishop answered, that he had accompted for the same already, and was acquitted thereof at the king's exchequer; and therefore would not plead or answer for the same again. Whereupon, the king commanded his barons to pass judgment upon him forthwith, for that being the king's liege-man, he refused to stand to right in his court. Accordingly, they adjudged him to be imprisoned. Which judgment was declared to him by Reginald earl of Cornwall, and Robert earl of Leicester." *(Hoved. P. 2. p. 495. n. 10.)* Pp. 15, 16. "In the year 1177, (23 Hen. II.) Alfonso king of Castile, and Sanchez king of Navarre, after great contests had between them, submitted their causes to the determination of the king of England. Each of the said kings sent their deputies ad allegandum et probandum Dominis suis, and to hear the judgment of the king of England's court in the case; and each of them likewise sent a knight furnished and equipped, according to the custom of that age, to wage duell in the king of England's court, if duell should be awarded. Hereupon, the first sunday in lent, the king came to London, and held a general council at Westminster, at which were present, Richard archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert bishop of London, Hugh bishop of Durham, Geoffrey bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Rochester, Reginald bishop of Bathe, Robert bishop of Hereford, John bishop of Norwich, Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, Roger bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Chichester, Christian bishop of Candida Casa, the bishops of St. David, St. Asaf, and Bangor, and the abbots, priors, earls, and barons of England." Pp. 18, 19. Chap. II. "Of the great officers of the king's court."—"King Henry III. in the 37th year of his reign, when he went into Gascoigne, committed the realm of England and the lands of Wales and Ireland to Alienor his queen, to be governed by her with the advice of Richard earl of Cornwall until his return from Gascoigne." *(Memor. 39. H. 3. Rot. 4. a. in Cedula.)* "And at the same time, the king left his great seal in the queen's custody, under his privy seal and the seals of Richard earl of Cornwall and others of his council; with this proviso, that if any thing which might turn to the detriment or diminution of the crown or realm, was sealed in the king's name, whilst he continued out of the realm, with any other seal but that, it should be utterly void." *Pat. 37. H. 3. m. 8.* Pp. 68, 69. Chap. III. "Of the judicature of the king's court."—"William de Bocland sheriff of Cornwall, being amerced at xxx*l.* for making a default of six days in his accompt; the same was remitted to him by writ of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, chief justicier, by vertue of the king's writ

de ultra mare." *(Mag. Rot.* 7. *R.* 1. *Rot.* 16. *a. Buk. & Bedef.)* P. 85. "In the 28th year, and other following years of Henry II. several other persons had pleas in the king's court, as hereafter mentioned: to wit, Alured son of Ranulf had leave to accord touching a duell with Osbert Seamen; Ralf the archdeacon had judgment given for him in the king's court, whereby he was acquitted of a misdemeanor, upon which he had been outlawed, and had been forced by earl Reginald to appeal to his father." *(Mag. Rot.* 28. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 7. *a. Cornub.)* P. 104. "In the 20th year of K. Henry II. there were justices errant for pleas of the crown and common pleas, and for imposing or setting the assizes or tallages upon the king's demeans: Justice of the forest in most of the counties, Alan de Nevill. In the 21st year of K. Henry II. there were justices errant for pleas of the crown and common pleas, and for imposing or setting the tallages: in Devonshire, William de Lamvallei and Thomas Basset. *(Mag. Rot.* 5. *b. Devenes.)* Justice of the forest in most of the counties, Alan de Neville. In the 22d year of K. Henry II. there were justices errant for pleas of the crown and common pleas, and imposing or setting the assizes: in Cornwall, Ralf Fitz-Stephen, William Ruffus, and Gilbert Pipard. *(Ib. Rot.* 10 *b. Cornub.)* Justices of the forest, Alan de Neville and his companions. In the 23d year of K. Henry II. the justices errant in Devonshire were, William de Lanval. and Thomas Basset; Ralf Fitz-Stephen, Gilbert Pipard, and William Ruffus, and Turstine Fitz-Simon: in Cornwall, Ralf Fitz-Stephen, William Rufus, and Gilbert Pipard. *(Ib. Rot.* 1. *b. Cornub.)* In the 24th year of K. Henry II. justices errant for pleas of the crown and common pleas: in Cornwall, Ralf Fitz-Stephen and his companions. *(Ib. Rot.* 1. *b. Cornub.)* In the 25th year of K. Henry II. justiciers itinerant for pleas of the crown and common pleas: in Cornwall, Thomas Fitz-Bernard (but I think he was justice itinerant for the forest.) *(Ib. Rot.* 8. *a.)* In the 26th year of K. Henry II. justiciers itinerant for pleas of the crown and common pleas: in Cornwall, Richard the Treasurer, Robert de Witefield, Nicholas Fitz-Turold, and their fellows." *(Ib. Rot.* 7. *b. Cornub.)* Pp. 123, 125, 126, 128, 129, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139. "In the 15th year of K. Henry II. Justice of the forest this year, in all or most of the counties in England, Alan de Neville. *(In Mag. Rot. præd. anni.* 15. *passim.)* In the 16th year of K. Henry II. Justice of the forest Alan de Neville. In the reign of K. Stephen, justices itinerant, to hear and determine criminal and civil pleas, in Cornwall, Robert Arundel and his companions. *(Ib. Rot.* 16. *b. Cornualia.)* In or about the 12th year of Henry II. Alan de Neville was justicer of the forest in all or most of the counties of England. In the 14th year of K. Henry II. Alan de Neville was a justice of the forest. In Cornwall, amerciaments were set by the king: viz. Margaret, the wife of Warine de Penpol was amerced L*s.* for a disseisin, and three other persons their respective sums." *Ib. Rot.* 12. *b. Cornubia.* Chap. VI. "Of the Business of the Exchequer. Henry de Heriz made a feoffment of certain land to Richard de Trekarle, before the barons of the Exchequer." *(Mag. Rot.* 3. *J. Rot.* 14. *b. Cornewallia.)* Chap. VII. "Of the Exchequer of the Jews." "King Henry III. borrowed of Richard earl of Cornwall five thousand marks sterling; and, for securing the repayment thereof, assigned and set-over all his Jews of England to the said earl; and bound them to pay the earl three thousand marks which they owed to the king, at certain terms or days, under pain of forfeiting five hundred pounds for every default of payment; and gave the earl power to destrain them by their chattells and bodies for the same." *(Pat.* 39. *H.* 3. *m.* 13.) P. 230, Chap. X. "Of some notable Parts or Branches of the Crown-Revenue." "As to relief. In the 5th year of K. Stephen, Walter Hait fined in v. marks of silver, for relief of his father's land." *(Mag. Rot.* 5. *Steph. Rot.* 16. *b. Cornualia.)* P. 315. "Henry de Bloio gave Lxx. marks, to have a fee of seven knights' in Cornwall, which was his father Alan's; and for relief of half a knight's fee, which his father held of the fee of Henry de Tilli." *Mag. Rot.* 6. *J. Rot.* 4. *a Cornubia.* P. 317. "Another branch of the crown revenue consisted of the ferms of the counties of the realm (when they were letten to ferm) or the issues of the custody of them, in case they were put into custody. In the reign of K. Stephen, most if not all the counties were let at ferm. Geoffrey de Furnell, was fermour of Devonshire and Cornwall." *(Ib. Rot.* 16. *b.)* Pp. 326, 327, 328. "There was a casual revenue which accrued to the king several ways. The sheriff of Cornwall accounted for xxvi*l.* xiii*s.* iiij*d.* for the wreck of a ship lost off the isle of Sully. *Mag. Rot.* 33. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 11. *b. Cornualia.*" Pp. 342, 343. And the sheriff of Cornwall answered for the chattels of fugitives, &c. &c. Willelmus de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia debet iiij*s.* & xj*d.* per manus Alani de Hertiland, de catallis Andreæ fugitivi; Hugo Bardolf debet iiij*s.* de catallis Ricardi & Adæ fugitivorum. (*Mag. Rot*, 4. *J. Rot.* 12. *b. Cornewallia.*" P. 345. "It was usual to attorn sheriffs or accountants to pay money to persons to whom the king was indebted. The king assigned seven-score pounds arising out of the issues of the *Iters*, to Richard King of Almaigne in part-payment of a greater sum by him lent to the king." *(Ib.*

Rot. 5. a.) P. 384. "Richard Hywysh, sheriff and steward of Cornwall, was commanded by a writ of the Exchequer, to pay out of the issues of his sherifwick and stewardship, and out of the coinage of tinn, cclxxij*l.* xiiijs. iiij*d.* ob. to Antony di Pessaigne of Janua, for so much which the king owed him." (*Hil. Brevia. Irret.* 9. *E.* 2. *Rot.* 161. *a.* P. 386. Chap. XI. "Of Fines and Amerciaments." "Robert de Cardinan gave x. marks, that he might have a market at Lestwithiel. Robertus de Cardinan debet x. marcas, pro habendo foro apud Lostwetell. [*Mag. Rot.* 6. *R.* 1. *Rot.* 12. *a. m.* 2. *Cornuwalia.*] And many towns and persons at various times, in the reigns of KK. Richard and John, fined in various sums, for grants and confirmations of divers sorts of liberties, franchises and exemptions." P. 399. Among which were the men of Helston. "Homines de Helleston, r. c. de xl. marcis & j. palefrido, computatis in illis xx. marcis & j. palefrido prius promissis, pro habenda carta regis quod burgus de Helleston sit liber burgus, & quod burgenses ejus [dem] habeant gildam mercatoriam, & quietantiam per totam terram regis de teloneo, pontagio, stallagio, & lestagio, & sullagio; salvis, in omnibus, libertatibus, civitatis Londoniæ: Et pro habendis alijs libertatibus quæ in carta illa continentur." [*Ib. Rot.* 14. *b. Cornewallia.*] "The men of Cornwall: Homines Cornubiæ r. c. de MM. & CC. marcis pro xx palefridis, palefrido computato pro x. marcis, pro deafforestanda tota cornubia, & cæteris quæ in carta inde eis facta continentur; ut sint inde quieti de omnibus placitis & attachiamentis forestæ & forestariorum præteritis; et ut possint habere vicecomites de Suis, ita quod eligant de melioribus comitatus sui, & præsentent regi, qui eligat de præsentatis quem voluerit, et ille sit vicecomes quamdiu bene servierit, et si non bene servierit ammoveatur & substituatur ei alius per regem de eodem comitatu, si idoneus in comitatu inveniatur, & si ibi inventus non fuerit, rex eis debit aliunde vicecomitem, talem qui non habeat eos odio & qui eos bene tractet; et pro amovendo le moteier quo uti solebant in placitis suis; sicut continetur in carta regis quam inde habent: Termini ad Scaccarium Paschæ anni vj. CC. marcæ, ad festum S. Michaelis CC. & L. marcæ, et ita de Scaccario ad Scaccarium quousq; duo millia marcarum persolvantur; quibus persolutis ad duo proxima Scaccaria sequenda, reddent CC. marcas pro palefridis; in thesauro CCC. & xx*l.* et debent M. & xxxiij*l.* & vj*s.* & viij*d.* & CC. marcas pro palefridis. *Ib. Rot.* 4. *a. Cornewallia.*" Pp. 405. 406. "The men of Launceston: Homines de Lancaueton r. c. de v. marcis, per sic quod mercatum de Lancaueton, quod solet esse per diem dominicam, fiat per diem Jovis. *Mag. Rot.* 7. *J. Rot.* 1. *a. Cornewallia.*" P. 407. "The men of Cornwall: Nova oblata: finis inde debuit intrare in rotulo sequenti, quia non est de hoc anno x° sed de anno sequenti: Homines de Cornubia debent D. marcas, pro habendo vicecomite qui eos juste deducat; et CC. marcas, ut rex remittat eis malivolentiam suam: Set ista debita conprehensa sunt in fine subscripto: Idem homines reddunt compotum de M. & CCC. marcis, conputatis in fine isto supradictis DCC. marcis, quod rex constituat eis vicecomitem de se ipsis, et talem qui omnino sit residens in hoc comitatu, ita quod ipse eorum sit vicecomes quamdiu regi placuerit & ei bene servierit, et cum rex vicecomitem illum amovere voluerit, alius de se ipsis sub eadem forma eis præficiatur, et quod ipse vicecomes si forisfecerit, non per comitatum vel per judicium comitatus, per se ipsum de suo id regi emendet; et pro habenda inde carta regis: Termini, ad Scaccarium Paschæ anni sequentis CC. & L. marcæ, et ad Scaccarium sequens post CC. & L. marcæ, et ad quodlibet Scaccarium post CC. marcæ; in thesauro CC. & iij. marcæ, et debent M. & quarter xx. & xvij. marcas. *Mag. Rot.* 10. *J. Rot.* 12. *b. Cornubia.*" P. 410. "The bishop of Exeter, and the barons, knights, and all others of the county of Cornwall gave D. marks, that the king would appoint them a sheriff from among themselves, and to have quitance of the carucage lately assessed in England. The bishop of Exeter, and the barons, knights, and all others of the county of Cornwall gave M. and CCC. marks, for deafforestation and other liberties granted to them by the charter of K. John; of this fine, the bishop was to pay C. & xxxix*l.* and other persons their several quotas. Episcopus Exoniensis barones, milites & omnes de comitatu Cornubiæ r. c. de D. marcis, ut rex constituat eis vicecomitem ex ipsis; & pro quietantia carrucagij nuper assisi in Anglia: in thesauro CCC. & vj*l.* & xij*s.* & vj*d.* et debent xxvj*l.* xiiij*s.* & ij*d.* [*Mag. Rot.* 6. *H.* 3. *Rot.* 9. *b. Cornub.*] Episcopus Exoniensis, barones, milites, & omnes de comitatu Cornubiæ r. c. de M. & CCC. marcis de fine suo, pro deafforestatione & alijs libertatibus eis concessis per cartam regis J. patris regis: In thesauro C. & xvij*l.* & x*s.* et debent DCC. & xlix*l.* & ij*s.* & iiij*d.* [*Ib. Rot.* 9. *b. Cornub.*] Episcopus Exoniæ, barones, & milites, & omnes de comitatu Cornubiæ, debent CC. & quater xx. & xviij*l.* & vj*d*, pro deafforestatione Cornubiæ, sicut continetur in rotulo sexto: De quibus prædictus episcopus debet eos adquietare de C. & xxxix*l.* & xvij*s.* iij*d.* ob.; & respondet in Devonia: Et Reginaldus de Valle torta de C. & xxxiij*l.* & v*s.* & iiij*d*,; & respondet in Devonia; Et Willelmus Brivere de xxv*l.* & vij*s.* & x*d.* ob. quos recepit, per inquisitionem inde factam; & respondet in Devonia; et alij quieti

sunt. *Mag.* Rot. 11. *H.* 3. Rot. 1. *a.*" P. 414. Chap. XII. "Of Fines touching Law Proceedings." "Tierric son of Roger Filiol fined in x. marks of silver, to have right for his inheritance. Tierricus filius Rogeri Filioli debet x. marcas argenti, ut habeat rectum de hæreditate sua; et Adeliz de Dunestanvilla est inde plegia. [*Mag.* Rot. 2. *b.*] Thus too Ralf de Morsell; [Radulfus de Morsell, r. c. de iiij*l.* pro recto de terra quam clamat de Roberto de Baenetona. *Ib.* Rot. 16. *a Devenescira.*] Edmund, and Payn, and Helgot. Edmundus, & Paganus, et Helgotus homines Willelmi fillij Ricardi, reddunt compotum de x. marcis argenti, pro recto de hæreditate sua. *Ib.* Rot. 16. *b. Cornuallia.*" P. 425. "Thus Reginald de Ebrois; Raginaldus filius Roberti de Ebrois debet x. marcas argenti, & L. marcas argenti de proficuo, pro recto de terra patris sui. *Ib.* Rot. 16. *b. Cornuallia.*" P. 426. "Adam Blund, of Bodmine, fined in ij. marks, that there might be a duell between him and Walter de Stolde, for CC. pieces of tin, which Walter said that Adam had stolen from him. Adam Blundus de Bomine, r. c. de ij. marcis, pro habendo duello inter ipsum & Walterum de Stolde, de CC. frustis stanni quæ idem Adam ei furatus est ut dicit: In th. l. Et Q. e. *Mag.* Rot. 6. *H.* 3. Rot. 9. *b. Cornub.*" P. 445. "Several persons fined respectively in a third part of the debt due to them, to have process of law in order to recover their said debt. Ricardus de Lancell, debet tertiam partem xx. marcarum quas Henricus filius Willelmi ei dedit de concordia inter eos facta coram rege, ut Henricus distringatur ad illas ei reddendas. *Ib.* Rot. 12. *b. Cornewallia.*" P. 453. "Sampson of Cornwall. Sampson de Cornubia debet terciam partem de xv marcis, pro justiciando Rogero filio Waldeth ad reddendum ei illas xv. marcas. *Mag.* Rot. 5. *H.* 3. Rot. 1. *b.*" P. 454. Chap XIII. "Of Fines of divers Sorts." "William Fitz-Richard gave xlvj. marks and a palfrey, to have his land, and for his relief, and that he might marry whom he pleased. Willelmus filius Ricardi filij Ricardi, r. c. de xlvj. marcis & j. palefrido, pro habenda terra sua, & de relevio suo, & ut possit se maritare cui voluerit. *Mag.* Rot. 6. *H.* 3. *Rot.* 2. *Cornub.*" Pp. 465, 460. "The wife of Hugh de Nevill fined in CC. hens that she might lie with her husband one night. Uxor Hugonis de Nevill dat domino regi ducentas gallinas, eo quod possit jacere una nocte cum domino suo Hugone de Nevill." *Rot. Fin.* 6. *J. m.* 8. *dorso.* P. 471. "Peter de Perariis gave xx. marks for leave to salt fishes as Peter Chivalier used to do, viz. xx. marks for the 5th year, and xx marks for the 6th year of K. Henry III. Petrus de Perariis r. c. de xx. marcis, pro licentia salliendi pisces sicut Petrus Chivalier sallire solebat, sicut continetur in rotulo xij. de anno præterito; Et de xx. marcis pro eodem de hoc anno: In th. l, et Q. e. *Mag.* Rot. 6. *H.* 3. Rot. 9. *b. Cornub.*" P. 472. "Reginald de Tewaden gave xx. marks, to have his land and inheritance, that he might not abjure the realm, he having undergone the judgment of the hot iron. Reginaldus de Tewaden debet xx marcas, pro habenda terra sua & hæreditate, et ut non abjuret terram Domini regis, quia tulit judicium calidi ferri. *Ib.* Rot. 12. *a. Cornuwalia.* William de Thievespathe gave vj*l.* and odd, for the same; he having likewise undergone the judgment of the hot iron. Willelmus de Thievespathe, r. c. de xj*l.* & xvj*s.* & viij*d.* pro habenda terra sua & hæreditate, et ut non abjuret terram domini regis, quia tulit judicium calidi ferri. *Mag.* Rot, 9. R. 1. Rot. 1. *a. Cornuwallia.*" Pp. 483, 484. "Peter Burdun gave lx. marks and a palfrey, for seisin of his land of Penros. Petrus Burdun r. c. de lx. marcis, & j. palefrido, pro habenda saisina de terra de Penros, quam comes Reginaldus dedit patri suo. *Mag.* Rot. 3. *J.* Rot. 14. *b. Cornewallia.*" P. 486. "William de Boterels to have seisin of his lands. Willelmus de Boterellis r. c, de quater xx. marcis, pro habenda saisina terræ quæ fuit Willelmi de Boterellis patris sui, quæ eum contingit jure hæreditario: In th. l, et Q. e. *Mag.* Rot. 6. *H.* 3. Rot. 9. *b. Cornub.*" P. 492. "Urvoy de Cahull fined in lxxiiij*s.* Uruoius de Cahul & Willelmus de Brai, r. c. de l. xxiiij*s.* ut possint replegiari. *Ib.* Rot. 7. *a. Cornualia.*" P. 493. Chap. XIV. "Of Amerciaments.—When general amercements were set upon hundreds, towns, &c. for murders, or such like, so much thereof as was charged upon lands within that hundred, town, &c. which the king held in demaine, was discharged of course. Richard de Luci was charged with xiiij*s.* ij*d.* being amercements of former years for murders. But he was acquitted thereof, because they fell upon the king's demeane-lands. Et idem vicecomes [Ricardus de Luci] r. c. de xiij*s.* & ij*d.* de veteribus murdris. Super dominia regis remanserunt, et Q. e. *Mag.* Rot. 2. *H.* 2. Rot. 3. *a.*" P. 539. "In respect of murders or manslaughter, amercements were set upon Odo son of Alsi, and others. Odo filius Alsi debet lx*s.* pro occisione filiorum Tochi. Oliver de Cail and others fine pro eodem occisione. *Ib.* Rot. 16. *b. Cornualia.*" P. 543. "Robert Franceis, for hanging a robber unjustly. Robertus Franceis r. c. de xx*s.* quia pependit latronem injuste. *Mag.* Rot. 14. *H.* 2. Rot. 9. *b. Devenesc.* Malger

de St. Albin, for seizing a wreck without warrant from the justicier. Malgerus de S. Albino, r. c. de dimidia marca, quia saisivit Wrecceum sine justicia. *Ib. Rot.* 9. *b.*" P. 558. "The burgesses of Toteneis were amerced v. marks, for their gild [set-up] without warrant. Burgenses de Toteneis, r. c. de v. marcis, pro gilda sine waranto. *Mag. Rot.* 26. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 7. *a. Devenesc.* Radulfus Dives, de Lideford, r. c. de v. marcis de misericordia, pro gilda sine waranto in eadem villa. Colbern, r. c. de v. marcis, pro eodem. Eggulf, r. c. de iij. marcis, pro eodem. *Ib. juxt.* The burgesses of Bodmine for the like. Burgenses de Bodmine, r. c. de *Cs* pro falso dicto suo, et pro gilda sua sine warranto. *Ib. Rot.* 7. *b. Cornubia.*" P. 562, 563. "Robert, the official of Lanette, Amand the parson, and Anger the dean, for hunting in the forest. Robertus Officialis de Lanette debet iiij marcas, quia venatus est in foresta; Amandus Persona debet *Cs.* pro eodem; Angerus Decanus debet j. marcam pro eodem. *Ib. Rot.* 12, *b. Cornubia, tit. De placitis forestæ.*" P. 566. Chap. XV. "Of the Revenue arising by Aids.—In Cornwall and Devonshire, earl Reginald (amongst others) was charged with CCxv. marks, iiij*s.* v*d.* for his knight's fees in those two counties. Comes Reginaldus debet CC. & xv. marcas et iv*s.* et v*d.* de militibus suis in Cornubia et Devonia. *Mag. Rot.* 14. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 9. *a Devonia tit.* De auxilio Matildæ filiæ regis." P. 575. "In the 23d year of Henry II. an aid was assessed by Ralf Fitz-Stephen and his companions justices errant on the burghs towns and men in Cornwall. It was paid thus. Lanzaventon paid iiij. marks, Helleston iiij. marks, Winielton one mark, Carneton iiij. marks, Bloiston one mark, Clemeston xx*s.* Carwinton iij. marks, Ailward son of Seric vij. marks, Roger de Scaccis iiij marks, Alan de Helleston xx. marks. De auxilio burgorum et villarum et hominum de Cornubia, per Radulfum filium Stephani et Socios suos: Idem Eustachius [filius Stephani, *the Sheriff.*] r. c. de iiij. marcis de auxilio de Lanzauenton, et de iiij. marcis de auxilio de Helleston, et de j. marca de auxilio de Winielton, et de iiij. marcis de auxilio de Carneton, et de j. marca de auxilio de Bloiston, et de xxs. de auxilio de Clemeston, et de iij. marcis de auxilio de Carwinton, et de vij. marcis de Ailwardo filio Serici, et de iiij marcis de auxilio Rogerij de Scaccis; summa, xxj*l.* in thesauro liberavit in x. tallijs, et Q. e. Alanus de Helleston r. c. de xx. marcis de eodem auxilio; in th. l. et q. e. Idem Eustachius debet x. marcas de auxilio de Dorcestria. *Mag. Rot.* 23. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 1. *b. Cornub.* In or about the 24th year of King Henry II. an aid was paid to the crown out of the lands of earl Richard in Devonshire. [Willelmus filius Stephani, r. c. de C. et xxv*l.* et xiiij*s.* et xj*d.* et ij. bizancijs de terra comitis Ricardi in Devenescira. *Mag. Rot.* 24. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 1. *b.*] It was assessed by the king's justiciers upon earl Richard's demeanes in that county; and answered by the towns of Plumton, Plumland, Tiverton, Huneton, and other towns. De assisa dominiorum comitis Ricardi quæ requirebatur in Devenescira, per Willelmum Ruffum, & Radulfum filium Stephani, & Turstinum filium Simonis: Idem vicecomes, r. c. de xl*s.* de auxilio de Plumton, et de ij. marcis de auxilio de Plumplanda, et de xx*s.* de auxilio de Lega, et de lx*s.* de auxilio de Tuiverton, et de ij. marcis & dim. de auxilio de Huneton, et de dimidia marca de auxilio de Culinton, et de dimidia marca de auxilio de Exeministra, et de dimidia marca de auxilio de Topesham; summa x*l.* in thesauro liberavit in viij. tallijs, et quietus est. *Ib. Rot. i. b. in imo.*" Pp. 604, 305. "Isabella de Bolebec fined in CCC. marks and iij. palfreys, that she might not be destreined to marry, and hat if she would marry, it should be with the king's assent, &c. and that she might have a reasonable aid of all her knights and free tenants, to enable her to pay this fine. Ysebella de Bolebec debet CCC. marcas & iij. palefridos, ne distringatur ad se maritandam; et si se maritare voluerit, hoc fiat per assensum regis; & ut rex warantizet eam versus omnes dominos suos, ne aliquis eorum ipsam distringere possit ad se maritandam; & pro habendo hoc quod aretro est de rationabili parte sua quæ eam contingit versus Sororem suam, sicut illud habere debet; et pro habendo rationabili auxilio de omnibus militibus et libere tenentibus suis ad finem istum acquietandum. *Mag. Rot.* 9. *J. Rot.* 18. *a. Devenescira. tit. Nova oblata.* Chap. XVI. "Of the Revenue arising by Scutage or Escuage."—"Richard de Okbeare brother and heir of Roger de Okbeare held the fourth part of the manour of Rillaton, in Cornwall, of the king *in capite*, as of the earldom (or county) of Cornwall then being in the king's hands, by the following services; and paid his relief for the same. Cornubia. Ricardus de Okbeare frater & hæres Rogeri de Okbeare dat domino regi xij*s.* v j*d.* de relevio suo de omnibus terris & tenementis quæ dictus Rogerus tenuit de rege in capite die quo obijt, & et pro quibus dictus Ricardus fecit regi fidelitatem, sicut continetur in originalibus de anno octavo regis nunc, videlicet de quarta parte manerij de Rillaton, quam dictus Rogerus tenuit de rege in capite, ut de comitatu Cornubiæ in manu regis existente, per servicium duorum solidorum et per servicium faciendi sectam ad Curiam de Rillaton de mense in mensem, & inveniendi unum hominem quolibet quarto anno ad intendendum Ballivo dicti manerij ad levanda debita de placitis

& perquisitis curiarum, sicut prædictus Ricardus recognovit. Sed dicit prædictus Ricardus, quod Ricardus de Polhampton nuper senescallus Cornubiæ levavit dictos xiis. vjd. de relevio, &c. *And so it was found in* Richard de Polhampton's *account* de exitibus senescalciæ prædictæ de anno viij°. *Pas. Fines, &c.* 9, *E.* 2. *Rot.* 113. *b.*" Pp. 623, 624. "Some knight's fees were remarkably small. Such for instance, were the fees of the honour of Moreton, which were commonly called the *parva feoda Moritoniæ*, and paid less for escuage than the generality of other fees. I think, some fees of the honour of Aquila were of the same sort. The knights of earl Reginald in Cornwall and Devon were charged according to the proportion of escuage which was demandable from the fees of Moreton. De scutagio Cornubiæ ad redemptionem domini regis: Idem vicecomes r. c. de C. & xxxiiij*l.* xj*s.* viij*d.* de scutagio CC. & xv. militum & tertiæ partis j. militis de honore comitis Reginaldi in Cornubia & Devonia, qui reddunt scutagium ad foeda Moritoniæ; in thesauro, &c. *Mag.* Rot. 6 R. 1. *Rot.* 12. *a. Cornuwalia.*" P. 649. Chap. XVII. "Of the revenue arising by Tallage.—Hugh de Raley, sheriff of Devonshire, accounted for iiij*l.* iiij*s.* the Danegeld of earl Reginald. Et idem vicecomes [Hugo de Ralea] r. c. de iiij*l.* iiij*s.* de Danegeldo comitis Reginaldi; in th. l. et q. e. *Mag. Rot.* 9. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 1. *b. Devenescira.*" P. 691. "In the reign of K. John, a tallage was made or set upon the towns in Cornwall, by G. bishop of Winchester and his companions; [Tallagium factum per G. Wintoniensem & Socios suos: Idem vicecomes r. c. de xviij*s.* de villata de Helleston, et de lx*s.* de villata de Carenton, et de vj*s.* de villata de Wireton, et de vij*s.* de villata de Merethin, et de xv*s.* de villata de Arwothel, et de x*s.* de villata de Bleiston, et de xxxvij*s.* & iij*d.* de burgo de Helleston, et de ij. marcis de burgo de Lancaueton, in thesauro liberavit in viij. talijs, et quietus est. Villata de Tewiton debet v*s.* de taillagio. Galfridus de Mandevill nepos Elyæ r. c. de dimidia marca quia retraxit se. *Mag.* Rot. 1. *J. Rot.* 14. *a. Cornewallia.*] and by master Michael Belet, and Robert Belet, and their companions. Taillagium factum per magistrum Michaelem Belet, & Robertum Belet, & socios suos: Idem vicecomes r. c. de xl*l.* & vj*s.* & viij*d.* de taillagio villarum quorum nomina & debita annotantur in rotulo quem prædicti liberaverunt in thesauro: In thesauro liberavit in xiiij. tallijs, et quietus est. Heneton & Tamerton r. c. de v. marcis de eodem taillagio. Item nova oblata, &c. *Mag. Rot.* 1. *J.* Rot. 14. *a. Cornewallia.*" Pp. 733, 734. "It was granted to the tinners of Cornwall; [Baronibus, pro Stannatoribus com. Cornubiæ.] *That they were to be quit of Tallages and Aids. (Ib. Rot.* 36. *b.)* and to several lords of manors and towns. K. Henry III. granted, that all those who were *cruce signati* for the Holy Land, at the time when the last great tallage was assessed, whether they made peregrination or not, and were once ready to make their peregrination; and the heirs of such *cruce signati* as were dead, should have quittance of the said tallage." P. 748, 749. Chap. XVIII. "Of the Revenue arising by Customes.—King Stephen remitted to Richard Fitz-William x*s.* a duty payable out of Richard's land. [*de consuetudine terræ suæ.*] Et in perdonis per breve regis, Ricardo filio Willelmi x*s.* de consuetudine terræ suæ. *Mag.* Rot. 5. *Steph.* Rot. 16. *b. Cornualia.*" P. 764. "There was a custome or duty, paid to the king for wines, which was called *prisa* and *recta prisa.*" P. 765. "Besides the custome paid to the king for wines, there were other duties payable to him by merchants or traders for and in respect of their merchandises imported or exported." P. 771. "In the 6th year of K. John, William de Wroteham and others, accounted to the crown for the quinzime of merchants arising at the several ports of England except Len, from the feast of St. Margaret in the 4th year of the king, unto the feast of St. Andrew in the 6th year; which time, according to the computation of the Exchequer, began at the feast of St. Margaret in the 6th year, and lasted to the feast of St. Andrew in the 7th year: they account also for the quinzimes of the towns or ports of Exmouth, Dertmouth, Esse, Fawy." *Mag. Rot.* 6. *J. Rot.* 16. *b. post Kent.*" P. 772. "Hugh de Nevill (William de Hanton for him) accounted for Lxxij*l.* xxij*d.* the assise of woad arising at Southamton; and for CLxx*l.* xj*s.* by sundry casual profits arising at the ports of Devonshire, Cornwall, Hantshire, and Dorsetshire; out of the total whereof, the accountants were allowed (amongst other things) for the charges of arresting a ship that put in at a place which was no port." P. 773. Vol. II.—Chap. XXI. "Of the Persons who sat and acted at the Exchequer."—In the 6th year of K. Henry III. there were present at the Exchequer, the justicier, the treasurer and barons; in the 8th year of the same king, the justicier, and barons of the Exchequer. [Cornubia. Die Sanctorum Fabiani & Sebastiani, coram justiciario & alijs baronibus de Scaccario, præceptum fuit vicecomiti, quod pacem habere permittat Waltero filio Willelmi nepoti Roberti de Cardigan, de demanda xx. marcarum pro defalta justiciariorum autumpnalium. *Ex Mem.* 8. *H.* 8. *Rot.* 8. *a.*] In the 14th year of the same king, there were present at the Exchequer, before the king, H. de Burgh justicier, R. of Chester, R. of Cornwall, G. of Gloucester,

W. of Warenne, W. of Albemarle, H. of Hertford, J. of Huntendon, earls, with others of the king's barons. Consideratum est die Mercurij proximo ante purificationem B. Mariæ anno regni regis Henrici tercij xiiij. apud Westmonasterium, coram rege, per H. de Burgo justiciarium, R. Cestriæ, R. Cornubiæ, G. Gloverniæ, W. Warranæ, W. Albemarliæ, H. Hertfordiæ, J. Huntedoniæ, comites, & alios domini regis barones, tunc ibidem præsentes, quod talliæ factæ ante Guerram quæ recognitæ fuerint esse de Scaccario, & non fuerunt hucusque allocatæ, allocentur. *Hil. Commun.* 14. *H.* 3. *Rot.* 4. *b.*" P. 27. Chap. XXII. "Of the Business and Proceedings in the Exchequer.—In the 14th year of K. Henry III. Roger le Champenois was attorney for one of the parties litigant in a plea of debt depending in the Exchequer. A plea was moved in the Exchequer between the bishop of Exeter and the knights of Devonshire concerning the fine paid to the king for de-afforesting of Cornwall. Devonia. Dies datus est episcopo Exoniensi & militibus Devoniæ, de contentione inter illos mota de fine pro deafforestatione Cornubiæ, in octabis S. Johannis Baptistæ, sine essonio. *Trin. Commun.* 14. *H.* 3. *Rot.* 7. *a.*" P. 78. Chap. XXIII. "Of Accounts rendered at the Exchequer.—In the tenth year of K. Richard I. William de Wroteham accounted at the Exchequer for the ferm and issues of the mines of Devonshire and Cornwall, and for several receipts as well in money as in tin, for one whole year. Compotus Willelmi de Wroteham de firma & exitu minariæ de Devenescira et de Cornubia, et de pluribus receptis tam in denarijs quam in Stanno, de anno integro. *Mag. Rot.* 10. *R.* 1. *Rot.* 12. *b.* In the 14th year of K. John, William de Wrotham accounted for CC. marks the ferm of the stannary of Cornwall, for the 13th and 14th years of that king; and for CC*l.* the ferm of the stannary of Devonshire for the same space of time; and for Dxlij*l.* vs. for the marks proceeding from the tin of Cornwall and Devon for the 13th year, and for DCLxviij*l.* xij*s*, ix*d.* for the like for the 14th year. Willelmus de Wroteham, r. c. de CC. marcis, de firma staminis Cornubiæ de anno præterito & de hoc anno: Et de CC. libris, de firma staminis Devoniæ de prædicto tempore. Et de D & xlij*l.* & vs. de marcis provenientibus de stanno Cornubiæ & Devoniæ de anno præterito. Et de DC. & Lxviij*l.* xij*s.* ix*d*, de hoc anno. Summa, M. & D, & xliij*l.* & iiij*s.* & x*d.* *Mag. Rot.* 14. *J. Rot.* 8. *b, post Devenesciram.*" P. 132. "King John, by letters patent, constituted William de Botterells sheriff of Cornwall for so long as he should serve the king well in that office; and commanded the men of that county to be intendant to him as sheriff. Rex, &c. omnibus hominibus Cornubiæ, &c. Sciatis quod constituimus Willelmum de Boterell, Vicecomitem Cornubiæ quamdiu ipse nobis bene servierit. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ei tanquam vicecomiti meo sitis intendentes. T. &c. G. filio Petri &c. v. die Aprilis, anno r. n. v. *Pat.* 5. *J. m.* 2." P. 139. "The Corpus Comitatus consisted of several manors and lands, which being letten or committed together unto the sheriff, made the fund out of which the annual ferm to the crown arose. Those manors and lands were such as lay within the sheriff's county. It was so in general. But (I cannot tell by what accident) there were anciently certain manors lying in Cornwall, which belonged to the ferm of Devonshire. For example: In the 5th year of Henry II. [Et in terris datis comiti Reginaldo C. & xxij*l.* & x*s.* Bl. de manerijs quæ pertinent ad firmam de Devenescira. *Mag. Rot.* 5. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 6. *a Devenesc.*] In the 18th year of the same king, [*Mag. Rot.* 18. *H.* 2. *Rot.* 7. *b.* Devenesc.] in the 7th year of king Richard I. [*Mag. Rot.* 7. *Ric.* 1. *Rot.* 10. *a.*] and in the tenth year of K. Edward I. Devonia. Thomas de Pyn, r. c. de CCCxij*l.* & vij*s.* Bl. de firma comitatus; in thesauro: Et in maneriis Cornubiæ quæ pertinent ad firmam comitatus, Cxxij*l.* & x*s.* Bl. De quibus vicecomes Cornubiæ respondere consuevit, dum comitatus fuit in manu regis; *and in other deductions. Mag. Rot.* 10. *E.* 1. *Devonia, m.* 1. *a.*" P. 162. "If the sheriff or other accountant was to have any sum allowed or discounted to him upon his account, such allowance or discount was usually made per warrantum, to wit, either by virtue of the king's writ in that behalf (which was the most usual way) or by writ or award of the chief justicier, or of some other justicier or baron, or of the treasurer. Allowance was to be made, by virtue of the king's writ, to William Briewerre. Willelmus Briewerre r. c. de xx. marcis pro homagijs & servitiis Roberti del Estre. In thesauro nichil, et in perdonis ipsi Willelmo CC. marcas, per breve regis quod attulit de computandis CCL. marcis in quocumq; debitorum suorum vellet; et q. c. *Mag. Rot.* 6. *J. Rot.* 4. *a. Cornewallia.*" Pp. 199, 200. "William de Briewerre, sheriff of Cornwall, had a surplusage of Lxxviij*s.* due to him upon his account for the same county. Willelmus des Boterels reddit compotum de — de firma Cornubiæ: idem reddit compotum de eodem debito: In thesauro nichil; et in superplusagio quod Willelmus Briewerre habet In anno præterito in firma de Cornewallia Lxxviij*s.*; quos ipse Wilelmus attornavit ad reddendos per vicecomitem, coram baronibus. *Mag. Rot.* 6. *Joh. Rot.* 4, *a tit.* Cornewallia." P. 232. "William de Bocland, sheriff of

Cornwall was amerced at xxx*l.* for the default of six days, in not coming to the Exchequer, as he was summoned. Idem vicecomes [debet] xxx*l.* de misericordia, pro defalta vj. dierum quibus non venit ad Scaccarium, sicut summonitus fuit. *Ib. Rot.* 7. *a. Cornualia. Willelmus de Bochlanda Vic.*" "If the king's debtor was a clergyman, and had no lay-fee whereby he might be distreined, writs were wont to issue to the bishop of the diocese, commanding him to distrein such debtor by his ecclesiastical benefices. Many of these writs had in them a clause importing, that if the bishop failed to make due execution, the king would cause the debt to be levied on the bishop's barony. Sometimes these writs of distringas were directed to the bishop's official. The bishop of Exeter was commanded to distrein John Wake by his ecclesiastical benefice, to render to the king a debt of xl*l.* or in default of executing the distringas, the king would betake himself to the bishop's barony. Episcopo Exoniensi. Rex eidem; quia Johannes Wak non habet laicum feodum per quod possit distringi--; Vobis mandamus, sicut pluries, quod distringatis ipsum per ecclesiasticum beneficium, ad reddendum nobis prædictum debitum —: Alioquin sciatis quod præceperimus vicecomiti Devoniæ, quod illud capiat de baronia vestra. Teste, &c. *Ex Memor.* 28. *H.* 3. *Rot.* 7. *a.* A plures distringas issued. The bishop failed in executing it. Whereupon the sheriff was commanded by writ to levy the xl*l.* on the bishop's chattels, and to have the money at the Exchequer on such a day: because, saith the writ, by the assize of our Exchequer, and custom of our realm, we may betake us to the bishop's barony, when upon our command, he doth not distrein the clerks of his diocese to pay the debts which they owe to us. Devon. Rex, vicecomiti; pluries mandavimus per literas, W. Exoniensi episcopo, quod distringeret Johannem Wak per ecclesiasticum beneficium, ad reddendum nobis xi*l.* quas nobis debet pro habenda gratia, eo quod dictus Johannes non habet laicum feodum per quod possit ad hoc distringi. Et quia dictus episcopus mandatum nostrum non est executus, tibi præcipimus, quod de catallis prædicti episcopi in balliva tua facias prædictas xl*l.* ita quod eas habeas ad Scaccarium nostrum in crastino —— per aliquem de tuis; quia per assisam Scaccarij nostri & consuetudinem regni nostri possumus nos capere ad baroniam suam, cum ad mandatum nostrum non distringit clericos episcopatus sui ad debita in quibus nobis tenentur nobis reddenda; et distringas prædictum episcopum quod venire facias coram prædictis baronibus ad eundem diem aliquem de suis, qui nobis possit respondere de carucagio terrarum suarum. quod nobis debet sicut nobis constat per rotulos Scaccarij nostri; et habeas, &c. *Memor.* 28. *H.* 3. *Rot.* 10. *b.*" P. 249. "At another time, the bishop of Exeter was commanded by several writs to destrein Oliver de Tracy by his ecclesiastick benefice. The bishop had failed to execute those writs. The sheriff of Devonshire was ordered to levy the money due to the king from Oliver on the goods of the bishop's barony. The distress in these cases was (as I take it) by way of sequestration. And when by sequestring the issues of the benefice, or by other means the king's debt was secured, then the sequestration was released. So it was in the case of John Wak. He was indebted to the king in lx. marks. The king by his writ commanded the bishop of Exeter to distrein him by his ecclesiastical benefices. The bishop distreined him in SEVEN SEVERAL BENEFICES, and received out of the profits thereof the sum of Lviij. marks and xl*d.* and John found security for the residue of his debt; whereupon the king ordered the sequestration to be released. Episcopo Exoniensi. Rex [eidem]; ostendit nobis Johannes Wak clericus, quod cum dedissemus vobis in mandatis, quod ipsum per ecclesiastica beneficia sua distringeretis, ad reddendum nobis Lx. marcas quas nobis debuit, vos de beneficijs suis recepistis usq; ad summam Lviij. marcarum et xl*d.* videlicet de ecclesia de HELLESTON ix. marcas, de eclesia Sancti BUDOCI v. marcas, de ecclesia Sancti MAWEN, v. marcas, de ecclesia de WORLEGYAN iiij. marcas, de ecclesia de Sancto CLARO xx. marcas, de ecclesia de ALVERINTON, Ls. de ecclesia de BIKBIR dimidiam marcam. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dictos denarios habeatis ad Scaccarium in crastino animarum per aliquem de vestris, alioquin præcepimus vicecomiti nostro Devoniæ quod ad solutionem prædictorum denariorum vos per catalla vestra distringat. Et quia idem Johannes fecit nos securos de reddendo nobis residuo prædicti debiti, vobis mandamus quod sequestrum prædictorum beneficiorum suorum in manus vestras factam pro prædicto debito et relaxetis. T. A. thesaurario S. Pauli Londoniæ, primo die Octobris. *Mich. Commun.* 29. *H.* 3. *Rot.* 1. *a.*" Pp. 250, 251. Chap. XXIV. "Of the Officers or Ministers of the Exchequer.—In the 38th year of K. Henry III. the sheriff of Oxfordshire was commanded to distrein the bailiffs of Richard earl of Cornwall, the abbot of Westminster, and other noblemen, to answer to the king, wherefore they do not distrein for the king's debts within their liberties, nor will permit the king's bailiffs or the sheriff to enter and destrein for the said debts. A roll containing the names of those noblemen was laid up in the chest of the king's remembrancer at the Exchequer. Oxon. Mandatum est vicecomiti, quod

3. We have seen a groupe of "worthies," brought forward chiefly as the proprietors of land. From *possessions*, we pass to *dignities*.*

venire faciat in crastino animarum, ballivos R. comitis Cornubiæ, abbatis Westmonasterij in Istlep, & aliorum magnatum quorum nomina continentur in rotulo quod est in cista memoratoris regis ad Scaccarium, ad respondendum regi de hoc quod non distringunt pro debitis regis infra libertates suas, nec permittunt ballivos regis nec vicecomitem ingredi ad distringendum pro prædictis debitis. Et habeat breve. *Memor.* 38. *H.* 3. *Rot.* 1. *b.*" Pp. 264, 265.

* With respect to coats of arms, Camden is decidedly of opinion, that these ensigns of honour were very anciently used in this realm. The arms of Condorus, the last British earl of Cornwall, were fifteen bezants, in a field sable; five, four, three, two, and one. Of the arms of the subsequent earls of Cornwall, Camden says: "Since Richard and his son Edmund were of the blood royal of England, I have often declared myself at a loss, to know how they came to bear armes different from those of the royal family; viz. "*in a field argent, a lion rampant, gules, crown'd or, within a border sable, garnish'd with bezants.*" Perhaps, they might have done it, in imitation of the royal family of France; since this way of bearing arms came to us from the French. The younger sons of the kings of France, have arms different from the crown to this day; as one may observe in the families of the *Vermandois*, the *Dreux*, and the *Courtenays*. And as Robert, duke of Burgundy, brother of Henry I. king of France, took the ancient shield of the dukes of Burgundy; so this Richard, after he had the earldom of Poictou bestowed upon him by his brother king Henry III. might probably take that *lion gules crown'd* which, as the French authors inform us, belonged to his predecessors earls of Poictou, and might add that *border sable garnish'd* with bezants out of the ancient shield of the earls of Cornwall; for, as soon as the younger sons of France began to bear the royal arms with some difference, we presently followed them: And Edward the first's children were the first instance." *Gibson's Camden*, pp. 14, 15. "That king Richard the first bare lions, appeareth by his seale, as also by these verses in Philippeidos vttered in the person of Monsieur William de Barr, readie to encounter Richard when as yet he was but earle of Poictou;

Ecce comes Pictauus agro nos prouocat, ecce
Nos ad bella vocat: rictus agnosco leonum.
Illius in clypeo, stat ibi quasi ferrea tarris,
Francorum nomen blasphemans ore proteruo.

It is cleare also by the authour of the Philipp. that Arundell bare then swallowes in his shield, as his posteritie in Cornewall doe at this day. For of him he writeth, when he was vpon the shocke with the said William de Barr:

Vidit hirundela velocior alite quæ dat
Hoc agnomen ei, fert cuius in ægide signum,
Se rapit agminibus mediis, clypeoque nitenti
Quem sibi Guillelmus læva prætenderat vlna,
Immergit validam præacutæ cuspidis hastam."

Camden's Remaines, pp. 179, 180. and *Britannia*, (*Gibson's* edit.) pp. 10, 11. We are indebted to Mr. Henniker Major, for some curious observations on armorial bearings, in "two letters on the origin, antiquity, and history of the Norman tiles." "That the Norman tiles in the monastery of S. Stephen's at Caen, (says that gentleman) were anterior to king John, is evident. At the time of the croisades a general influx of coats of arms took place. The world was mad, and every chief thought he could not act more worthily than lead his followers, however few, in an enterprize to the holy land. This producing an intercourse with the feudists, a similitude of habits, an emulation, and a greater necessity for this distinction, from the mixture of so many, and so different people, and nations, the use of coats of arms became more general, and more beneficial: And from that time crosses, escallops and other ensigns of pilgrimage, were adopted for armorial devices, to denote the valour, or the sanctity of the bearer. If the coats of arms

on these tiles were not prior to the croisades, or at least to any expedition to the holy land from Normandy, is it not probable that such bearings would be found amongst them? That some of the followers of duke William were among those whose arms are here delineated, is much more than possible. I shall insert the list of them from the Chronicon Johannis Bromton, where will be found several names of families who now continue to bear coats of arms, some similar to, others precisely the same as those ascribed to them among the tiles. Coats of arms have often varied from a new acquisition, or from the caprice of an individual of a family. A variation may also have taken place in their names during so long an interval: Nor is that to be wondered at, as the same had happened when Bromton wrote.

Vous qe desyrez assarer
Les nons de grauntz dela la mer
Qe vindrent od le conquerour
William Bastard de graunt vigour
Lours surnons issi vous devys
Com je les trouvay en escris,
Car des propres nons force n'y a
Porce q'illis sont chaunges sa et la
Come de Edmonde en Edwarde
De Baldwyn en Barnard,
De Godwyne en Godard
De Elyns en Edwyn,
Et issint de touz autres nons
Come ils sont levez du fons
Porce lours surnons qe sont usez
Et ne sont pas sovent chaungez
Vous ay escript ore escotez
Si vous oier les voylleth
Maundevyle et Daundevyle
Ounfravyle et Downfravyle
Bolvyle et Baskervyle
Evyle et Clevyle
Morevyle et Colevyle
Warbevyle et Carvyle
Botevyle et Stotevyle
Deverous et Caunvyle
Moeun et Boun
Vipoun et Vinoun
Baylon et Bayloun
Maris et Marmyoun
Agulis et Aguloun
Chaumburleyn et Chaumbersoun
Vere et Vernoun
Verdyers et Verdoun
Cryel et Cardoun
Dummer et Domoun
Hastyng et Cammois
Bardelfe Botes et Boys
Warrenne et Wardeboys
Rodoe et Deverois
Auris et Argenten
Botecour et Botevyleyn
Malebouch et Malesmeyn
Hautevyle et Hauteyn
Dauney et Dyveyn
Malure et Malvesyn
Morten et Mortimer
Braunz et Columber
Seynt *Denis* et Seynt Cler
Seynt Aubyn et Seynt Omer
Seynt Fylbert Fyens et Gomer
Turbevyle et Turbemer
Gorges et Spenser
Brus et Boteler
Crevequel et St Quinteyn
Devcrouge et St Martin
Seynt Mor et Seyn Leger
Seynt Vigor et Seynt Per
Auynel et Paynell
Peyvere et Peverell
Rivers et Rivel
Beaucham et Beaupel
Lou et Lovell
Ros et Druell
Montabours et Mountsorell
Trussebot et Trussell
Bergos et Burnell
BRAY et Boterell
Biset et *Basset*
Malevyle et MALET
Bonevyle et Bonet
Nervyle et Narbet
Coynale et Corbet
Mountayn et Mounfychet
Geynevyle et Gyffard
Say et Seward
Chary et Chaward
Pyryton et Pypard
Harecourt et Haunsard
Musegrave et Musard

Mare et Mautravers
Fernz et Ferers
Bernevyle et Berners
Cheyne et Chalers
Daundon et Daungers
Vessi Gray et Graungers
Bertram et Bygod
Traylliz et Traygod
Penbri et Pypotte
Freyn et Folyot
Dapisoun et Talbote
Sanzaver et Saunford
Vadu et *Vatorte*
Montagu et Mounford
Forneus et Fornyvaus
Valens Yle et Vaus
Clarel et Claraus
Aubevyle et Seynt Amauns
Agantez et Dragans
Malerbe et Maudut
Brewes et Chaudut
Fitzowres et Fiz de lou
Cantemor et Cantelou
Braybuffe et Huldbynse
Bolebeke et Molyns
Moleton et Besyle
Rochford et Desevyle
Watervyle et Dayvyle
Nebors et Nevyle
Hynoys Burs Burgenon
Ylebone Hyldebrond Helyon
Loges et Seint Lou
Mausbank et Seint Malou
Wake et Wakevyle
Coudree et Knovyle
Scales et Clermount
Beauvys et Beaumount
Mouns et Mountchampe
Nowers et Nowchampe
Percy crus et Lacy
Quincy et Tracy
Stokes et Somery
Sein Johan et Seint Jay
Greyle et Seynt Walry
Pynkeney et Pavely
Mohaunt et Mountchensy
Loveyn et LUCY
Artos et Arcy
Grevyle et Courcy
Arras et Cressy
Merle et Moubray
Gornay et *Courtnay*
Haustlayng et Tornay
Husee et Husay
Pounchardon et *Pomeray*
Longevyle et Longespay
Peyns et Pountlarge
Straunge et Sauvage.

Bibl. Cotton Tiber. c. xiii.

I have thought it proper to adduce the whole of this; although, as Bromton has observed, it be not a complete list, in order to shew that *some* of the coats of arms in question belong to *some* of the followers of Duke William, and to give an opportunity to any one, more conversant in antiquary knowlege than myself, to point out any other names to which others of them may refer without the trouble of turning to the original." Pp. 32.....46. The *italics* in the above list, simply mark the Norman-Cornish, or those persons to whom Cornwall seems to have some claim; The *capitals* distinguish the Norman-Cornish, whose armorial bearings are represented, I think, on the Caen-Tiles. I. "This coat, by the armorial of Normandy, belongs to the Family of BRAY. I cannot but observe that from the variation of the colour of the exterior part of the tile in order to represent the chief of the shield, it is evident that it was intended to delineate this coat in two colours only, without any attention to blazonry." Pp. 55, 56. "The head of the family is in the list of Dumoulin as having accompanied William the conqueror. They are also found in the second volume of Dugdale's baronage." P. 78. II. "Arms of MALLET DE GRAVILLE. Robert Mallet was certainly at the battle of Hastings; for we find by history, that it was to him that William entrusted the dead body of Harold. He was high chamberlain of England, and as appears by Domesday, possessed a most extensive property in different counties." Pp. 74, 75. III. "The arms of the LUCYS of Normandy, who, like those of England, bore sometimes two, and sometimes three, luces on a field, sometimes plain and sometimes charged with croslets. Richard de Lucy, lord of Gouviz, and baron of Cretot in Normandy, is mentioned in the MSS. of the Cotton Library, Tib. D. 11. among the nobility of France, and his arms are illuminated, folio 298, b. The name of this family is in almost all the Rolls of Cotton Abbey." Pp. 78, 79. "Shakespeare, in his Merry Wives of Windsor, says: "The luce is the fresh fish, the salt fish is an old coat." Tollet on this observes; "Shakespeare

"Besides the lord *Tregoyes* in the conqueror's days, (says Carew) Botreaux-castle vaunted his baron of that title."* Reginald de Dunstanville was a baron in the reign of Henry the first, and resided at Tehidy. "The lord *Bray*" is noticed by Carew.†

Looking to the highest station, we are now admitted to a view of our princes, dukes and earls. In the time of the Saxon heptarchy, and even till the reign of king Athelstan, Cornwall included all that part of Devon which was possessed by the unconquered Britons, to the westward of Exeter. The ancient dukes, or princes of

seems to frolick here in his heraldry with a design *not* to be easily understood." Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. I. P. ii. p. 615. "The arms of Geffrey de Lucy are *de gules poudre a croisil d'or a treis luz d'or.*" Steevens in his note on this subject says: "The luce is a pike or jake:

Full many a fair partrich had he in mewe,
And many a breme and many a luce in stewe."

In Ferne's blazon of gentry, 1586, quarto, "The arms of the Lucy family are represented as an instance, that signs of the coat should sometimes agree with the name." It is the coat of "Geffrey de Lucy; he did bear *gules three lucies hariant argent.*"----- Truro was in the possession of Richard de Lucy, in the reigns of Stephen and Henry the second." Robert Wace, who lived in the time of our Henry the first of England, seems to insinuate that coats of arms existed among the Normans before the conquest. When this poet describes the battle of Walesdunes, fought in 1046, on the plains lying between the city of Caen and the village of Argence, between Duke William and many of his barons, then in rebellion against him; he says that there was no baron, no man of great possessions who had not his gonfaron (standard bearer) following him, and that every one had his arms painted in a different manner.

"Mult veissiez par les grans plaignes
"Moveir conreiz et Chevetaignes
"N'i a Riche poem ni Baron
"Qui n'ait lez lui son gonfanon
"Ou gonfanon ou altre enseigne
"Ou sa maisnie se restreigne
"Connoissances et entresainz
"De plusors guises escuz painz."

* F. 63.

† "Nomina Baron. & militum ex Rotulis de feodis Militum, vel de Scutagio solutis Regi Richardo primo. In libro rubeo Scaccarii. Cornubia. Walterus Hay 20. M. per Agn. vxorem suam. Nicholaus filius Galfridi 10. M. Willi. Boterell. 12. M. Alanus Blundus 7. M. Geruasius filius Willi. 5. M. Willi. frater Comitis 4. M. Willi. filius Ric. 5. M. Rad. de Rupe 3. M. Willi. Oliuer. 1. M. Henricus de Tredeleberg. 1. M. Richardus filius Iuo. dim. M. Iohannes de Soleigny. Stephanus Flandrensis. 7. M Alanus de Dunstauill. 1. M. Rogerus Anglicus. 1. M. Regium de Valletorta 51. M. Secundum quod Lucas filius Bernardi Senescallus eius mandauit per litteras Baron. de Scaccar. in Anno sexto Regis Richardi. Robertus de Cardinan 71. M. Secundum quod Senescallus eiusdem mandauit Baron. eodem anno 6. R. 1. Galfridus de Lacell. qui habet med. feod. q. fuerunt Richard. de Lucy in hoc Com. 9. M. sicut Ric. filius Willi. Senescallus eius mandauit per breue, Anno regni regis Richardi octauo." *Carew*, f. 49, 50.

Cornwall, succeeded those kings to whom the Britons (after they had been driven by the Saxons into Wales and to the west of the Tamar) continued subject; and who were sometimes chosen out of Wales and sometimes out of Cornwall; ruling in common over both. This connexion the Welsh and Cornish retained till the year 689; when, on the death of Cadwallader, the last sole monarch of the Britons, Cornwall (still including some part of Devon) had no longer a king; and became a distinct principality from the districts into which Wales was then divided. But as each of the petty governors in Wales assumed the title of king in his own district, the rulers of the Cornish and Devonian-Britons were dignified with a similar title. In Alfred's time, the Saxons appointing an earl of Devon, seem to have given him also the title of earl of Cornwall, though Cornwall was not as yet subdued. After which, Alpsius occurs as duke of Devon and Cornwall in 901, and as continuing such after 905; and Athelstan having, in 936, entirely conquered the Cornish, and driven them beyond the Tamar; the same title (of duke of Devon and Cornwall) was given to Orgar earl of Devon, and to Edulph his son, who were Saxons. After this we meet with no more dukes, but earls of Cornwall. At the Norman conquest, Condorus‡ earl of Cornwall, was displaced by William, to make room for his half-brother Robert earl of Moretaigne.§ And the earls of Cornwall were, for the most part, of the blood-royal, for about 270 years after the conquest.‖ Among those earls, Richard king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the third, was the most famous. He was created earl of Cornwall in 1223; and in 1257, elected and crowned king of the Romans. He died in 1272, and was succeeded in the earldom by his second son Edmund. Edmund died in 1300, without issue; when this earldom reverted to the crown.*

‡ This earl died in 1090. See *Hutchins* on Domesday, p. 18.

§ Moretaigne (vulgarly Moreton) is a little city about seven leagues from Avranches.

‖ It appears by the records, that during Henry the second's reign, the barony of the earl of Cornwall comprized two hundred and fifteen knight's fees, and a third part of a fee.

* Of our princes, dukes and earls, Carew tells us a few curious anecdotes. "Nicholas Gille, (says he) a French writer deliuereth (vpon the credit of our British historians) that about this time, Meroueus, a paynim king of Fraunce, caused his owne sonne to be throwne into the fire and burned, for that he had slayne the king of Cornwall, as he returned from a feast. Hee also maketh mention of one Moigne, brother to Aurelius and Vter-pendragon, duke of Cornwall, and gouerner of the realme, vnder the emperour Honorius. Caradoe, duke of Cornwall, was

With respect to the residence of the princes, dukes, and earls of Cornwall, it

employed (sayth D. Kay) by Octauius, about founding the vniuersitie of Cambridge. And vpon Igerna wife to Gorlois, duke of Cornwall, Vter begat the worthy Arthur, and a daughter called Amy. This Arthur discomfited in fight, one Childerick, a king of the Saxons, and afterwards, vpon certaine couenants, suffered him quietly to depart the realme. But Childerick violating the word of a king, bound with the solemnity of an othe, inuaded estsoones the westerne coasts, harrowing the country as he passed, vntil Cador, earle of Cornwall, became God's minister, to take vengeance of his periury, by reauing off his life. That marke swayed the Cornish scepter, you cannot make question, vnlesse you will, withall, shake the irrefragable authoritie of the round tables romants. Blederic, duke of Cornwall, associated with other Welsh kings, darrayned a battel against Ethelferd, king of the Northumbers, and by the valiant forgoing of his life, got his partners the victory. Iuoc, sonne to Alane king of Little Brittaine, first wan from the Saxons, Cornwall, Deuon, and Somerset shires, by force of armes, and then, taking to wife Ethelburg, cousin to Kentwin, king of Westsex, enjoyed the same by composition. Roderic, king of the Bretons in Wales and Cornwall, (vnder whom, Bletius was prince of this last, and of Deuon) valiantly repulsed Adelred, king of Westsex, what time he assayled him in Cornwall; yet in the end, being ouer-matched in number, and tired with continuall onsets, he was driuen to quit the same, and retire himselfe into Wales. Polidor Virgill maketh mention of one Reginaldus Comes Britannorum, in the time of king Etheldred. Dungarth, king of Cornwall, by mischance was drowned. Alpsius is recorded (about this time) for duke of Deuon and Cornwall. Orgerius, duke of Cornwall, had a daughter named Alfride, the fame of whose beauty, caused king Edgar to send earle Athelwold, for obtaining her at her father's hands in marriage. But the earle with the first sight of this faire lady, was so besotted in her loue that preferring the accomplishment of his lust, before the duety of his alleageance, he returns answer to the king, how the common report far exceeded her priuate worth, which came much short of meriting a partnership in so great a prince's bed; and (not long after) begged and obtayned the king's good will, to wed her himselfe. But so braue a lustre could not lye long concealed, without shining foorth into Edgar's knowledge, who, finding the truth of his ambassadour's falshood, tooke Athelwold at an aduantage, slewe him, and married her, beeing a widdowe, whome hee had wooed a mayde. What time William the bastard subdued this realme, one Condor possessed the earledome of Cornwall, and did homage for the same; he had issue another Condor, whose daughter and heire Agnes, was married to Reginald earle of Bristowe,† base sonne to king Henry the first." *Carew*, f. 77. b. 78. b.----- Carew observed, after a diligent search, that the titles of honour, respecting this county, all along in the time preceding the conquest "by William the bastard, carry with them such a kind of confusedness, as rather to betoken a successive office, than an established dignity." The person who presided over this county at the time of the conquest, (Camden tells us) was by some called Condorus, by others Cadocus, whom modern writers mention as the last earl

† This Reginald was never "earl of Bristowe;" for the first that was dignified with that title, was John Lord Digby, by James the first, in 1622. Neither did he marry Agnes, the daughter and heiress of this second Condor, who I believe never existed; (See Aug. Vincent against Brooke in Cornwall) but the daughter of William Fitz-Richard, a potent man in Cornwall. Comitatus Cornubiensis amplissimum habebat principatum, and had issue four daughters, his heiresses; and by his concubine, Beatrix de Vannes, a son named Henry Fitz-Conte, (filius comitis) after his death, earl of Cornwall, as appears by the patent roll de an. primo R. Henry III. Teste apad glouces---die Febr. an. regni nostri primo. He enjoyed this new honor not four years. For having retired from the court without the king's leave, or indeed privity, the king sent him his discharge. 4 Henry III. Whereupon he stood in contestation with the king for the earldom; but by the mediation of friends, viz. the bishops of Norwich, Winchester and Exeter, Hubert de Burgh chief justice of England, W. Brewer, Fulk de Breant and others, it was concluded that the said Henry Fitz-Conte should yield up to the said king---"Seisinam castri de Lanzaventon, et comitatus Cornubiensis, cum homagiis servicii et omnibus pertinentiis suis sicut Dominus Johannes rex ea habuerit.---Salvo eidem Henrico filio comitis jure et clam. quod clamat habere in prædicto comitatu ita quod Dominus Hen. rex Angliæ justiciam ei inde exhibebat, pro loco et tempore cum ad ætatem prevenerit." Wherein what was done when the king came to age, my author, Augustus Vincent, could not discover; and therefore, that he died before that time, is most likely. Dugdale calls him (in his Warwickshire, p. 569,) from a record 9. Rici. I. 'Henricus de la Pennell,' from the manor of Penhale, in Egleskerry, where his father the earl sometime resided, and where it is presumed he was born. I have been the more prolix on this Henry Fitz-Conte, because he is nowhere else mentioned as earl of Cornwall.

appears that their principal palaces or castles, were those of *Trematon*,* *Lanceston*, *Restormel*,† and *Leskeard*.‡ And the earls of Cornwall, we are told, made sometimes

of Cornwall of British extraction. Carew says, that he at this time possessed the earldom, and did homage for it to the conqueror. His successor in it was Robert earl of Moreton in Normandy, who by his mother Arlotte was a half brother to the conqueror. To him with this earldom the king bestowed two hundred and eighty-eight manors, or lordships, in this county. To this Robert succeeded his son William, who having taken up arms against king Henry in the behalf of Robert duke of Normandy, (for the shortness of his thighs, according to a custom in those days) surnamed *Curthose*, and being in battle § taken prisoner, with this honour he lost his liberty, and ended his days in confinement. Reginald de Dunstanville, a natural son of king Henry appears to have been the next, who possessed this earldom. On the death of king Henry he shewed himself a firm adherer to the interest of his daughter Maud, the empress; but afterwards falling off to king Stephen, he was in the 5th of that king's reign preferred to this earldom. But soon after, deserting the king, and returning to the empress, the king seems about this time the 6th of his reign, to have given this earldom to Alan de Britannia, who wrote himself earl of Britany, Cornwall, and Richmond; but who seems to have held this honour a very small time. And earl Reginald being reinstated in it, is said to have held it to the time of his death, dying without issue male 21. Henr. 2. 1175. This king Henry is said to have reserved it in his own hands for the use of his youngest son John, then about nine years of age. But according to Brooke's York Herald, his elder brother Richard (surnamed by the French Cœur de Lion, for his remarkable intrepidity) afterwards king of England, preceded him in this earldom; and for this he quotes the charter of incorporation of the town of Helleston in this county. This Richard, at the age of 32 years succeeded his father in the kingdom, and soon after his accession to the crown, he conferred this earldom on his brother John, who held it till by the death of the king he ascended the royal throne. King John had issue Henry his eldest son and heir, afterwards king of England, by the name of king Henry 3d, and Richard his 2d son. This Richard, in the 11th year of the reign of his brother, was by him invested with this earldom: an earldom, which at that time from its mines, and the large revenues, which the king bestowed on him, made him soon the richest subject in Europe. Camden hath recorded the great wealth of this earl, by the account given of him by a cotemporary writer, that he was able to spend an hundred marks a day for ten years together. He died in the 55th year of Henry 3, anno 1272, and was succeeded in this earldom by Edmund his second son, then heir to this honour, and also by the death of his elder brother Henry, who had been assassinated at Viterboe, in Italy, by the son of Simon de Montfort. This Edmund dying without issue male, 28 Ed. anno 1300, the earldom escheated to the crown. See *Norden*, pp. 8, 9,—*Gibson's Camden*, p. 14.—*Heylin's Help*, pp. 206, 207

* Or the *Royal-House*.

† There was formerly an annual procession at Lestwithiel, which retained some traces of the royalties anciently belonging to the kingdom of Cornwall. "It was but of late years discontinued, says Carew, (f. 138.) Upon little easter sunday, the freeholders of the town and manor did there assemble, amongst whom one (as it fell to his lot by turn) bravely apparelled, gallantly mounted, with a crown on his head, a scepter in his hand, a sword borne before him, and dutifully attended by all the rest also on horseback, rode through the principal street to the church. There, the curate in his best beseene solemnly received him at the church-yard style, and conducted him to hear divine service, after which he repaired with the same pomp to a house fore-provided for that purpose, made a feast to his attendance, kept the table's end himself, and was served with kneeling, assay, and all other rites due to the estate of a prince: With dinner the ceremony ended, and every man returned home again. The cause and author out-reach remembrance, howbeit these circumstances offer a conjecture that it should betoken the royalties appertaining to the honour of Cornwall."

‡ *Leskaerd*, from *Les* a county, and *Caer* a town---the court-town; in Domesday Liscaret; in the town charter, *Liskeret*, *Liskerd*.

§ Trenchbray in Normandy, 8 Henry, 1108.

the castle of Exeter, their residence. But Restormel seems to have been their favourite residence. Here Richard, king of the Romans, kept his court: And his son Edmund was, also, an inhabitant of this castle. The great officers of the kings, of Wales,§ were, I conceive, the same with those of the kings or princes of Cornwall. It is remarkable, that in Wales the *Penhebogydd,* or master of the hawks, was the fourth officer in rank and dignity, and sat in the fourth place from his sovereign, at the royal table---that he was permitted to drink no more than three times, lest he should neglect his birds, from intoxication---and that when he was more than usually successful in his sports, the prince was obliged by law and custom, to rise up to receive him as he entered the hall, and sometimes to hold his stirrup, as he alighted from his horse.

4. As power necessarily accompanies rank, we are next led to consider the extent *of the territory* under our princes, dukes and earls---its *revenues*---and its *form* of *government.* Cornwall and Devonshire *as an entire state,* enjoyed at different times, the titles of a *kingdom,* a *principality,* a *dukedom,* and an *earldom.* And the dukedom, and the earldom, (as at present the dutchy of Cornwall) was very extensive. Cornwall was but a small part of it.‖ Besides this county, it included---first the forest¶ of

§ For those of Wales, see *Leges Wallicæ,* pp. 8.—15.—18, 19, 20.—23.—26.—31.—35.—37, 38, 39.—43, 44.—50.—58.

‖ From the year 1248 to 1251, we find Drogo de Barentine governor of the isles of Sylleh for the king, and bailiffs under him: And Henry the third gave him ten pounds yearly lands in Sylleh by deed. See *Dugdale's* "Warwick," p. 801.---and *Heath's* "Scilly," p. 181.

¶ The laws and royal privileges relating to forests, were insupportable grievances, severely felt under the Norman kings, first imposed by William the conqueror, towards the latter end of his reign, executed with the utmost rigor, and made the source of much oppression. Henry the first enlarged his forests two ways; by taking into them some woods of his own royal demesne, and by *afforesting* some of those of the gentry or clergy that bordered upon them. The first he might lawfully do; but the other was iniquitous, and contrary to the charter he had given himself. Yet it is probable, that he did not intend to encroach on his subjects, but was deceived by false accounts of the bounds of his forests, from the officers appointed over them; in consequence of which, he often prosecuted the owners of woods supposed to lie within the precincts of his forest; if they presumed either to hunt in them, or cut them down. It cannot be supposed that he claimed all the woods and game in the kingdom, as Ordericus Vitalis pretends. The forest laws were much moderated by Henry II. 1184. The *Charta de Foresta* was equally with *Magna Charta* an object which the barons had in view when they took up arms in the reigns of John and Henry III. and occasioned great contest and much bloodshed, till both were established 28 Edward I. In 1225, on a confirmation of the above charters, a jury of twelve men was sworn in each county, according to whose verdict all forests made after the coronation of Henry II. were to be disafforested and laid open. See *Lyttelton's* Henry, vol. 3. *Pennant's* Zoology, vol. 2. p. 645. and *Carte's* and *Guthrie's* Histories of England.

Dartmoor.* That *Exeter* was a parcel of the earldom of Cornwall, we find from an ancient record---"In 1227, the king gave Exeter to his brother Richard---to him and his heirs, for ever."

* Dartmoor is commonly said to contain 10,000 acres, and to be 80 miles in length. I had lately a map of this forest, painted on a large skin of vellum, describing its limits, and the stations of a perambulation made in 1240. The towns, villages, churches and woods are curiously depicted, and the names of each subjoined, and written in a very legible character. The whole is in tolerable preservation. On the back is written the memorandum of the perambulation; two charters, the one without a date, granted by John "comes Moroton," afterwards king John, and the other by Henry the third, in 1252; and another memorandum, of which very little remains that is legible. Of this endorsement I shall here print a copy. The gentleman who put this map into my hands, informed me that it belonged to a schoolmaster, who resided somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tavistock; and I have since discovered, that a duplicate of it is in the possession of a gentleman, who is one of the prince of Wales's officers for the dutchy of Cornwall.—The memorandum of the perambulation is very incorrectly printed by Risdon.—"Hec est perambulatio facta per commune consilium Ricardi comitis Cornubie et Pictavie in comitatu Devonie per preceptum domini regis Henrici filii regis Johannis anno coronacionis sue vicesimo quarto in vigilia sancti Jacobi apostoli per sacrum militum subscriptorum scilicet Willielmi de la Bruios, Guydon de Bryttenile, Willelmi de Wydesworthy, Hugonis de Bovey, Ricardi Gyffarde, Odonis de Brenerbye, Henrici filii Henrici Willelmi Tremharde, Philippi Paver, Nicolai de Heaunton, Willielmi de Mortegne, et Durantis filii Boton qui incipiunt perambulationem ad hogam de Cosdown, et inde linialiter usque ad parvam hogam que vocatur parva Houndetorr, et inde linialiter usque ad Thurleston, et inde linialiter usque ad Wotesbrokeflakesfote que cadit in Teinge, et inde linialiter usque ad Heighestone, et inde linialiter usque ad Langstone, et inde linialiter usque ad mediam turbariam de Alberyshede, et sic in longum Wallebroke, et inde linialiter usque ad fluvium regis et inde linialiter usque ad Wallesbrokeshed, et sic in longum Wallebroke, usque cadit in Darta, et sic per Dartam, usque ad aliam Dartam, et sic per aliam Dartam, ascendendo usque Okebrokysfoote, et sic ascendendo Okebroke, usque ad la Dryaworke, et ita ascendendo usque ad Dryfeldforde, et inde linialiter usque ad Catteshille, et inde linialiter usque ad caput de Wester Wellebroke, et sic per Wester Wellebroke usque cadit in Avena, et inde linialiter usque ad Excester Whyteburghe, et inde linialiter usque ad la Redelake, ubi cadit in Erme, et inde linialiter usque ad Grymsgreve, et inde linialiter usque ad Glyssburghe, et sic linialiter usque ad crucem Sywardi, et inde usque ad Xsfother, et sic per aliam Xsfother, et inde per medium Mystor, usque ad Mewyburghe, et inde usque ad Lullingesfote, et inde usque ad Rakernebrokysfate, et sic ad caput ejusdem aque et deinde usque ad la Westfolle, et inde linialiter usque ad Ernestorre, et inde linialiter usque ad vadum proximum in orientali parte capelle sancti Michaelis de Halstocke, et inde linialiter usque ad predictam hogam de Cosdonne in orientali parte."—[*This is to be noted that on the one side of the cross abovesaid there is graven in the stone* "crux Siwardi," *and on the other side is graven* "Doolande."

"Johannes comes Moroton omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Francie et Anglie, presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me cessisse reddidisse et hoc carta mea confirmasse comitibus, baronibus, militibus, et omnibus libere tenentibus, clericis et laicis in Devonia, libertates suas quasi habuerunt tempore Henrici regis proavi mei habendas et tenendas illis, et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis. Et notatum quod habeant arcus pharetras et sagittas in caris suis differendas extra regardum foreste mee. Et quod canes sui vel hominum suorum non sunt expultati extra reguardum foreste. Et quod habeant fines, et alias libertates sicut melius liberius illas habuerunt tempore ejusdum Henrici regis, et reifellos suos et quod capiant caprellum, vulpem, cattam, lupum, leporem et lutram, ubicunque illa inveniunt extra reguardum foreste mee. Et ideo vobis firmiter precipio quod nullus dis de hiis vel aliis libertatis suis molestiam inferat vel gravamen. Hiis testibus Willielmo Marescall, Willielmo comite Sarum, Willielmo comite de Verulam, Stephano Ridell, Cancellario meo Willielmo de Wenn, Hamonde de Valonio Rogero de Novoburgo, Ingelramo de Prasella Roberto de Mortemore Waltero de Maltremero Radulpho Mortymore Waltero de Cantilo Filcone fatre suo Gilberto Morin et multis aliis.

Henricus, dei gratia Anglie, dux Hibernie, dux Acquitanie, et comes Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis foreste, vicariis prepositis ministris, et omnibus aliis fidelibus suis salutem,

It was from the mines of Devon and Cornwall, that the earls of Cornwall drew a large part of their *revenues*. They had for some time an exclusive right of working

Inspeximus cartam quam dominus Johannes rex patris noster fecit omnibus hominibus de tota Devonia, in hec verba Johannes, dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie et Acquitanie, comes Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis foreste, vicariis prepositis ministris, et omnibus aliis suis salutem: Sciatis nos deafforestasse totam Devoniam, de omnibus que ad forestam pertinent, usque ad metas antiquorum reguardorum de Dartemore et Exmore, que regarda fuerunt tempore regis Henrici primi. Ita quod tota Devonia et omnes in ea manentes et heredum eorum fuit deafforesta, et quieta, et soluta, de nobis et heredibus nostris imperpetuum de omnibus, que ad forestam et ad forestari pertinent exceptis duabus moris prenominatis scilicet Dartemore et Exmore, per predictas metas. Volumus et concedimus quod predictos homines de Devonia, et heredes corum habeant consuetudo infra regardum morarum illarum sicut habere consueverant tempore predicti regis Henrici faciendas inde consuetudines sicut tam inde facere consueverunt et debuerunt. Et quod liceat ..... *The remainder of this deed is illegible, and in many places entirely obliterated, except the date, which is* xx°. die Aprilis, anno regni nostri xxxvj°. 1252. Memorandum quod Johannes quondam rex Anglie, dedit Huberto Vere, domino de Vygeburghe pro..... communem et libertatem in..... de Dartmore, et omnibus tenentibus suis Vygeburghe cum omnibus pertinentibus..... *The rest of this is nearly obliterated—a date occurs .....* Johannis anno septimo. *Which cannot be the date of the memorandum, but must be the date of the grant to Hubert Vere, of Ugborough aforesaid.* "There are certain tenants dwelling in and about the moore, which are called Fenfield-men, in ancient times, Fengefield; and these be the king's special tenants, who pay him yearly rent, do suit and service to his court: And these are not to be attached by any officer, but for default of non-payment of their rents; which is four-pence yearly at Michaelmas. They may winter in the king's forest, so much cattle as they can keep, so that it be by day; but if they tarry the night, they shall pay three pence. If they have more cattle than they can winter by night upon their tenement, they shall pay for the said cattle as strangers; that is, for every young cattle, one penny half-penny. And for every other greater beast, two pence. And they shall have in the said moore, all that may do them good, except green oak and venison. They may fish in all the waters, and dig turffs in any place. The king hath the royalty of the whole; and the correction of the corn, ditches, and leap-yeats, shall be in the court of Lidford. And the Fenfield-men, his free tenants, shall present at the court, all faults found in and about the forest, as often as they shall be summoned for the king. If any man die, or be slain in the forest, the coroner of Lidford shall crown him; for the forest is out of every tything. And here understand, that where there are divers parishes lying in the borders of the said waste, the parsons of these places do pretend to have the tythe, and other profits of the parishes next adjoining. It is found by sundry verdicts and records, that the whole moore doth lye in the parish of Lidford, and the parson thereof is to have all the whole profits and tythes of corn, cattle, wool, lambs, and whatsoever breedeth therein. The bounds and limits of the Fenfield-mens' tenures, are as follows; That is, from Podaston-lake, running through Ashberton, in Dart stream, and so to Wedberne and Shipstop, and from Wedborne stream to Whitmore; and from Whitmore, to Calstone-Midicays; ftom Calstone to Seven-Stones; and from Seven-Stones to Hevitree; and from Hevitree to Herborough; from Herborough to Doreford; from Doreford to Longstone; from Longstone to Effedater; from thence to Hyndon; forwards from Hyndon to Blundell; from Blundell to Writeston; from that stone to Roborough; from Roborough to Furzepen; from Furzepen to Ramshorn; from thence to Lustleigh, and so to Wythecombe-Head; and from thence to Lime-Stream, and so to Voghill-Lake, and along that Lake, to Voghill's-Head, in the Head, and then to the Ditch, and out of the Ditch to the Well in Moreshead into the Lake, and so to the Smely and to Jeredsborough, and from thence to Standon; neitherward to Great Hynde; from thence to Dyersnade, to Lidford northwards; to Seliet, and from Seliet to Gurnadsknoll, southward; to Poncartsworth, to Ramscombe-Head, to the right stream; and from thence to Ashbornecton; from thence in stream of Dart. The town of Lidford, and all the tenements within these bounds, doth lye within the limits of the Fenfield-men; which place, in times past, was of some price; but such is the vicissitude thereof, that the spectator may say as Æneas in Virgil, at the sight of the ghost of the noble Hector: Heu quantum, &c. &c. &c." *Risdon*, p. 284, 285, 286. "*Dartmoor*, where David of Sciredon, held lands in Sciredon and Sipleigh, by this tenure

for tin:* And king John (who was himself earl of Cornwall) reaped great advantages from the product of the mines of Devon. The profits of the Cornish mines, indeed, were at this time low: The tin-farm of Cornwall amounted to no more than one hundred marks;† whilst in Devonshire the tin was set to farm for one hundred pounds yearly.‡

As our mines were of much importance, it is not to be wondered, that they soon became the object of legislative attention. We accordingly find, that if our government might be called a *distinct form* after the Norman conquest, it borrowed its chief discriminating character from the regulation of the mines. That those who had the government of Cornwall, used to preside, themselves, or in the persons of their offices, over the general stannary assemblies, there can be little doubt:§ And our amphitheatres (of which we have various ruins) were probably the places of meeting. In the same manner *Crockern-Torr*, was the seat of assembly for the tinners of Devon.‖

or service; to find two arrows when the king his sovereign lord should come to hunt in that forest. *Camden.* "The hamlet of *Sciredun* was stored with stags. - - - David de Sciredun, tenet. terr. in Sciredun et Shapley, de domino rege reddent. 3 sagittas domino regi cum venerit ad venand. in Dartmore, ann 33. Hen. 3." *Risdon*, p. 198.

* Before the charter of Edw. I. all the tin in Cornwall appertained to the king. See *Pearce's Stannaries, Pref.*

† According to which valuation the bishop of Exeter received then in lieu of his tenth part, and still receives from the duke of Cornwall annually, the sum of six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence.

‡ It is observed by Borlase, that "king John, sensible of the languishing state of this manufacture in Cornwall, granted the county some marks of his favor, disforested what part of it was then subject to the arbitrary forest law, allowing it equal title to the laws of the kingdom with the other parts of England, and granted a charter to the tinners, but what, it does not appear." See *Borlase's Natural History*, p. 190. - - - and *Carew*, p. 17.

§ That the Stannaries of Cornwall and Devon were subsisting before the charter of Edw. I. appears by the two several charters of king John, and Richard king of the Romans, now remaining on record in the Tower of London. *Pearce's Stannaries, Pref.*

‖ Whence came the word *Crockern*, is a point as yet undetermined. A correspondent says: "*Crockern*-well, a village, the southern side of which is in Drewsteington, as its northern is in Bishop's-Cheriton, derives its name from the family of Crocker, whose inheritance it was: the family was Saxon, and of note before the conquest." By induction, we might infer, that *Crockern-torr* had the same origin. But I do not incline to this opinion Crockern-torr consists not like most of the other torrs on Dartmoor of a high and steep piles of rocks, but of a great number of separate ones scattered on the ground to a considerable extent, some in single masses, others double and triple, in such a manner as to license imagination in forming them into tables and seats. Yet of any thing artificially regular, there does not appear the smallest trace. The whole seems to remain as when formed by nature - - - the rocks dispersed without any visible order or design; no appearance of any tools having been ever employed on them." From a correspondent, 1796. A little to the west of Dunnabridge-pound, on the Ashburton road over Dartmoor, is a gateway leading to a seat of the late Mr. Justice Buller, called Prince's-hall. Its former proprietor, was Mr. Gullet, who removed to this place the table, seats, &c. belonging to the Stannary parliament at *Crockern-torr*.

And the place of general assembly for the tinners both of Cornwall and Devon, was Hengston-hill; where, throughout all this period, and for ages before, they were accustomed to meet, to concert the common interests of both parties. When the government of the stannaries began to assume a regular appearance, Richard (the son of John) king of the Romans and earl of Cornwall, is reported to have made several tin-laws. At *Lidford*, was the chief prison of the stannaries.* In the last year of his reign, king John commanded Robert de Courtenay to deliver to Wm. Brewere the castle of Lidford, a place of such importance that the custody of it was delivered with great solemnity from one person of eminence to another. According to the patent rolls, it was ordered by Henry the Third, that all offenders in the stannaries be imprisoned at Lidford,† and not elsewhere. When *Lestwithiel* had first its stannary prison, we are not informed.

We have seen that the earls and dukes had the regulation of the stannaries; and consequently attended the tin-meetings or courts themselves, or appointed proper officers for the deliberative council, or for the purposes of executive justice. But their jurisdiction was not confined to the stannaries. They appointed, in particular, the

* "Lydford, (or as some will) anciently Lyghatford, of the antiquity of which borough, there are no records remaining; yet doubtless in the Saxon heptarchy, it was a town of some note, that felt the furious rage of the merciless Danes, but no way remarkable by any good buildings there. For in the 19th year of king Ethelred's reign, anno 997, the Danes arrived in the river Tamar, and destroyed the monastery of Tavistock, consuming all that lay in their way with fire and sword; and amongst others, cruelly burnt this town also. A place where no nice nation would have made choice for the situation of a town so overlooked with Dartmoor hills; unto whose storms, without any shelter, it is subject; but rather the giant-like Albionists, such as are reported to be the first inhabiters of this island; or at least some of Corinæus's companions, that vanquished these giants; they would otherwise have found a place freer from the weather's injury. However, it may prescribe for antiquity, before many other of more worth unto this day. Yea, it is averred, and there want not proofs to maintain it, that it came little short of some cities. In king Edward the Confessor's days, Lidford was the king's demesne; For thus it is recorded—'Rex habet Burgum de Lidford & Burgenses ibidem tenet vigint. & octo Burgenses infra Burgum, & 41 extra. Inter omnes redditus reddant tres libras ad pensam & arsuram, & sunt ibi quadraginta Domus vastatæ priusquam Rex venit in Anglia & prædict. Burgenses & Manerium de Lidford se extendit per totam villam & parochiam de Lidford, & per totam forestam de Dartmoor. Et quod nul. Bre. Dom. Regis currit in tenementum ejusd. Burgens. & manerium cum pertinentiis, sed omnia Terr. & Tenementa sunt Placita & Placitabilia coram major. dict. Burgens.' And so great have been the privileges of this place, that it was not rated at any other time, or other cause, than London was. This parish, for largeness in lands and liberties, may compare with any in this kingdom, the whole forest of Dartmore lying in the verge thereof." *Risdon*, pp. 281, 282.

† Of Lidford, Jacob says, in his Law-Dictionary: "*Lidford-Law*, was a proverbial speech, intending as much as to hang a man first, and judge him afterwards."

sheriffs. ‡ In the office of sheriff,‖ there was great irregularity, throughout the present period.

‡ *SHERIFS of CORNWALL.*

A. D.	A. R.	
		STEPHANUS.
1139.....	5	.... Gaufridus Furnell, reddit compotum de £10 9 1 de veteri firma, in thesauro liberavit, et quietus est. Et idem de nova firma in thesauro, £56 8 7.
		HEN. 2.
1155.....	1	.... Recorda Manca.
1156.....	2	.... Ricardus Comes. (that is of Devonshire.)
1176.....	22	.... Eustachius, fil. Stephani, for five years.
1181.....	27	.... Alanus de Furnell, for four years.
1185.....	31	.... Hug. Bardulph. Dapifer, azure, 8 cinque-foils, or.
1186.....	32	.... Idem red. comp.
1187.....	33	.... Idem red. comp. de dim. anno Willus. de Bockland, comp. de dim. anno.
1188.....	34	.... Willus. de Bockland. red. comp. & 1. Ric. 1.
		RICH. 1.
1190.....	1	.... Will. de Bocklanda. ut prius.
1191.....	2	.... Rich. Revel, for nine years.
		JOHANNES.
1200.....	1	.... Johan. de Torrington.
1201.....	2	.... Hug. Bardolph ut prius. Willus. de Briewere.
1202.....	3	.... Ric. Flandrensis, (probably the same with Flammock, and if so, argt. a plain cross between 4 mullets, gules.)
1203.....	4	.... Idem. r. comp. de dim. anno. Will. Brewere, r. com. de dim. anno.
1204.....	5	.... Willus. Briewere, Rad. de Mora, r. comp.
1205.....	6	.... Will. de Botterels, for 5 years. I suppose this is the same with Botereaux of Botereaux-Castle, corruptly called Bos-Castle. Argt. 3 toads erect. sab.
1210.....	11	.... Joh. filius. Richardi, for six years (and the last of them red. comp. de firma Cornub. de dim. anno. xvii. Johis.) that is to the end of this king's reign.
		HEN. 3.
1219.....	3	.... Guilel. Lunet.
1220.	4	.... Idem.
1221.....	5	.... Idem.
1222.....	6	.... Gul. de Pucot.
1223.....	7	.. Reg. de Valle Torta, de Esse sive Saltash. .. Walter. de Treverdin, alias Trevarthen.
1224.....	8	.. Reg. de Valle Torta, ut prius. Walt. de Treverdin.
1225.....	9	.. Gul. Bregnan, junior. .. Reg. de Langford. *Qu.*—whether the ancestor of Langford, of Langford-hill? .. Reg. de Valle Torta, ut prius. Paly of 6, or. & gules, on a chief argt. a lion passant, sab.
1226.....	10	.... Ricardus frater regis, habet comitatum de dono regis quamdiu regi placuerit.
1227.....	11	.... Hen. de Boderinga, in vice prædicti comitis.

I find no account of a sheriff of Cornwall in the Pipe Rolls, from the 11th Hen. 3. to 43d Hen. 3d.

1260..... 44 Radulphus de Arundell, mil. de Lanhearn, vice regis Alman. & com. Cornub.

There is no other sheriff till after the 6th Edw. 1. mentioned in the Pipe Rolls." *Walker's Tonkin. MSS.*

‖ In the reign of Henry the 3d, the bishop of Exeter, the barons, knights, and others of the county of Cornwall, gave D. marks, that the king should appoint them a sheriff from amongst themselves; and to have quittance of the

The mention of sheriffs reminds me of that part of our government, which we shared in common with the realm; though of our assizes or justices of assize I can say little or nothing. I have already spoken of the justices itinerant *: And Izacke, in his memorials of the city of Exeter, has given us an incidental notice of the assizes held at Launceston in the reign of Henry the Third.†

If from the government of the county, we turn to the parliamentary representation of Cornwall, and its towns, we shall see our earls or dukes invested with almost arbitrary power. For, though it was scarcely optional in these potentates to grant or withhold the liberty of sending burgesses to parliament, (according to the report of some writers) yet their influence was, in general, such as to determine the choice of representatives.‡ The parliamentary representation, indeed, of counties and boroughs, can hardly be said to have commenced at this æra.

carucage lately assessed in England. And the bishop of Exeter, and the barons, knights, and all others of the county of Cornwall, gave M. and CCC. marks, for the deafforestation and other liberties granted to them by the charter of king John. Of this fine, the bishop was to pay C. and XXXIX*l.* and upwards; Reginald de Valletort C. and XXXIII*l.* and more; and William Briwere XXV*l.* and odd money.

* See note from *Madox*.

† "Exeter. 1248.—A long controversie depending in suit of law between the mayor and citizens hereof, plaintiffs, and the dean and chapter defendants, touching the fee and liberties of St. Sydwell's, without the east-gate of the said city, was now ended by composition made at Launceston, before Richard earl of Cornwall, Richard bishop of Exeter, Roger Tinkelby, Gilbert Preston, and John Cobham, the KING'S JUSTICES OF ASSIZES, as followeth: 1. The tenants of the dean and chapter dwelling within the city and suburbs of the same, and who do occupy any art, trade, or mystery, shall at all taxes and tallages be taxed and assessed with the citizens, so that the said taxation be just and indifferent. 2. Also, that the bayliff of the said dean and chapter shall levy, gather and receive the said tax, and pay it over unto the mayor of the said city, or to his officer, but if the said bayliff be remiss and negligent, then the officers of the mayor shall and may levy and collect the same. 3. Also, that an indifferent man shall be chosen by each party to be the common bayliff for them both, who on his oath shall yearly gather, and from time to time collect of all the said dean and chapter's tenants the customs of bagavell, bathugavell, and chippingavell. 4. Also, that all plaints entered against any of the dean and chapter's tenants within the said city shall be tried and determined before the mayor and bayliffs. 9. Also, that all plaints entered against any of the dean and chapter's tenants, dwelling within the fee of St. Sydwell's, shall be determined before the bayliff thereof. Also, if any of the tenants of the said dean and chapter being bakers or brewers, are to be punished for breach of the assize in the pillory or tumbrel, the same on the request to the mayor to be done within the city. 7. Also, all pleas of the crown to be determined before the mayor. Lastly, all traytors, murderers and felons that shall be found within the said fee, to be apprehended by the bayliff and by him to be brought and delivered to the mayor." *Izacke*, Pp. 12, 13.

‡ Brady is of opinion, that the *fundamental* dominion even of the Cornish burghs remained in the king. "The boroughs (says he) erected by the charters of earls were notwithstanding constituted such, by an implicit derivative power from the king, who had created them earls, and the chief fundamental dominion of those burghs remained in the king or crown: For the earls could not talliate them at their own pleasure, but only when the king's

In the charter of king John there is a distinction of the greater barons, and a different manner of summoning them observed from the inferior members of the *commune consilium*; the former *per literas nostras*, the others *in generali per vice-comites et ballivos nostros:* But the first record of any writ for the summoning of knights, citizens, and burgesses to parliament, occurs in the latter end of the reign of Henry the Third.* Our towns, then, were not yet represented in the senate: But their civil government requires some degree of consideration. The original of our present burghs, seems to have been from charter. 1. LAUNCESTON was first founded by Edulfus, brother to Alpsius, duke of Devon and Cornwall, who lived about 200 years before the conquest; at which time this lordship, was given by William I. to his half-brother, the earl of Moreton and Cornwall, who, as Domesday informs us, held Dunhevet, where was the earl's castle. From him, and his successors in that title, having their chief residence at the castle, this town increased much in buildings and riches, and had certain privileges and liberties conferred upon it. There were burgesses inhabiting or belonging to the castle of this town, in the reign of king Henry II. And in that of king Henry III. the town was, by its then lord Richard, earl of Poictiers

demesnes were talliated, and then by his grant, or precept, as is manifest from these two records. Rex vicecomiti Cornubiæ, salutem. (1) Scias quod de consilio nostro provisum est, quod auxilium efficax assideri faciamus in omnibus burgis & dominicis nostris per totam terram nostram Angliæ, & volumus quod consimile auxilium assideatur per totam ballivam tuam in dominicis & burgis nostris, ad opus dilecti fratris nostri R. comitis Pictaviæ, & ideo tibi præcipimus quod una cum Simone de Brackel, ballivo prædicti comitis ad auxilium assidendum in burgis & dominicis nostris de comitatu tuo diligenter intendas, teste rege apud Westm. 16 die Februarii. Sir William Dugdale, in his Baronage, (fol. 762, col. 1.) says, Richard earl of Poictou, brother to king Henry the Third, was created earl of Cornwall in the eleventh of his reign: If so, the king might grant this precept after he was earl, and call them his demeasn and burghs, by reason of his supreme original dominion, and prerogative; or if not made earl of Cornwall until the fifteenth of that king, he might then have the earldom of Cornwall in his hands by escheat, or forfeiture, and so call the revenues of the earldom, and burghs in that county, his demeasns. Which way soever it was, his brother Richard could not impose a tallage without his precept. Which was a certain argument that the supreme dominion of those Cornish burghs was in the king." *Brady* on Burghs, Pp. 108, 109, 110.

* In the "complete History of the Burghs of Great Britain," (3 vols. 8vo, 1792,) the writer contends for the great antiquity of parliamentary representation. "If we find (says he) no records of any citizens or burgesses in great councils or parliaments, before the 49th of Hen. III. it is no proof against the ancient right or existence of this legislature of the people. It only proves, that the exercise of this right, which the Saxons universally possessed, was suspended by the Norman system of tyranny, until either their necessities, extravagance, or avarice, obliged them, partially, to restore it to such of the people as were their tools and dependants." Vol. I. p. 119.

(1) Cl. 11. Hen. 3. part. 1. m. 19. De Tallag. in Comitatu Cornub.

and Cornwall, the king's brother, made a free borough."* "Richard, brother to king Henry the III. (says Brady) was created earl of Cornwall in the fifteenth year of his reign, who by his charter, without date, made DUNHEVED or LANCESTON a free burgh, and amongst other liberties, granted to the burgesses to choose their own bayliffs, who were to answer the farm of the burgh, which was to himself an hundred shillings, to the priory of St. Stephen in Lanceston, sixty-five shillings and ten-pence, and to the lepers of St. Leonard of Lanceston an hundred shillings of his alms. He granted them also *unam placeam*, where they should think it most decent and honourable, to erect a guildhall in the same burgh, to hold of him and his heirs, by a pound of pepper to be paid yearly at Michaelmas for all service and demand whatever: He granted, also, they should not be taxed when the county was, nor talliated, by him or his heirs, when the king talliated all his burghs in England. Et quod non talliantur per nos vel hæredes nostros ad tempus quando dominus rex omnes burgos suos per Angliam talliaverit."†---It appears that Walter Reynell‡ was castellan of Launceston in Richard the First's time.

* *Brown Willis*, vol. 2. p. 16. † *Brady*, Pp. 94, 95.

‡ "I have obtained some documents from the British Museum, (says a gentleman of this family) which you may think proper to remark: one is, that Vertot, in his 'History of the Knights of Malta,' was mistaken in stating that Hugh *Revel* was master of that order, in 1275. It should be Hugh *Renel*, as it is in our pedigree; the *n* was read *v*, no uncommon error; but to prove the fact I enclose to you from the museum a latin letter of the very man, but with his name spelled different from the way we spell it now. The derivation of the family being French, it was written in various forms, still retaining the pronunciation, from which I suspect that Walter de Rynel who appears in Stowe's roll of Battel-abbey, was the original progenitor of our English race, though our *proofs* go no higher than the *castellan of Exeter and Launceston*, in Richard the First's time; from which office the family arms, 'an em-'battled wall,' were most likely taken. That the old stock was French I have no doubt; and it is a circumstance of confirmation, that in the short accounts printed in France, before the revolution, relative to the noblesse, the country seat of the marquis de Renel is actually spelt chateau de Reynel; and indeed, many of the French, (for it is no uncommon name there) write it in that manner."-----The notices in the British Museum, to which my very ingenious correspondent refers, are as follows;—"5. Rich. I. Walterus Reynell, dominus manerii de Trebarth, etc. ut patet per cartam indentatam 20 die Maii, anno regni regis Ricardi, post conquestum Angliæ, 5to." It is probable that this was the castellan of Exeter and *Launceston*, from the vicinity of his estate to the last place. "1. Edw. IV. Walterus Reynell, arm. qui fuit miles, com. Devon, 33. H. 6. Pat. 3d. Edw. 1st. in dorso. Frater Hugo. Renel, Dei gratia scæ. domus hospitalis sci Johannis Jerosolomitæ magister humilis et pauperum custos dilecto sibi in Christo fratri Stephano de Fulborn ejusdem domus Londini procuratori et thesaurario salutem et sincerum amorem laudabile portamentum (bearing or behaviour) vestrum quod nobis per fratrem Rogerum de Veer priorem vestrum et plures illos (alios) fide dignos intimatum est, nos: etc. etc." The whole is not transcribed; but may be had from the Museum. Vertot calls this person *Revel*, and says he was a knight of Gascony, which might

2. NEWPORT was part of the demesnes of the canons of S. Stephen's at the compiling of Domesday; which tells us, that canonici Sancti Stephani tenent Lanstaveton, at the same time that comes Moritoniensis tenet Dunhevet, ubi castrum comitis. By these different tenants this place was then divided into lay and ecclesiastical possession.§ 3. The earliest mention of the town of KELLINGTON, occurs in the reign of Henry the third; who granted the privilege of a market to Reginald de Ferrers then lord of the manour.¶ "When this family of Ferrers (says *Br. Willis)* were first possessed of this manor, I have not seen; but (by a grant, now in the possession of my honoured friend Sam. Rolle, esq.) this town seems to have been first leased to them by Richard earl of Cornwall; who, may be presumed, by imprivileging other towns in his demesnes, to have created this a borough; though I do not find it occurs in old deeds or records by that name."* 4. SALTASH, was constituted a burgh by Reginald de Valletort, lord of the castle and honour of Trematon, or his ancestors, who purchased the honour of Moreton, with the castle of Trematon, in the reign of Henry the second.‡ 5. In our ecclesiastical views of S. GERMANS†

be, as many of the old French families after they came into England preserved their connexions and property in France, where their kings had also sovereignty over some provinces. They were mostly soldiers of fortune and were heard of all over Europe: but if the above person was *Revel* and not *Renel*, I do not see how he came to be named in our pedigree, which is very old and appears to have been greatly attended to. Sir. W. Pole in his collections speaks of it as unquestionable except in a few instances, and his corrections are in my possession from the Museum."

§ *B. Willis*, Pp. 162, 163. ¶ *Rot. Cart.* anno 52. Hen. 3. m. 12. * *B. Willis*, Pp. 171, 172.

‡ Reginald de Valle Torta, or Vautort, who [5] lived in the time of king John, and died in the 30th of Henry III. was lord of the honor and castle of Trematon, which was head of it: to it [6] belonged fifty-nine fees of the yearly value of 259l. 6s. 8d. As the earls of Cornwall exercised their *jura regalia* in the erecting of burghs in the county, so this Reginald and his antecessors, exercised theirs in erecting the burgh of Essa, or Saltash, within their honor of Trematon. [7] Sciant præsentes & futuri, quod ego Reginaldus de Valle Torta dedi et concessi & hoc præsenti carta mea confirmavi liberis burgensibus meis de Essa omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines suas hic subscriptas, quas habuerunt tempore antecessorum meorum, &c. which were many, and amongst them these, that they should choose their own bailiff or mayor; that they should have the whole toll of bread, *totum panis theloneum*; and that none of his burgesses should be taken and carried to his castle, if they were able to find sufficient sureties of their peers, for their transgressions. This charter was confirmed by Richard the second. This burgh of Essa is now called Saltash, which lies in the same parish of St. Stephen's, wherein the castle of Trematon, the head of that honor stands.

† "Ecclesia Sancti Germani. That manor or parish consisted of twenty-four hides, whereof the bishop of Excester had twelve, and the canons of that place had twelve: what belonged to the bishop was valued at 8l. by the

(5) Dugd. Baron. fol. 22. col. 1, 2. (6) Rot. escheat. 28. Ed. 1. n. 44. Essa, or Saltash. (7) Pat. 5. Ric. 2. P. 1. m. 10. by Inspexi.

we shall best perceive its importance. There is a tradition among the inhabitants of this place, that they had an ancient charter; which "a person imprisoned by the portreve stole from them."* 6. Of WEST-LOOE, or PORTPIGHAM, the first record I have seen is the following: "Ann. 22. Hen. III. Hugh de Treverbin, plaintiff, and Odo de Treverbin and his wife, defendant, levied a fine of the manor of *Portloe*."‡ 7. The borough of LESKEARD was held, in the time of the§ conqueror, by Robert earl of Moreton and Cornwall; and afterwards belonged to Richard, brother to king Henry III. created earl of Cornwall in the 15th year of his reign, who made this place a free borough, and granted to the burgesses all those liberties and free customs, which he by his charter had before granted to his burgesses of Launceston and Helston: This charter is dated the 5th of June, anno 1240, in the 24th year of the reign of his brother king Henry III. about ten years after the date of Launceston charter.¶ 8. That BODMIN was early privileged as a borough, may be gathered from ancient records. "Anno 26. Hen. II. the burgesses of Bodmin were amerced 100s.† for setting up a gild without warrant; on which account, I suppose, they got it confirmed by Richard earl of this county, temp. Hen. III. who granted to the prior and canons of Bodmin, a free merchant-gild in this town, and that their burgesses should be free and quit of all customs and exactions throughout

year: What belonged to the canons was valued at an hundred shillings. In hoc manerio est mercatum in die dominico sed ad nichilum redigitur pro mercato comitis Morotonii quod ibi est proximum. In this manor is a market on the lord's day, but 'tis reduced to nothing by reason of the market of the earl of Moreton, that is very near." *Brady*, p. 90.

* "The episcopal palace at Cuddenbeak, now only a farm-house, stands on a hill a quarter of a mile above the town, and has a pleasant prospect of the river. It is stiled in some writings Cuddenbeak borough; a privilege which it might perhaps obtain from Walter, bishop of Exeter, temp. Hen. III. when Penryn seems to have been made a borough; and from this example, the prior, with the assistance of the bishop, might also so dignify the vill of St. Germans." *B. Willis*, p. 148.

‡ *B. Willis*, p. 90.

§ The earl of Moreton holds *Liscarret*, described as an ordinary town in Cornwall, sub tit. terræ comit. Moriton. *Domesday*, f. 121. B. coll. 1.

¶ "Earl Richard made Liskereth or Liskard a free burgh, and granted to the burgesses all those liberties and free customs which, by his charter he had granted to his burgesses of Launceston and Helleston. This charter is dated 5 Junii, in the 24th of his brother Henry the third. A. D. 1240." *Brady*, p. 95.

† As *Madox* in his "History of the Exchequer," hath already told us.

all Cornwall, on payment of the yearly rent of 43s. 4d."* 9. LESTWITHIEL is a very ancient corporation, belonging to the duchy, having had great privileges conferred upon it by Richard earl of Cornwall, who, when he was king of the Romans, in the 12th year of his reign, by charter dated at Watlington, "made Lestwithiel and Penknek, a place near adjoining, and now part of the borough, one free burgh, and granted his burgesses a gild-mercatory." When this place was first incorporated I have not been informed. Who held this manor at the time of the compilation of Domesday, Dr. Brady could not discover; but, no doubt, it was reckoned among those of Robert earl of Moreton and Cornwall, the king's brother; though in the reign of Richard the 1st, it was part of the demesne-lands of Robert de Cardinan, lord of Fawey, who was returned a debtor into the Exchequer, of ten marks due to the king, for having a market at Lestwithiel, which he had then, I presume, lately obtained. This town, however, belonged, temp. Hen. III. to Richard earl of Cornwall, and upon the death of earl Edmund, became part of the king's demesne. 10. In Domesday, FAWEY is described as an ordinary town, parish, or village, belonging to the earl of Moreton.‡ In the time of Richard the

* It is recorded in Domesday, that the church of St. Petroc holds Bodmine, and that there St. Petroc hath sixty-eight houses, and a market; the whole valued at xxxv. shillings by the year. F. 120. B. col. 2.----"*Berri*, *Lanlaran* (now S. Laurence) and *Lantallan*, were districts rated by themselves, though concerted under the name of *Bodman* parish and town. It is called a *Burge*, from Πυργος, a tower; whence the Latins had their word *Burgus*. And suitable thereto, this town has still a place in it, called *Tower-hill*: and every considerable town or *burg* in Cornwall had heretofore, some tower or citadel to defend it. Hence it is that in the Cornish, we have *purges*, in English a *burgess*; which imports an inhabitant of such a place as kept a tower or castle; or had a court of *purgeses* or *burgesses*. And I doubt not that long before the Norman conquest, or a bishoprick here erected, this town of Bodman was by prescription invested with the jurisdiction of a court-leet, though the same was not confirmed by a charter, or incorporated, before king John A. D. 1216, granted one thereto; whereby he privileged the same with the tribunal also of a mayor, recorder, town-clerk, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four common-council or assistant men; who have power to nominate and elect a new mayor annually by the majority of voices,—as also members of parliament. The mayor and town-clerk, and last preceding mayor, are justices of the peace for one year after within the said borough: the town-clerk indeed during life. This town and burough is held of the king of Great Britain, and pays annually to the king's audit at Lanceston between 5 and 6l. per ann, rent, and has paid it beyond the records of time. By the same charter it was made also one of the towns for coinage of tin, though long since discontinued. It was also made the only staple town of Cornwall, where, in a public mart, merchants might carry their goods for wholesale; and thereby the mayor and town-clerk also were authorised to take the cognizance of statute staple bonds between party and party, as the law directs. Now, to remove an action depending in this court-leet of Bodmin to any superior court, the writ must be thus directed:—*Majori et communi clerico burgi sui de* Bodman, *in comitatu* Cornubiæ, *salutem*. The precept for electing members of parliament is thus directed; *Majori et burgensibus burgi sui de* Bodman." *Hals*, p. 21.

‡ *Fawineton*. Domesday, sub. tit. terr. comit. Moriton.

first, Robert de Cardinan gave this place to the priory of Tywardreth. 11. TREGONY occurs in Domesday, among the lands of the earl of Moreton and Cornwall, the king's brother, who held Tregoin, or Tregoni; after which, this manor, I find, came very early into the possession of the ancient family of the Pomeroys, who, no doubt, obtained great inheritance in this county, by the marriage of Joel, son of Ralph de Pomeroy, (who came into England with the conqueror) with one of the natural daughters of Henry I. and sister to Reginald earl of Cornwall, by whom he had issue Henry, who temp. R. Johannis, married Matilda de Vitrei, and had issue Henry; whose son Henry, by marriage with Joan Valletort, left issue a son, named likewise Henry, who, anno. 18. Edw. I. was found next heir to the last of that noble family; whose ancestor, Roger de Valletort, anno 32. Hen. II. gave that king 100 marks for the honour of Moreton. To which honour this borough, with the two Looes, and Saltash, I should judge to have belonged, and been comprehended among the knight's fees, and so to have from the Valletorts descended to the Pomeroys; but that I find them possessed of it in Henry the third's time, in the 44th year of whose reign, Henry de Pomeroy held the manor of Tregoney.* 12. In the conqueror's time, the earl of Moreton held *Treurgeu*; as TRURO is denominated in Domesday.---"This town, under the name of *Triuereu*, was, afterwards, the possession of Richard de Lucy, a person of great note in the reigns of king Stephen, and Henry the Second; in the eighth of whose reign he was made justice of England. From him it came to Reginald Fitz-Roy, who was one of the illegitimate sons of king Henry the First, and was created earl of Cornwall by king Stephen in the 5th of his reign, and died in the 21st of Henry the Second. He, by his charter, granted to his free burgesses of Triuereu, that they should have all their free customs, and such as were used in cities, and the same in all things which they had in the time of Richard de Lucy (that is to say, *sac, soc, tol, them,* and *infangenethuf)* and granted them, that they should not plead or be prosecuted in hundred or county-courts, nor for any summons should go

* *B. Willis,* Pp. 112, 113.----"The castle of Tregoney, (as tradition saith) was built by Henry de Pomeray, on behalf of John earl of Cornwall in opposition to king Richard the First his elder brother, then beyond the seas in the holy war." *Hals,* p. 80.

any where to any law-business without the town of Trieuereu; and that they should be quit from paying toll through all Cornwall, in fairs and markets, and wheresoever they bought and sold; and that for the goods they trusted, when they were not paid, they might distrain their debtors, when they found them in their town. The charter itself runs thus:----" Reginaldus regis filius comes Cornubiæ. Omnibus baronibus Cornubiæ & omnibus militibus, & omnibus libere-tenentibus, & omnibus tam Anglicis quam Cornubiensibus, salutem. Sciatis, quod concessi *liberis burgensibus* meis de *Triuereu* habere omnes *liberas consuetudines & urbanas*, & easdem in omnibus quas habuerunt in tempore *Ricardi de Lucy*, scilicet *sacham, & socham, & toll, & them, & infangenethuf* & concessi eis quod non placitent in *hundredis*, nec *comitatibus*, nec pro aliqua summonitione eant ad placitandum alicubi extra villam de *Triuereu*, & quod quieti sint de *tholneo* dando per totam *Cornubiam* in feriis, & in foris, & ubicunque emerint & vendiderint, & quod de pecunia eorum accredita, & non reddita *Namum* capiant, in villa sua de debitoribus suis. His testibus, &c." Without date. In the same record it follows thus:---" Inspeximus etiam chartam quam Henricus proavus noster (Henry the Second, who was great grandfather to Edward the First) fecit eisdem burgensibus in hæc verba. Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ; & dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ & comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, Baronibus, justiciiariis, vice-comitibus, ministris & omnibus fidelibus suis Francis, & Anglis, totius *Angliæ*, & *Cornubiæ*, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse & præsenti carta confirmasse *burgensibus* Ricardi de Lucy de *Triuereu* omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines, quas *Comes Reginaldus Arunculus meus*, (base son to Henry the First, and so brother to Maud the empress) rationabiliter dedit eis & concessit sicut *tarta* ipsius comitis testatur, quare volo, &c. testibus R. episcopo Winton, &c. without date---both which charters Edward the First confirmed by his charter, dated on the 12th of June, in the 13th of his reign, *Edmund* then earl of Cornwall being witness to it.†

† *Brady*, Pp. 93, 94.----" At the last visitation of this county, (Herald's Office), it is said that the town and borough of Truro was incorporated, by the name of major and burgesses, by Reginald earl of Cornwall, natural son of

13. PENRYN may be cursorily noticed as an ancient manor belonging to the see of Exeter.* 14. HELSTON, in Cornish *Hellas*, says Browne Willis. This town is mentioned in Domesday, under the title of *terra regis*; as *Henliston* indisputably§ means *Helston*. That Helston has been from the earliest times to the present, a place of consideration, may be in some measure inferred from the great number of its charters; the first of which was bestowed by king John, who made this a free borough, and granted it a gild mercatory.‡ 15. MARAZION was privileged from

Henry the First; which as appeareth by record, was done by Richard Lucy, alias Lacam; testibus Rogero de Valitort, Roberto de Edune Anvilla, Ricardo de Raddona, Aldredo de Sancto Martino, sealed with an ancient seal, with a man on horseback.----We find also, that the major of Truro hath always been, and still is major of Falmouth; as by an ancient grant, now in the custody of the said major and burgesses, doth appear." *W. Tonkin's MS.* v. 4. p. 204. For the extensive possessions and power of the DE LUCI's, see *Madox*'s Exchequer, v. 1. Introd. p. xxiii. v. 2. Pp. 182, 205, 206, 318, and various other places.

* "This town was a privileged manor, with the jurisdiction of a court-leet, before the Norman conquest; and had the same concerted in a charter by king Henry III. granted to Will. Brewer, bishop of Exon, then lord thereof; as his successors still are." *Hals*, p. 146.

§ Yet Brady speaks of *Henliston* as *Helston* with some degree of hesitation, p. 90.

‡ "That this was a privileged place, and the yoke-land of a manor with court-leet, long before the Norman conquest, I make no doubt; since the whole hundred of Helston, in king Alfred's days, was in chief denominated from it. [What authority there is for this assertion, I know not.] Besides this testimony, in the Domesday, we read that by the name of Hel-les-ton [Hen-lis-ton] this castle was then named. Moreover Brookes, York Herald, tells us (in his catalogue of Cornish earls) that the privileges of this town or manour were concerted into a charter and incorporated, by Richard Plantaganet, earl of Cornwall, third son of king Henry the Second, surnamed Cur-Lyon, (Cœur-de-Lion), by the name of Helston; as appeared from the charter which he had then in his custody, to the seal whereof was affixed *a lion rampant*. [Here appeal is made to the very charter itself, while in Willis (ii. 67) it is said only, that "the same king also," Edward the Third, in the 10th year of his reign, "recites by inspeximus king John's charter, and the confirmation thereof by Richard king of the Romans." But then Willis adds that John by his charter, dated the 18th day of April, in the second year of his reign, "made Helleston a free borough, and granted the burgesses of the said town a merchant-gild, &c.; for which, (as Willis subjoins,) they paid a fine of 40 marks and one palfrey. But for obtaining the bill in fee-farm, which the king granted to the burgesses, they were to pay annually the usual rent and 4l. increase, which increase was equal to the said farm-rent itself; as appears by his charter, dated three days after the first charter." The king also, "by his charter dated at Launceston, Jan. 6, in the *third* year of his reign, further grants them the mills without the town, and liberty of building others upon the water belonging to the town, and 33 acres of land adjoining to it, to hold in fee-farm paying yearly 18l. 6s. 8d." All those "customs these burgesses certified their claim [to, anno 30. Edw. I." And all were confirmed to them "again in the 10th year of the reign" of Edward III. (67-68.) But when Willis subjoins, that this town was *incorporated* anno 27. Eliz." he speaks less judiciously than Hals, who says it was "incorporated" by John's and Richard's charter, in the *third* year of John. It must have been "incorporated," when it was made a free borough in the *second* of John; and long before."] *W. Hals*, v. 1. pp. 28. 29. ---The charter of leasing this town to the burgesses, is as follows: "Johannes Dei gratia, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse, &c. burgensibus nostris de Helleston villam de Helleston, cum pertinentiis ad firmam, per antiquam

very ancient times, with the jurisdiction of a court-leet. 16. ST. IVES "claims, holds and rents the ancient privileges thereof; which it enjoys by prescription or tenure, as the manor of Ludguan-Les formerly did, or Trenwith, before the commons were admitted into the parliament-house."§ 17. The manor of MICHEL is still in possession of the ancient family of Arundel, of Llanhern, whose ancestor, Ralph de Arundel, purchased the same, temp. Henry III. by whose interest, I presume, with Richard earl of Cornwall, king of the Almains, (for whom he executed the sheriff's office for the county of Cornwall, anno 44. Henry III.) this town obtained its privileges; for anno 30. Edward I. John de Arundel, grandson of this Ralph, certified his claim to a market and fair in his manor of Modeshole, which he challenged by hereditary descent from one Ralph his ancestor; and pleaded, that the said Ralph purchased this manor of Peter de Ralegh, heir of Walter de Ralegh and Isabell his wife, to which Walter, king Henry by his charter gave the aforesaid liberties; which being produced by the said John, the same was allowed. As to procuring markets in these days, 'twas easily obtained, and almost every town, belonging to persons of eminence, was vested with that privilege; I having seen frequent grants of markets and fairs, in this age, to monasteries situate near no town, made on no other account, than to indulge them liberty of buying at their own gates; there being anciently a restraint or penalty laid on persons, who presumed so to do in places not qualified by charter; which case I have here noted, to shew, that I dont conceive that this place ought to be reckoned more considerable on the account of this privilege, which might scarcely be made use of. However, here is yet a fair observed on the 4th of October, on St. Francis's day, an Italian, founder of the Franciscan order of Friars."* 18. PADSTOW, was a town of note in the Saxon times.† 19. "CAMELFORD was created a borough by Richard earl of Cornwall,

firmam et debitam, et de cremento quatuor librarum habendum et tenendum, quamdiu nobis bene et fideliter servierint, et firmam suam bene reddiderint, reddendo firmam suam per manus suas ad Scaccaria nostra, medietatem ad Pasche, et aliam medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis. Et sciendum quod crementum tale erit quale est firma. Teste Simone de Pateshull, apud Dorcestriam, 18 Aprilis. Cart. anno 2. Johannis, p. 1. m. 50." *B. Willis*, pp. 539, 540. § *Hals's MS.* in St. Ives. * *B. Willis*, pp. 156, 157.

† Padstow, in Cornish Lodenek; in English, Adelstow, from Athelstan, the chief giver of privileges unto it. *Leland's Itin.* vol. 2. "I have read, that Padstow is a complete word, from *Adelstow*, and should signify

who, when king of the Romans, by his charter made this place a free borough, and granted the burgesses a Friday-market, and a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Swithin; all which liberties were confirmed by his brother king Henry III. by his charter dated at Westminster, June 12, 1259, and in the 44th year of his reign."‡

20. TINTAGEL, once the residence § of Arthur, was imprivileged by Richard earl of Cornwall, who granted: "Quod burgus noster de *Tyntaivil* sit liber burgus."

III. It should be observed, that in this account of our towns, as well as all other parts of the present chapter, I have acquiesced in simple statements. Various opportunities for hypothetical reasoning, have, certainly occurred: But where historical documents were wanting, I have, for once, been successful in imposing silence on fancy.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

RELIGION.

FROM civil we pass to ecclesiastical history: And, as the view of religion is again opening upon us, the persecuting Theodoric for a moment presents himself in the picture; though we have already had a glimpse of this pagan prince of Cornwall imbruing his hands in the blood of the christians. Among these are numbered

Athelstani locus. It, evidently, had in times past sundry charters of privilege from Athelstan; although, at present it be well stored with Irishmen." *Harrison.*

‡ *B. Willis*, p. 84.

§ "This castle of Tintagel, is said in the time of the Britons to have been the seat of the dukes of Cornwall, and pretends to have been the birth-place of the famous king Arthur, which happened above 500 years before the conquest, that prince being born in the year 500; fifteen years after which he is said to have succeeded his father in the kingdom, and to have lost his life in the 36th year of his reign, in a battle near this place. Of this king Arthur's acts, the lord Bacon says, there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous: A large history may be seen of him in most of our chronicles, and especially in Leland's Collectanea, vol. 5." *B. Willis*, p. 120.

Fingarus, a disciple of St. Patrick, his sister Piala, St. Breaca, the abbot Sinninus, and the Irish king Germochus, who landing at the mouth of the Hayle, near the castle of Theodoric, were, it seems, apprehended and condemned to martyrdom. The succeeding kings were so thoroughly engaged by their powerful enemies, that religion had little share of their attention. We are informed, indeed, that Vortimer rebuilt the churches ruined by the Saxons: But his reign was too short and interrupted to administer any essential services to religion. A provincial synod was soon after held under the direction of Aurelius Ambrosius;* though the measures concerted for the reformation of Christianity, whatever they might have been, could have had little or no effect, in these turbulent times. But †Arthur, at the beginning of the sixth century, is brought forward as the greatest champion in the Christian cause. For the sake of Christianity, he is said to have abated much of his pretensions as a warrior and king; and to have rendered his Cornish subjects tributary to Cerdic, on condition that the Saxon should allow them the ‡free exercise of the Christian religion. In the more eastern parts of Britain, the §Saxon paganism had obtained to the subversion of Christianity. Thus was Arthur our Christian hero: But the prevalence of Christianity in Cornwall, was chiefly owing to the saints from Ireland. The most illustrious of these saints was St. Petroc, whose name is supposed to be retained in the monastery of Petrockstow.¶

* *Speed*, p. 80. † *Speed*, p. 268. ‡ *Rudburn's* Chron. l. ii. cap. 1. *Usher*, chap. xiii. p. 468.

§ The *Saxons* are chiefly to be looked on as a nation of soldiers. Nurtured with no other ideas of happiness, than those of military valor, independence and glory, they built their stern religion upon the basis of war-----a religion, which had been corrupted with the grossest absurdities long before their establishment in this island. Their Edda is well known to contain a system of mythology the wildest and most romantic that ever a human imagination conceived. And to this great repository of Fable my readers must recur, if they would wish to be acquainted with the religious principles, the divinities, and the worship of the pagan Saxons. I shall only remark, that the Saxons believed in the immortality of the soul, which was to go after death, either to Valkalla, the seat of heroes; or to Niftheim, the abode of evil: that their chief deities were Odin, Frea, and Thor; and that in honor of these gods, they kept three great festivals---(besides many others of inferior note) which were celebrated with feasting, drinking, and dancing. This religion essentially differed from Druidism, though in some points resembling our island superstition.

¶ Now *Padstow*; where he is said to have lived and instructed his disciples about thirty years; and at his decease to have been buried here, and afterwards translated to Bodmin Priory. The design of the monasteries of this age, was very different from that of the monasteries in after times. They were seminaries of active piety and virtue: they were nurseries of saints and teachers, not of voluptuaries and hypocrites. We have no distinct orders of monks in those

Among the West-Saxons, Birinus, missionary from pope Honorius, was the most successful preacher of the gospel. And his preaching was greatly supported by Oswald king of Northumberland, who arrived at the court of Cynegilsus king of Wessex, in 635, to marry the daughter of that prince. By the persuasion of the Northumbrian king, Cynegilsus embraced Christianity; and the ceremony of his baptism was performed by Birinus. It was in consequence of this, that the new convert founded an episcopal see at Dorchester near Oxford, appointing this famous saint the first bishop. And all West-Saxony, (and in course Cornwall) was included in this bishoprick. In 636, Quickhelm, son of Cynegilsus, and many other of his subjects were baptized by the bishop of Dorchester. During the government of Birinus, some progress was made in the church establishment. It was about the year 636, that Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, first began to divide England

early ages. With all the severity of their lives, purity of their doctrines, and ardour of their preaching, these holy men could scarcely uphold the truth against the obstinacy of prejudice, and the rancour of persecution. The *Saxons* had laid our religion almost in ruins by the demolition of churches and religious houses; though rather actuated by a military frenzy, than a persecuting spirit: Yet after the death of Arthur, they appeared to be absolutely determined on the extirpation of Christianity. They destroyed wherever they came, every monument of religion and of learning. The miserable Christians fled before them to our western hills: Into Cornwall retired the archbishops of London and and York, Theonus and Thadiocus: And here, at distance from the enemies of the gospel, they preached and propagated its doctrines with more than usual success. See *Usher's* Prim. p. 576. At this moment, however, the Saxons are represented as becoming converts to Christianity on the preaching of St. Austin; and, like the apostle St. Paul, embracing the gospel amidst the persecution of it. But the immediate effect of their conversion was no other than the bitterest animosity; For Austin and his fellow missionaries not content to convert the Saxons, were strenuous in correcting the errors of the Britons; who being at a great distance from Rome, and perpetually at war, had not admitted the innovations of that church, but adhered to the first, plain Christianity, which they received 400 years before. A synod was appointed about 601; and seven British bishops, with many others from the monastery of Bangor appeared. (See *Bede*, lib. ii. cap. 2.) But no accommodation ensued. The Britons were as tenacious of their own accustomed time of holding Easter, (the great subject of debate) and as resolute in maintaining their independence on any foreign hierarchy, as Austin was eager to establish his superiority, and impose the Romish observation of that festival. The Cornish Britons had either their own representatives at this synod, or were represented by their brethren of Wales; and Brochwell king of Powis then general of the Britons, being soon after defeated by the Saxons, and the monks of Bangor (attending the British army to pray for them) slain without mercy to the number of 1200, Belthrusius then duke of Cornwall, sent aid to his fellow Britons of Wales; and by his assistance in a great measure it was, that the Welsh had the victory, and slew of the Saxons 1066 men. (See *Hunting*. p. 287.) The dispute about the time of Easter, lasted full a hundred years after this: and though the mutual right of Britons and Saxons to celebrate that high festival, should have united them in Christian love; yet a few days difference in the time of observing a thing in itself of no importance occasioned the most inveterate hatred; insomuch, that *Huntington* (p. 187.) calls the Britons a perfidious nation, a detestable army; *Malmsbury* (p. 28.) calls the Cornish *contaminata gens*, a contaminated people; and *Bede* himself does not scruple to call the Britons a wicked and accursed nation.

into parishes, assigning the care of single churches* to single presbyters or priests,‡ in imitation of the Romish pontiffs who had already, in various places, introduced this excellent regulation. The counties of Cornwall and Devon seem to have been subject to the bishopric of Dorchester about 25 years; when in the time of bishop Ægelbert, who succeeded Birinus in 650, the diocese was divided into two parts---an episcopal see being erected at Winchester. And West-sex was under the bishop of Winton. After this division, Cornwall and Devon continued under the bishops of Winchester, till 705. In this year the see of Winchester was divided into two dioceses; those of Winchester and Sherborne; in conformity to the decree of a provincial synod held under Brithwald archbishop of Canterbury, and the desire of Ina, king of the West-Saxons. The western counties were now transferred to the see of Sherborne. The first bishop of Sherborne was †Aldhelm, a kinsman of king Ina; who was raised to this dignity, after he had governed the monastery of Thelmsbury, of which he was the founder, about 30 years. The episcopal power continued at Sherborne, without any material accident or alteration, till the year 897: but after the death of Ethelwald, the 13th bishop of Sherborne, the confusion of war prevented

* The scite of our parochial churches was, probably, that of the pagan temples. Here too were encampments; since the ancients used to form their entrenchments near their temples, if no inconvenience in the situation prevented it. The consecration of the ground adjoining to churches, as places of burial took place, on the application of *Cuthbert*, archbishop of Canterbury, to the pope on this subject; till which time the dead were never interred in cities or towns, much less in churches, but in common fields or orchards.

‡ Originally the temporalities of the church would claim the protection and guardianship of the baron. And to engage this protection and ensure this guardianship more effectually, the latter was indulged with the liberty of recommending a clerk to the bishop. This power of recommendation soon settled into a right of nomination. And it retains to the present moment the reason of the original indulgence in the continuing name of advowsons, patronage or guardianship. Coeval with the commencement of the church, and granted to the baron for the better security of it, the right became annexed to the manor, with the power of patronage. And, under all the revolutions of government, and all the extinctions of families, it remained the appendant right of the barony, even to the reign of queen Mary." *Whitaker's Manchest.*

† There is a curious epistle of this bishop, relating to the sacerdotal tonsure. It is addressed "to my glorious lord *Geruntius*, king of the western kingdom, whom I, as God the searcher of hearts is my witness, do embrace with brotherly charity, and likewise to all God's priests inhabiting Danmonium." The Cornish, it seems, shaved only from ear to ear; while the Saxons, according to the usage of the Romish church, shaved all but the hinder part of the head, Such was the subject of our good bishop's epistle; containing, probably, neglected blessings, and despised remonstrances. The British Geruntius would rather have given up his country to be deluged by the blood of his subjects, than have altered his mode of shaving at the instance of a Saxon bishop! So bigotted and so blind is superstition! See *Usher*, pp. 923, 1152. Winton. Hist. Monast. Anglican. Propylæum, from *Bede*, lib. ii. cap. xx.

all attention to ecclesiastical affairs: And the western counties were deprived of a bishop, for more than seven years. The pope, being informed of this circumstance, threatened to excommunicate king Edward* (the son of Alfred) and all his subjects, unless he immediately appointed bishops to the vacant sees: In consequence of which the king made a progress through the west; and finding, on his arrival at Exeter, that the western people had been really without a bishop for several years, convened a provincial synod, in 905, who were ordered to take proper measures to supply the deficiency. By this synod, over which Plegmundus, the archbishop of Canterbury, presided, it was decreed that the two West-Saxon dioceses of Winchester and Sherborne should be divided into five: And Plegmundus consecrated five bishops in one day; *Westan*, for Devonshire, to the see of *Tawton*, since called *Bishop's-Tawton*; *Adelstan*, for Cornwall,† whose see (we are told) was at *Bodmin*; and *Athelm*, abbot of Glastonbury, for Somersetshire, whose see was fixed at *Wells*. The new bishop, who filled the vacancy at Sherborne, was, probably *Asser the 2d.*; and the fifth bishop was Kedulf, appointed to the see of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire. The bishop of Tawton, dying in 906, was succeeded by Putta, who fell by the hands of Uffa or his soldiers, about four years afterwards; when it was determined to remove the Devonian see from Tawton to Crediton.‡ It is commonly stated, that the Cornish

* By virtue of a decree from pope Formosus, king Edward the Elder gave to Edulph, bishop of Crediton, three villages in Cornwall, *Polson*, *Culing* (or Celing) and *Lauwithan*; that from thenceforth every year he should visit the Cornish, to constrain them to lay aside their errors.

† An ancient register in the priory of Canterbury confirms this piece of history, with the addition, that the council made a particular provision for the Cornish, to recover them from their errors. *Spelman's* Councils, v. i. p. 387. *Rapin* remarks on this passage: "That by the errors of the Cornish we are to understand their refusing to acknowlege the papal authority." "The Britons in Cornwall (says Rowland, p. 150.) resisted the Romish usurpations much longer than the rest of the Britons: till about the year 905, when Edward the Elder, with the pope's consent, settled a bishop's see among them, which, by the pope's power, then greatly prevailing, in a short time reduced them, much against their will, to submit their ancient faith to the conduct of papal discipline, as most of the Britons were before forced to do." "This bishoprick was founded principally for the reduction of the rebellious Cornish to the Romish rites, who, as they used the language, so they imitated the lives and doctrine of the ancient Britons, neither hitherto, nor long after submitting themselves to the see apostolic." *Fuller*, Ch. Hist. cent. x. b. ii. p. 4.

‡ At this time the bishoprick of *Winchester* happened to be vacant by the death of Denulphus, and that of Sherborne, by the death of *Asser the 2d*: And Plegmundus, deeming it expedient to erect two new sees, one for *Sussex* and another for Wiltshire, had five bishops again to consecrate. From a due examination and comparison of facts and circumstances, it should appear that these five bishops were---- *St. Frithstane* for *Winchester*, *Werstan*

see continued at *Bodmin* till 981; when the devastations of the pirates, who burnt the town, not sparing the cathedral or the episcopal palace, occasioned its removal to St. Germans. From the year 935, to 981, seven bishops, we are told, sat at Bodmin. The first is conceived to have been *Athelstan* the First;----in whose time *Alpsius*, duke of Devon and Cornwall, gave the Cornish manor of Cargol to the bishops of this diocese. The next four, of whom we have no particular account, are named *Conan*, *Ruydocus*, *Aldred* the First, and *Brithwin*. The sixth, it seems, was *Athelstan* the Second, who is mentioned as witnessing the charters of king Edred and Edgar to the abbey of Croyland, in 966, and two other charters of Edgar to the abbey of Ely, in 970. *Wolfius* was, possibly, the seventh, or last bishop of *Bodmin*. The five St. German bishops are said to have been *Wonorus*, *Wolocus*, *Stidio*, *Aldred* the 2d, and *Burwold*. We find Aldred, in 996, a subscribing witness to two charters of king Ethelred; one of which was granted to the monastery of *St. Alban*. After the death of *Burwold*, his nephew *Levingus*, abbot of *Tavistock* and bishop of *Crediton*, prevailed with king Canute to unite in his person the bishopricks of Devonshire and Cornwall. The lord chancellor of England *Leofricus*, succeeding *Levingus*, resided at *Crediton* about four years; when, by the interest of Edward the Confessor with pope Leo IX. he procured the episcopal see to be removed to Exeter, as a place of greater safety, than any of the open towns of Devonshire and Cornwall, which had been long exposed to piratical invasion.---Soon after the conquest, considerable alterations took place with regard to the episcopacy. In the reign of William, the lands of the bishops and greater abbots, which had been held before in frankalmoigne, or free alms, were by the whole legislature, declared to be baronies, and bound to the same obligations of homage and military service, as the civil tenures of the like nature, agreeably to the practice in Normandy and in France. Hitherto the bishops and earls had exercised their jurisdiction jointly in the county courts: But the bishops had, now, a court of their own, for the sole trial of spiritual matters by the episcopal

for *Sherborne*, *Edulphus* for *Devonshire*, (his see being fixed at *Crediton*) *Beringus* for *Sussex*, and *Ethelstan* for *Wiltshire*. At Sherborne we trace a succession of twelve bishops, and of eight at Wilton; when the sees were united in the person of *Herman*.

laws.* Of such episcopal proceedings, as were peculiarly interesting to Cornwall,‡ from the conquest to Edward the First, there is little upon record.§ In the reign of Henry the Third, William Brewer, bishop of Exeter, accompanied the emperor Frederick to the Holy Land, at the head of forty-thousand Englishmen.† It may be presumed that a part of the bishop's army was raised in Cornwall: But we meet with few Cornish names in the earlier annals of ecclesiastical history.‖

Amidst these memorials of our *bishops*, we are not to forget, that *archdeacons*¶ were very early in existence; and that *rural deans*** were coeval with archdeacons. It appears, that Alnothus, the first archdeacon of Cornwall, died in 1096.

II. In noticing our religious constitution thus gradually advancing towards perfection, we observe, that during the period before us, the kingdom was divided into *parishes* - - - that parishes were included in *deanries*; deanries in *archdeaconries*; and certain archdeaconries in a *diocese*. And CORNWALL had now assumed its

* Though this was done under a specious pretence of reformation, and for the avoiding of confusion; yet it proved in its consequences a great cause of the corruption of the clergy, and of the advancement of their power beyond its due bounds. Besides the partiality with which they proceeded, on being thus left to themselves, they soon extended their judicature much farther than the legislature designed, including many causes, that in their own nature were merely civil, under the notion of spiritual matters, or as the statute terms it, cases belonging to the government of souls.

‡ In 1102, a council was held at Westminster under Anselm, with the consent of Henry I. when several very remarkable canons were made. The 26th is a curious canon: It forbids the worship of fountains; which was evidently a relict of the Druidical superstition, and to which the Cornish were still attached.

§ The endowment of our religious houses, &c. will be a topic for the next section: And the names of several of our bishops, will occur, as founders of such houses.

† See *Izacke's* Exeter, pp. 7, 8.

‖ In 1241, I find one of the MOHUN family honoured by a pension from the pope. See *Fuller's* Church Hist. pp. 64, 65.

¶ In France, the archdeacons made visitations, and convened synods, as early as the year 760. (*Baluzius*, tom. 1. cap. 177, 184.) And we find them in England exercising a jurisdiction with the bishop, about 950. (*Northum. Presb.* canon 4, 7, 8. p. 218. vol. 1. *Concilia.*)

** In France, we see the deans established in their deanries, and making visitations in them, as early as 850. And the whole of our spiritual police was brought into this country from France. Kennet, therefore, is mistaken in his account of rural deans and archdeacons. *Baluzius*, tom. 1. c. 860 and 1123. *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 638. In 1221, I find *Adam*, DEAN of *Ailesbiare*, (or Aylesbere one of the rural deanries in the archdeaconry of Exeter) a subscribing witness to a deed in the ledger-book of the priory of Otterton.

present ecclesiastical form, as a part of the diocese of Exeter; and as an archdeaconry in that diocese, embracing the deanries of *EAST, WEST, TRIGGE *Major*, TRIGGE *Minor*, PIDER, POWDER, KERRIER, PENWITH. I shall, therefore, go from deanry to deanry; examining our *religious houses*; and many of our *parish churches* or chapels.

1. In the deanry of EAST, ST. GERMANS has the first claim to attention. Here, was a collegiate church of ancient foundation, in honor of S. German, one of the famous French bishops who came over into Britain, to oppose the Pelagian heresy. Here, also, was fixed the episcopal see for Cornwall.‡ In the parish of EAST-ANTHONY, was a cell of black monks of Angiers, belonging to the priory of Trewardreth. It is mentioned in the catalogue of Gervase of Canterbury; and must, therefore, be as early as K. Richard the First's time. § At *Trebeigh*, was a preceptory of knight's hospitalers of S. John of Jerusalem, to which Henry de Pomerai and Reginald Marsh were considerable benefactors.‖

* The law of Athelstan, with respect to the Tamar, has given way, in several instances, to the regulations of the Normans. And Devonshire has intruded upon Cornwall, in Werington, N. Petherwin, and Maker. But, though these places were by the interposition of their lords subjected to the civil authority of Devon; yet care was taken to preserve the rights of the clergy inviolate. They are taxed as belonging to the hundreds of Cornwall in the valor of pope Nicholas: And they still continue subject to the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Cornwall.

‡ See *Tanner*, p. 66, 67. *Mon. Anglica.* tom. i. p. 213. ex *Leland.* Collect. i. 75. *Cressy's* Church-History, pp. 801, 832. "The now minister's chancel of this church of St. Germans was a chapel founded and endowed by king Athelstan, at such time as he was in Cornwall, 930, and dedicated to St. German. Of which fact speaks Roger Hoveden, a priest of Oxford, in his annals of the kings of England, p. 160. Rex Athelstanus, in potestatem Anglorum, dedit unam mansionem Deo, ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis, et Sancti Germani fratribus canonicis ib. famulantibus in Cornubia, A. D. 930. This abbey of St. German was afterward endowed with larger revenues by king Canute, A. D. 1020, who turned it, after its 90 years continuance in monkery, to a collegiate church of secular canons; who might marry wives, and converse in the world, as not tied to a monastic life, that is to say, a corporation or society of religious men, under the government of a dean, warden, provost, and master; to whom belonged clerks, chaplains, and singing-men." *Hals*, p. 140. "Leofricus successor to Livingus in the see of Crediton, (then the only see for the counties of Cornwall and Devon) is thought to have changed the secular into regular canons, and was therefore looked upon as their founder, and it was called a priory of the foundation, and patronage of the bishop of Exeter. Whether the regular canons of Leofric, first bishop of Exeter were displaced, and the seculars restored, I cannot say; but it is said by Leland, that Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, (temp. Hen. II.) introduced regulars here." *Tanner*, p. 67. *Prideaux's* Excerpta.

§ *Leland's* Itin. vol. iii. p. 2. *Taxat. Lincoln.* p. 367. In registr. Bronseomb, the vicarage of St. Antonine, in the patronage of Tywardreth.

‖ *Monast. Anglica.* tom. ii. p. 551. "At the time of the Domesday, this district was taxed under the jurisdiction of Biche-tone, i. e. Littletown; then, and long before, by prescription, the voke-land of a manor, barton,

Of the parish churches founded in this deanry, the rectory of CALSTOCK is, perhaps, one of the most ancient.*

2. In the D. of WEST, and the parish of S. NEOT, was a monastery or college founded in honor of S. Neotus, brother to king Alfred, who was here buried.† It

and court-leet; the same now extant by the name of Tre-bighe, or Tre-biche, i. e. *Town little*. But not so little but that it was a kind of a franchise royal, exempted and privileged in some respects against the common law, and within its precincts held pleas of debt and damages before the steward thereof (life and limb excepted); and had its prison and bailiff for the publick service, as the hundred courts have. Now, the writ to remove an action at law depending in this court was thus directed: *Senescallo et Ballivo Manerii sui de Trebiche, alias Trebighe, in Comitatu Cornubiæ Salutem.* This lordship was either by king Stephen or king Henry II. given to the knights hospitallers of St. John Baptist of Hierusalem, about the year 1150 (who endowed this church) where they had their preceptory, or commandery; a corporation under a preceptor, or commander, who took care of all their revenues, lands, and tenements, churches, chapels, and tythes. And those their churches were wholly appropriated to them, though they, as nuns, were not in holy orders to preach or administer the sacraments." *Hals*, p. 116.

* "Before the conquest, it was founded and endowed by the earls of Cornwall, out of the manor of Calstock." *Hals*, p. 53. The church of St. DOMINIC was dedicated to *St. Dominica*; LANDULPH (or *Landilp)* to *St. Dilp*: And MAKER, is supposed to take its name from S. *Macarius*, who was a native of Egypt and famous in the 4th century; or from *Macra Virgo*, the daughter of a Scottish king, who died a martyr at Rheims, in 304. MENHENIET, at the conquest (as *Hals* says) was included in the jurisdiction of Trehavock, now Trekawk.

† *Capgrave* thus speaks of our saint: "There was (says he) a certain king of the West-Angles, and of Kent, Edulphus(1) by name, more disposed to acts of pious liberality than to worldly ambition. He was a zealous defender of the church against all its enemies, and gave largely of his substance both to it and to the poor. God had regard to these his good works, and blest him with a son named *Neotus*. This youth of royal birth received every advantage that could be derived from the best education, and gave early marks of his contempt for the vanities and cares of this world; chusing rather to be a servant in the house of his god, than to indulge in the luxury and splendor of earthly palaces. He therefore became a monk in the house of Glastonbury, while Dunstan was abbot there. Here he was soon distinguished for his pious exercises and severities, and for the miracles he performed in casting out devils and healing the sick. Numbers resorted to him from all parts, both for the cure of bodily complaints, and for instruction in their spiritual concerns. He was endowed with every Christian virtue, eminent for his learning, eloquent of speech, discreet and intelligent in giving counsel, and of countenance truly angelic; but in stature he was a Zacchæus; insomuch that he was obliged to be mounted on an iron stool, whenever he performed mass.(2) Being made sacrist of the church, a certain great man knocking hastily while he was locked alone in it, *Neotus* run to open the door to him. He found himself too short to reach up to the lock of the door; when, lo! by divine energy the lock moved downward from its place, and stopped opposite to the girdle of the saint. After some time, being wearied with the concourse of people which resorted to him at Glastonbury, he was by divine impulse directed to seek a retirement in the remote province of *Cornwall*. He therefore directed his steps westward, accompanied only by one adherent named *Barius*, whom he had made acquainted with his design, and who remained faithfully attached to him till the hour of his death. The same providence which had moved him to undertake this journey, continuing to be his guide, he arrived in safety at the spot destined for his abode. The hermitage in which he settled is about ten miles distant from

(1) Ethelwolf. (2) The saint is not represented in these windows as lower of stature than any of the other figures: Yet there is a tradition in the parish no less ridiculous than the story here related by Capgrave. The inhabitants show a stone, opposite to the south porch, on which St. Neot is said to have stood, whenever he was disposed to go into the church to his devotions; and from thence to have thrown the key towards the church door, not being able from the ground to reach to the lock. The key of course found its way into the key-hole, and opened the door for him. The stone in question was evidently the foundation of an ancient cross, such as in popish times were always placed opposite to the south porch in every church yard.

continued, till after the conquest. The church, here, belonged to Montacute priory

the monastery of *St. Petroc*, in Cornwall;(1) and taking its name from this holy man is now called by the people of the country *Neotstoke*. It is a spot abounding in wood, well watered with clear streams, and not far distant from the sea. Having spent seven years here in great sanctity, he resolved on taking a journey to Rome; where he was honourably received by Martin, at that time pope; and after some space past with him to their mutual edification, he returned home with the pope's blessing, and with permission to build a monastery at this his place of retirement. Accordingly he erected here a suitable edifice, and filled it with monks; and was thought worthy of frequent consolation from angelic visitors. Near the spot on which his monastery stood, there was a spring of clear water, which in the driest seasons never failed. In it, this man of god perceived there were three fishes: but not presuming to touch them till it should be revealed to him for what purpose they were placed there, an angel appeared, to acquaint him, that every day, or as often as he should find occasion, he might take one, and one only, of these fishes for his use, leaving the other two untouched. This condition being observed, he was assured, that on his next return to the well he should always find three fishes, as at the first. It happened soon after this, that our saint was afflicted with a grievous disorder, and unable for some days to take any sustenance. *Barius*, his faithful and affectionate servant, being alarmed at his long abstinence, went to the well, and caught *two* fish, which he cooked in different ways boiling one and broiling the other, and brought them to his master in a dish. The good saint instantly took alarm, and enquired with much earnestness from whence these two fish came. *Barius*, with honest simplicity, told him, that he had taken them from the well, and had drest them in different ways, hoping that if one did not suit his sickly palate, the other might. Then said the saint, *Why hast thou done thus? How, in opposition to an express command, hast thou presumptuously ventured to take from the well more than one fish at a time?* He then commanded his trembling servant instantly to carry back the two fishes to the well; and throwing himself prostrate upon the floor, he continued in prayer till *Barius* returning acquainted him, that the two fishes, after having been drest, were now in the well, alive, and active, and disporting in the water as usual. Neotus then commissioned him to go again, and catch one fish only, and to dress that for his use: which his order being complied with, no sooner had he tasted of the fish than he was instantly restored to perfect health. Afterwards it befel, that the oxen belonging to the monastery were stolen; and for want of them the servants of the holy monks could not plough their grounds. Then behold! many stags from the adjoining woodlands, forgetting their savage nature, came and offered their necks to the yoke; and continued obediently to perform all the labours necessary for the support of the monastery, until the robbers who had carried off the oxen, hearing of this miracle, brought them back to *Neotus*, and expressing their repentance, framed their future lives by his counsel. It is said, that, from that day to the present, these deer, and all that are descended from them, are marked with white, wherever they were touched by the yoke or by the harness. But this, (says the grave historian) as I will not venture positively to affirm, so neither will I presume to deny it, or to doubt of the divine power to perform so great a miracle. It happened also, that this saint of heaven, standing in the well in which he was daily wont to repeat the whole psalter throughout, a hind, whom the dogs were pursuing, broke from the wood adjoining, and running towards him, fell at his feet, nor could it by any means be brought to rise till he had assured it of protection and security. The dogs presently after advancing towards it in full cry were checked and reproved by *Neotus*, on which they immediately turned tail, and fled hastily away from their prey. The huntsman, beholding this wonder, fell prostrate before the saint, and took upon him the habit of a monk in the priory of St. Petroc; in which priory his horn is preserved as a memorial of this adventure. During the residence of Neotus in this place, his brother Alfred, afterwards king of the West-Saxons, came to him to intreat his blessing and instruction. *Neotus* readily conferred upon him both: and training him in good learning, and forming his mind to prudence and virtue, he corrected the evil dispositions of his youth; and this he did with a degree of freedom and boldness, which by the nearness of his blood he was entitled to exercise. The same Alfred, when he came afterwards to the throne, betrayed some symptoms of a proud and tyrannical temper; for which he was sharply reproved by our saint, who instructed him in the duties of a sovereign, and foretold his future

(1) This is a mistake. The meaning must be that Neotstowe is about ten miles distant from Petrocstowe, or Padstow; not from the monastery of St. Petroc, at Bodmin.

in Somerset.‡ In § S. VEEP, is the abbey of *Caroc S. Pill*, founded by William earl of Moreton.‖

humiliation and sufferings, as also his glorious deliverance from them; adding withal, that he himself should shortly go the way of all flesh. He died accordingly soon after in the odour of sanctity at this his monastery of *Guerrirstoke*; and the earth that covered his grave, when mixed with any liquid, was sovereign in all disorders both of men and cattle. The history of Alfred's troubles is well known. When his fortune was at its lowest ebb, *Neotus* his brother appeared to him in a vision, comforting him with the promise that he should not only overcome his pagan foes, but should likewise convert them and their leader to Christianity; and that in the seventh week after Easter he would again appear to him, and would in person lead him and his troops to victory. This his promise he faithfully performed; and on the appointed day he was plainly seen by Alfred and all his army leading them against the Danes, whom they defeated, and who, with their king *Guthrun*, were prevailed upon to embrace the Christian faith. *Barius*, after this, removed a part of *Neotus's* relics to *Enolvesburi* in the county of *Huntingdon*. *Lewina*, lady of *Enolvesburi*, fearing the incursions of the barbarians, caused them again to be removed from thence to *Croyland*, of the abbey at which place her brother *Orketellus* was superior. It being doubted in after-times whether any relics of this saint were really deposited at *Croyland*, the abbot ordered wax-candles to be lighted; and breaking open, with great reverence the chest wherein it was reported they lay, there issued from it a most fragrant and delicious smell, and in it were found the crown of the skull, with the bones of the shoulder and breast, and of the hips and shins; being all that Lewina had sent thither. These bones Henry, then abbot, removed from the spot where they before were, and placed them under an altar erected in the church of *Croyland*, to the honour of *St. Neot*." Such is the account given by Capgrave of Neotus. If he had in truth any share in forming the character of Alfred, or in inducing him to found or restore the university of Oxford, he was deserving of a better historian than the monkish panegyrists. *Leland* adds credit to both these facts: "Many (says he) write that he was nearly allied by blood to the great Alfred, and lived in close intimacy with him, and was of great use and comfort to him during his deprest state in the isle of *Athelingey*: he is also believed to have induced him to rebuild the English school at Rome founded by king Ina, and augmented in its revenues by Offa; and from the same pious zeal for learning and religion to have prevailed on him to found the new schools at the *ford* of *Isis*." Mr. *Hals*, in the papers he has left, says, that "*St Neot*, younger son of *Ethelwolfe*, king of the West-Saxons, built and endowed *Neotius* college, in Oxford, which was afterwards pulled down and new built by William Long, alias de Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 5 March 1379, and called by him *New College*." In the church in Huntingdonshire, dedicated to our saint, there is a chapel, called *Jesus Chapel*, which about forty years ago was laid open to the church. In it were the remains of a monument, supposed to have once contained such bones of St. Neot as were carried thither from his monastery in Cornwall. A regal crown carved in stone (denoting the royal birth of the person to whose memory the monument was erected) and underneath it the letters OBTHESOV, are still preserved. The windows of St. Neot's church, Huntingdonshire, have formerly been painted with figures of saints: the drapery still remains, and is well executed, but the heads are all taken away; whether destroyed by fanatic zeal, or pilfered by antiquarian curiosity, is unknown. In one window there is a crown in painted glass, and in another an archbishop's pall: the former had probably some reference to the patron-saint." See "*Some Account of the Church Window of St. Neots, Cornwall*, 1786." Of the windows in question, an account will be given hereafter. "At St. Neot's, (says bishop Gibson) the very footsteps of the old college are quite gone; so that there are no ruins of it within the parish. Nobody knows where it stood: Nor are there any church-lands that are known to have formerly belonged to it; which makes it probable that it was alienated long before the reformation. There is at present a fine country church: And in the windows are several pictures relating to some particular traditions of the Jews: which are exactly delivered in a Cornish book now in the public library at Oxford. Tis probable they had these traditions immediately from the Jews themselves, who were here in great numbers about the tin." *Gibson's Camden*. pp. 22, 33.

‡ *Cressy's* Church History, p. 768. *Leland*, vol. iii. p. 13. *Spelm.* Life of Alfred, p. 189.---"From this church of St. Neot's, the earl (as Exeter Domesday calls him) that is, William earl of Moreton and Cornwall, took

Of the parish churches, I have nothing very particular to remark.¶

3. In the D. of TRIGG MAJOR, the church of S. STEPHEN near Launceston was collegiate: And in the college were secular canons before the conquest. This

away all the lands, excepting one acre, which he left to the priests; and the same earl seems to have annexed it to Montacute priory in Somersetshire. The founder of this monastery is not known, but probably it was Alfred, or some of his family; for Asser in his life of Alfred tells us, that king Alfred being ill, prostrated himself in the church of St. Guerir, and there performing his devotions with great zeal, was surprizingly recovered; and St. Neot dying here with great reputation for his sanctity, and being here interred, 'tis not unlikely that Alfred (by whom he was highly honoured after his death) or his son Edward, might have founded a religious house of clerks (as Spelman calls them) in this place, in grateful remembrance of the abovementioned recovery, as well as to do honour to the name of so near a relation." *Borlase*, p. 353. "We cannot wonder that no traces of the monastery founded here by St. Neot should now remain, when we consider that it was stripped of its possessions soon after the conquest by Robert earl of Mortaigne. Nor do its endowments appear ever to have been of great value, as *Camden*, and those who copy after him, have asserted. The entry in Domesday concerning it is as follows: "The clerks of St. Neot hold Neotestov. They held it in the time of the Confessor. It consists of two hides of land; [each hide of 96 acres, according to Gervase of Tilbury] for which they never paid taxes. In it are 4 bordarii: [probably, tenants, who held under the condition of supplying the table of the lord with a certain rated proportion of provisions.] It is valued at 5 shillings. All this land except one acre of land, which the priests still have, the earl has taken away from the church. Odo holds under him. It is valued at 5*s*. formerly it was valued at £0*s*."* *Forster*, pp. 3, 4.

§ A small religious house of two benedictine or cluniac monks, as early as K. Richard the First's time, and a cell to Montacute in Somerset, is called by Gervase *S. Syriac*, by Henr. Sulgrave (MS.) *S. Cyriac*. in Mon. Anglic. *S. Carricius*, in Taxat. Lincoln. (MS.) *S. Karrocus*, by Leland (Itin. vol. iii, p. 20.) *S. Cyret* and *Julette*. Tanner was perfectly ignorant of its situation; as of other religious houses: But, after much attention to the subject, I have assigned them all, I believe, their proper places. S. VEEP was the church of the abbot of *S. Caroc* monastery in this parish; endowed by William earl of Moreton. *Hals*.

‖ "In this cell lived Walter de Exon." See *Izacke*.

¶ The church of Leskeard was impropriated to the priory of Launceston. Leland mentions here a park, and herein "a chapel of our lady, famous for the frequent pilgrimages that have been made to it: This, with two or three others, were chapels of ease to Leskard." *Br. Willis*, p. 30. DULO. In Usher de Brit. Eccl. Primord. p. 560, it appears that the church of S. Theliaus in Wales, is called *Lhau Deilo Vaur*, the church of great Theliaus. And the change of Deilo to *Dulo*, is so easy, that S. Theliaus seems to have the best title to this parish, as the patron and the namer of it. In confirmation of this conjecture, we find on the barton of Trevidren in S. Berian, a chapel dedicated to S. Dillo, who is undisputably this Theliaus. *Tonkin's MSS*. Others think, that *Dulo* means, the *black water*. WARLEGAN. This was the chapel of Cabillian or Cabellian. "Temp. Henr. 3. Edw. 1. Petrus fil. Ogeri, tenet Quadragin. acr. terræ per serjantiam in *Cabellian*, in Com Cornub. per Unam Capam de Gresenge, in adventum dict. regis in Cornubiam." *Walkers Hals*, p. 198. in Warlegan. CARDINHAM. "*Cardinham* the *Rock-Man's Home*, or *Car-dyu-an*, the *man* that dwelt upon, or had his residence amongst *rocks*, with which sort of inanimate creatures the north part of this parish aboundeth. It takes its name from the manor and barton of Old Cardinham, as thence did its lord and owner Robert de Cardinan, temp. Rich. I. the same gentleman mentioned in

* In this parish are four manors: 1. The manor of St. Neot, called in the Domesday Neotstov, now the property of Elias Lang, esq. 2. The manor of St. Neot Barrett; called likewise Neotstov in Domesday, now in Sir John Morshead, baronet. 3. The manor of Trevegoe; Trevagau in Domesday; also in Sir John Morshead. 4. The manor of Trenay, alias Fawton, in Domesday Fawinton; now in Grylls and Thomas, clerks, and Pomeroy and Rundle, gentlemen; who also have the great tythes of St. Neot's and the patronage of the vicarage appendant to them."

college was given to the bishop, and church of Exeter by Hen. I. and suppressed about 1126, by William Warlewast bishop of Exeter, who removed the canons from the hill into a more retired situation under the castle, about half a mile nearer to the town, where he founded a priory for canons of the order of St. Austin, and dedicated it to St. Stephen as the college had been before.* According to Hals, there was a nunnery at ALTARNUN.† In the parish of LANCELLS, was a *cell* to the abbey of Hertland: Whence the name of the parish.‡ Ordulph, duke of Devon, gave WERINGTON to the abbey of Tavistock.§

Mr. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, who by the tenure of knight-service held in those parts seven knight's fees; which undoubtedly then was the greatest estate pertaining to any private man in this province. He was not only the founder and endower of the alien priory of St. Andrew, at Tywardreth, but also of this rectory church." *Hals*, pp. 49, 50.

* "The town and parish of Launceston took the name from the ancient priory and church here now demolished, *Lanstaphedon*,(1) the church of St. Stephen. The present church is dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene. Carew says, the Cornish called it Lesteevan, which is Lansteevan, St. Stephen's church." *Tonkin.*----"The then earl of Cornwall, who was a great benefactor to the collegiate church of St. Stephen's, near Launceston, used his interest with king Stephen to bring back the bishopric of Cornwall, and fix the bishop's see at St. Stephens, in 1150. *Robert Warlewast*, bishop of Exeter, opposed him: And in his first triennial visitation of his (Cornish) diocese came and visited the collegiate church at St. Stephens, and suppressed the order of secular priests, and brought in, to supply their places, black monks, and converted the church and college into the abbey or priory of St. Stephens." *Hals's MSS.* In the recital of the donors and donations of the priory, made in the charter of K. John, there is no mention at all of bishop Warlewast. But Reginald, earl of Cornwall, seems to make the greatest figure there. He was certainly a considerable benefactor, if not the founder of this house.

† "Carew is of opinion, that the names are derived from the altar of St. Nunn's Pool in this parish, heretofore much frequented for the cure of mad people. I conceive, however, the word *Altar* is not a derivative from *Altare* an altar, whereon sacrifices were made, by fire or otherwise, at this pool; but rather that the chancel of the present church was a chapel pertaining to the nuns once here, afterwards augmented and converted to a vicarage church, as it now stands; and that the ground whereon the vicarage-house is extant, contiguous therewith, was of old the nunnery-house itself, wherein those virgins resided; the stones and materials of which old house are concerted in the new vicarage mansion. And, to prove this tradition, there yet appears in the fields the channel by which the waters of St. Nun's Pool were carried into this old nunnery-house in former ages. So that I conclude that the name *Altar Nun*, implies to *alter* or *change* from one thing to another; from a nunnery of religious votresses to a parochial or vicarage church!!!" *Hals*, p. 6.

‡ *Carew*, f. 118. *a*.

§ He was the founder of that abbey. "Ordulphus *dux Cornubiæ* tempore Edgari regis fundavit monasterium de Tavystoke." *Will. of Worcester.* MORWINSTOWE. In Domesday this parish is taxed under the name of Orchet, which place is now in the parish of Kilkhamton. WARBSTOW. "The true name of this parish is St. Warburgstow, St. Warburgh's place, from St. Warburg, alias Werburg (she was the daughter of Wolpher king of Mercia, and son to the famous Penda, The church celebrated her memory the twenty-first of June) a holy virgin, to whom

(1) In Domesday Lanstaveton.

4. In the D. of TRIGG MINOR, BODMIN olim *Bosmanna*---(mansio monachorum) had a church built (says *Tanner)* to the memory of S. Petroc: And here the episcopal see for Cornwall was placed by K. Edward the Elder, and archbishop Plegmund, in the year 905. *King Athelstan is said to have granted so many privileges to a society of monks following the rules of St. Benedict in this place, that he is accounted founder of the monastery. This foundation, it seems, was destroyed by pirates. Yet the religious continued here, under several shapes; till Algar placed regular canons in this house, of the order of St. Austin.†

Leofrick dedicated a church in Chester, which Hugh Lupus, the first earl of Chester of the Norman blood, repaired, and granted to the monks; and it is now the cathedral there. [A *Saxon* saint in Cornwall, introduced by the Saxons on their early settlement on this eastern and detached part of Cornwall]. This [church] is now annexed to Treneglos, and passes in the same presentation." *W. T.* vol. 4, p. 237. "DAVIDSTOWE. Its tutelar saint is called in Welsh *Dhewi* (David) whence, perhaps, came the vulgar name of its parish, *Dewstowe*." *Tonkin's MSS.* Of BOYETON, *Hals* says: "most probably this place was denominated *Boyton* in memory of a colony of the *Boii*, that out of Gaul first planted themselves here. They were a people on the further side of the Rhine, who with the Helvetians first invaded Gaul, as Cæsar informs us, and placed themselves amongst the Hedui."!!! *Hals*, p. 15.

* See *Cressy's* Church History, p. 224, from *Usher* and *Capgrave*. *Hoveden*, pp. 567, 568. *Leland*, vol. i, p. 75. *Will. Malmsbur.* de Pontif.

† "The monastery of Padstow being near the sea-shore, and exposed to the piracies of the Saxons, and after them of the Danes, the monks removed to Bodman, and bringing the body of Petrock with them, the church there was dedicated to that saint (who passed some part of his retirement formerly in this place) and the town was called by the Saxons Petrocstow, but by the Britons Bodmanna, that is the habitation of the monks. As this was the most ancient society, and most flourishing in Cornwall, and placed conveniently for that purpose, Edward the Elder settled here the episcopal see, A. D. 905. Athelstan succeeding his father Edward, absolutely conquered the Cornish Britons about the year 936, and being a prince as generous in his donations to the clergy, as he was valiant and fortunate in war, among the rest of his liberalities, gave the religious here such privileges and lands, that he was ever after regarded as their founder. "He found the monks following the rule of Benedict," says bishop Tanner, (p. 66.) and 'tis not improbable but they might have admitted this rule of the Romish church when they had their new bishop. Here the bishops of Cornwall resided till the year 981, when the town, church, and monastery being burnt down by the Danes, the bishops removed their seat farther east, to St. Germans on the river Liner. The monastery seems to have continued in ruins for some time, and went into the possession of the earl of Moreton and Cornwall at the conquest, but was soon after re-edified, and restored to its former use by a nobleman called Algar, with the licence of the king, and assistance of Warlewast, bishop of Exeter. Leland says, (vol. ii. p. 84.) there were in this house, first monks, then nuns, then secular priests, then monks again, then canons, and it was Algar that placed the black canons regular here, between the years 1110 and 1120. About sixty years after this, there happened a remarkable contest about the body of their saint and patron, St. Petrock; for "Martin, canon regular of this house, stole the body of St Petrock from the church of Bodman, and carried it into Britany in France, and lodged it in the abbey of St. Mein there. The theft being discovered, Roger, then prior of the church of Bodman with the honester part of this chapter, went to Henry the Second, then king of England, with their complaint, who, without delay, ordered the French abbot and his convent to restore the body to the prior of Bodman, and in case of refusal, Rolland de Dinant, chief justice of Britany, had orders to take it away by force, and restore it. The abbot fearing the king's displeasure restored the

Here, too was *a house* of *grey friars*, on the south side of the market-place, begun by John of London, a merchant, and augmented by Edmund, earl of Cornwall. Near Bodmin, " on the east, is *St. Lawrence* (says *Tanner*) a poor hospital or *lazar house*, well endowed for nineteen leprous people. At the west end of the town, was a chapel and an almshouse, but not endowed with

body, at the same time swearing upon the evangelists, and the relicks of the saints, that it was in no wise altered or diminished since it came into his custody." Such a treasure the monks of that age esteemed the bones of their patron. And here I cannot help mentioning, how precious every part of this saint was reckoned in ancient times. King Athelstan was remarkable for every act of piety which was in fashion in his time, he was particularly curious in collecting relicks; they were presented to him as the most acceptable gift, and he bestowed them with great devotion as he saw most proper; among other presents, he is said to have given part of the bones, the hair and the garments of this St. Petrock to the monastery of St. Peter's at Exeter." *Borlase*, pp. 346, 347. " *Bodmin*, in British *Bosvenna*, and in ancient charters *Bodiminnian*, owes its rise to St. Petroc, born of princely parentage in Wales, who, regardless of his birth, with sixty companions, entered into a monastical profession, and afterwards went into Ireland; where, having spent twenty years in study, he travelled to Rome, and thence returned into Britany, and built a monastery in Cornwall, near a town then called Loderic, and Laffenac, and afterwards, from his name, Petrocstow, and at this day, contractedly, Padstow, where, having wrought many miracles, he departed this life, on the 4th of June, anno 564; and was there buried, from whence he was translated to Bodmin, where a famous church was built in honour of him, which became an episcopal see in the reign of Edward the Elder, anno 905, when Athelstan was nominated to be bishop hereof; to whom succeeded *Conan, Ruydoc, Aldred* and *Brithwin*; but when those bishops were consecrated, or how long they sate at Bodmin, is uncertain; for the Danes coming into these parts, and creating confusions here, caused the bishops to remove their episcopal see to St. Germans. In this church of Bodmin were buried St. Petroc, St. Credanus, St. Medanus, and St. Dachun. In memory of which first saint, king Athelstan, anno 926, founded an abbey of Benedictine monks, which being destroyed by the Danish pirates, A. D. 981, was re-edifyed by Algar, about the year 1110, who placed black canons therein. ---- To St. Petroc, were several churches in this county and Devonshire dedicated, as Padstow, Lidford, &c. But to proceed with the history of this place. At the Norman invasion, Robert earl of Moreton and Cornwall, the king's brother, finding the greatest part of the possessions of this priory alienated, and that some secular canons had seized the remainder, he soon became master of the revenues, and converted the lands to his own use during his life; after which, anno 1110, in the time of Henry I. Algar, with the assistance of William Warwist, bishop of Exeter, placed black canons here." *Brown Willis*, pp. 54, 55, 56. --- " The churches appropriated to the priory at Bodmin, were, 1. *Bodmin*, 2. *St. Wenn*, 3. *Withell*, 4. *St. Kue*, 5. *St. Breock*, 6. *Little Pederick*, 7. *Padstow*, 8. *St. Ervan*, 9. *Crantock*, 10. *St. Cuthbert*, 11. *St. Columb Minor*, 12. *Tregoney*, 13. *Minvor*, 14. *Lanhydrock*, and some others. --- The jurisdiction and royalty over the river Alan, from Camelford to Padstow-rock, were given to the *prior of Bodmin* by Algar, earl of Cornwall, in right of his manor of Helston in this hundred, excepting the right of free-fishing to the tenants thereof. A river famous for an infinite number of those delicious fishes called salmon, which between Midsummer and Christmas are taken there, and reputed the best of the kind in Cornwall, except the salmon of the river Vale in this county. ---- And in further testimony of earl Algar's donation of the royalty of this river to the prior aforesaid, he gave for the perpetual arms of him and his priory, *In a field, azure, three Salmon fishes, in a fess, or, barwise, proper, or, argent*; which arms were lately extant in all the church-windows of the churches appropriated to the priory." *Hals*, pp. 19, 20. ---- King John ordered, that the bishop of Exeter should hold the priory of Bodmin, till he should shew the king his charters, which he promised to do. Dated Ap. 8, 16th of his reign. *Rot. Claus. Joh.*

lands."‖ At MINSTER, was an alien priory to the abbey of St. Sergius and Bachus at Angiers.§ TEMPLE, is said to have been a cell or *temple* belonging to the knight's-templers.* The parish-church of ST. ETHA, ST.

‖ "In this town, situate between two hills, and a pleasant river running through it, stands a *Lowres Hospital*, that is to say a hospital of lepers (for *loure* or *lower*, in British, is a *leper*,) which hath good endowment of lands and revenues appertaining thereto, founded by the piety and charity of the well-disposed people of this county in former ages, for the relief, support, and maintenance, of all such people as should be visited with that sickness, called the elphantiasy, in latin *lepra*, *elphantia*, *elphantiasis*, in English *leprosy*, British *loweresy*; being a white infectious scurf running all over the bodies of such men and women as are tainted therewith. Which disease heretofore in many families was hereditary, and infected the blood for many generations. This disease, though common in Asia, was thought to have been brought first into England from Egypt by seamen and traders that came from thence; so that generally it spread itself over this kingdom, A. D. 1100. Soon after which a general collection of charitable benevolence was gathered throughout the land by one of the Mowbrays, a gentleman who was tainted with this disease, for erecting and endowing the lazar-house, or hospital, of Burton, in Leicestershire: To which place were made subject all other hospitals of this sort in England, as the master of Burton hospital was afterwards made subject to the master of St. John's hospital of Jerusalem, in London. And then soon after the erection of lazar-houses throughout this kingdom, was invented that writ called *Leproso Amovendo*, for removing a leper from his country-house to the hospital. But the custom in this place was such, that none were to be admitted by the governors of the same for the time being, unless the person so brought in payed them 5*l*. a pot for dressing his meat, a purse (and a penny in it) to receive aims." *Hals*, p. 26.

§ See *Monast. Ang.* vol. i. p. 1036. "Sometimes the word MINSTER is used to signify a monastery for monks, retired solitary religious people who used artificial music in time of divine service: and accordingly the Monast. Angl. of *Speed* and *Dugdale* inform me, that at *Toll-carne*, i. e. the Rock Chapel or cell, in this parish, Wm. de Botreaux, temp. Rich. I. founded and endowed an alien priory of black monks, and dedicated the same to St. Andrew, and made it subject to its superior that of St. Sergius and Bachus. Yet there is no mention of the value of its revenues at the suppression of monasteries by king Hen. 8. though the lands are of considerable value. Indeed, I apprehend it was dissolved long before his days, by virtue of the statute of the 13th of Richard the 2d, whereby all alien religious monks were disabled to enjoy an ecclesiastical benefice in England, so that king Richard II. kings Henry V. and VI. in those French wars seized many of these religious men's houses into their possession, and excluded all Frenchmen from ecclesiastical preferments." *Walker's Hals*, p. 138.

* The order of *Knight's-Templers* was founded in 1118; when Hugh de Pagans, and Godfrey de St. Omer, with several others, offered their services to Baldwin, king of Jerusalem to defend the pilgrims travelling thither from robbery and violence. They professed to observe the rules of the canons regular of St. Augustine; were at first very poor, and had scarcely one house for two knights. Baldwin bestowed on them a house near the *Holy Temple*; whence they were called *Knight's-Templers*. Their habit was at first plain white, to which a red cross was afterwards added. They increased in a short time to 300 knights, beside an incredible number of brethren. "In the year 1494, brother John Stillingfleet compiled a book of the names of the founders of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and of the churches, chapels, and preceptories. He also added certain names of the priors of the said hospital in England, and of the priors and superiors of the church of the same hospital, and other preceptors and priests of the said order deceased, with the names of their other benefactors. *Steevens's Monasticon*. See *Wraxall's* "Tour through the North Parts of Europe," 2nd edit. pp. 331—339.----"Those Knight's-Templers as the hospitallers by the popes of Rome, were exempted from the jurisdiction and visitation of inferior prelates; of which privilege, this parish church is still a notable instance, where the bishop of Exon nor his cathedral church officers never visit; though the vicar or curate (or parish curate for the time being) by ancient right or prescription legally marries all persons man and woman without banns or licence, who accordingly have their names entered in the parish register by the clerk thereof on record as a married couple, which is good and valid in law to all intents and purposes whatsoever." *Walker's Hals's MSS.* p. 182.

THETHA, or ST. TEATH, is sometimes on the records called collegiate.* It consisted of two prebendaries or portionists, who seem to have been collated by the bishop of Exeter.‡ ---- In the parish-church of ENDELION, *(i. e.* St. *Endelienta)* were three prebends or portions before the 20th of Edward the First.§

* *Pat.* 25. Edw. 3. p. 1. m. where is the grant of a prebend in this church by the crown; " ratione temporalium episcopatus Exon in manu regis existen." The advowson of the vicarage is certainly in the bishop of Exeter.

‡ *Taxat. Lincoln. MS.* 20. Edw. I. " Portionarius ecclesiæ. St. Tethæ, Cornub. 25. Edw. 1. *Prynne* iii. p. 703.

§ In *Taxat. Lincoln. MS.* " Ecclesia St. Endelientæ taxatur prout sequitur: Prebenda Dom. Pagani de Liskered in eadem lx*s*. Prebenda H. de Monkton, iv*l*. x*s*. Prebenda Dom. Reginaldi, iv*l*. ii*s*." With respect to other parish-churches, the vicarage of ST. BREWARD (or Symond's-ward,) bears in its name the memory of its founder. " In the inquisition of the bishops of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, in order to the pope's annats, 1294, Eccles. de Bruerd in Decanatu de Trigminorshire was valued at vii*l*. Vicar ejusdem xx*s*. In the present name of this church is celebrated the memory of its founder, Wm. Brewer, (son of William lord Brewer, baron Odecomb, in Somerset), who was consecrated bishop of Exon 1224, and was afterwards by king Henry III. sent on divers embassies to foreign princes, and to conduct Isabell, sister of the said king Henry, to be married to Frederic the emperor; whom he and Peter de Rupibus, afterwards accompanied into Palestine, and were made generals of forty thousand men against the Turks. And after all those fatigues, as bishop Goodwin saith, he returned home safely to his see of Exon, and spent the remainder of his days in building and endowing churches, adorning and enriching his own cathedral church, and instituting within the same a dean and twenty-four prebendaries; allowing the latter a stipend of 4l. per ann. since augmented to 20l. (which is no more than 4l. in those days was worth.) He also set up a chantor, chancellor, and treasurer, within the same. To the chantor and subdean thereof he appropriated the rectories of Paignton and Chudleigh in Devon, and the rectory then, now vicarage, of Egleshayle in Cornwall. To the chancellor he appropriated (or impropriated) the vicarage of Newlan in Cornwall, and Stoke-Gabriel in Devon, on condition that he should preach a sermon once a week to the canons, a lecture in divinity, or on the decretals, within the cathedral of Exon: And in case the chancellor should fail in this particular, it should be lawful for the bishop thereof, for the time being, to resume the said churches so appropriated into his own hand, and bestow them at his pleasure; as appears from a deed between the said bishop, dean and chapter, 12. May, 1282, as *Hooker* saith. But this covenant is exactly kept ever since by the chancellor, or his clerk, who once a week at six o'clock morning prayers, preaches a sermon to the canons. This bishop Brewer appropriated this church bearing his name to the dean and chapter of his cathedral, whom he had, as aforesaid, erected. He lies buried in the middle of the choir thereof, with an inscription still legible, which, amongst others, containeth these words:—" *Hic jacet* WILLIELMUS BREWER, *quondam hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Episcopus; Fundator etiam Quatuor Principalium ejusdem Ecclesiæ Dignitatum.*" By the four principal dignities, or dignitaries, of the church, I suppose, is meant the dean, chantor, chancellor, and treasurer thereof. But yet, I doubt whether bishop Brewer, above-named by Mr. *Hooker* in the deed, was not dead before the date thereof, and whether bishop *Brounscomb* ought not to be read for bishop *Brewer*, who probably was elected in his absence beyond the seas, as aforesaid. *Hals*, pp. 37, 38. --- " Walter de Bronescombe impropriated the rectory of *St. Breward* in Cornwall," says archdeacon Hole. *Hole's MSS.* John de Exon had letters of presentation from the king to the church of EGLESHAYLE, on account of the vacancy of the bishopric—1st Jan. 42d Henry 3d. *Milles's MSS.* ST. TUDY. St. Udith (to whom this rectory-church is dedicated) the natural daughter of king Edgar by the lady Wolfchild, was abbess of Wilton nunnery in Hampshire. *Hals in St. Tudy.* There was a chapel in the castle of TINTAGEL. " The chapel in Tintagel castle was St. Julian's, and the parish-church St. Simphorian's.

5. In the D. of PIDER, ST. KARENTOC, or *Crantoc* stands foremost, as here was a collegiate church dedicated to St. Carantocus said to have been a disciple of St. Patrick. Here were secular canons in the time of Edward the Confessor; who continued (as we shall hereafter see) till the general dissolution. This church was in the patronage of the bishop of Exeter.* At ST. COLUMB was formerly a religious house; but its origin yet remains to be illustrated.‡ It

The former of which saints I take to be the same that suffered martyrdom at Antioch, under Dioclesian, and has a festival celebrated Jan. 9. As to St. Simphorian here mentioned, he was born (as the Legenda Aurea tell us) in Augustinum, the head city of Burgundy, where he suffered martyrdom, on the 22d of August, about the year 270; though, besides this person, I find mention made in Leland's Collectanea, v. 1. of another St. Simphorian, a martyr, buried with St. Wulfran, a bishop, at Grantham, to whose memory that church is dedicated. This St. Wulfran's festival was celebrated the 15th of October." *Br. Willis*, pp. 118, 119. TREVALGA. This was probably a free chapel before the Norman conquest. *Hals.*

* *Domesday.*--- "Canonici St. Carentoci tenent Langorock, et tenebant T. R. E. Sunt iii. hidæ, &c.---" This district (says *Hals*) at the time of the Domesday was taxed under the name of Ryalton or Cargoll: And in the inquisition of the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, 1294, *Ecclesia Sancti Carentini in Decan. de Pidre* is thus rated, the vicar xl*s.* And the nine prebends, then extant in this church, were thus taxed, viz. John de Woolrington, liij*s.* iiij*d.* John de Cattelyn, xxx*s.* Nicholas Strange, xxx*s.* John de Ingham, lx*s.* Ralph de Trethinick, liij*s.* iiij*d.* David de Monton, xl*s.* William de Patefond, xl*s.* John Lovell, xxx*s.* John de Glasney, vi*s.* viij*d.* In all 19*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Whence I gather this collegiate church had great revenues then belonging to it, since it is higher rated to the pope's annat than any other church in Cornwall. The first endowed college for scholars in England (or in Europe, as *Camden* saith) was Baliol College in Oxford, 1260, next Merton College, 1274; and yet he contradicts himself, and tells us that there was a college of priests at Launceston, or St. Stephens, before the Norman conquest, another at St. Germans, founded by king Canutus, A. D. 1020, as our chronologers tell us. And as sure I am there was another at St. Neot's long before; also another at Buryan, A. D. 930. And to speak uprightly, this college of Crantock may pretend to as much antiquity as any college in Oxford, since it appears to have had great revenues at the time of the inquisition before mentioned, 1294, though it hath been so unfortunate not to have been as long lived, by reason of the great quantities of sea-sand blown up from the Gannell creek by the wind, as *Hollingshed* saith. The place where it stood is now scarce discernible: only a consecrated arched well of water bears the name of St. Ambrose's well, contiguous therewith. The vicarage church of Crantock is commonly called *Lan-Gurra*, or *Lun-Gorra*, that is to say the *Hay-Temple*, or *Church*, and is suitable to its name situate upon a large meadow of very rich land, containing about three acres; where by antient custom the vicar's cattle depasture over the dead bodies interred there. The manors of *Cargoll* and *Ryalton* being given by our earls of Cornwall, before the Norman conquest, to the bishop of Bodman, or Cornwall, or prior thereof, some of them were founders and endowers of this college of Crantock, out of the lands and revenues thereof." *Hals*, pp. 72, 73, 74.

‡ "Contiguous with the church-yard, at *St. Columb*, was formerly extant a college of black monks, or canons *Augustine*, consisting of three fellows for instructing youth in the liberal arts and sciences; which college when or by whom erected and endowed I know not. However, I take it to be one of those three colleges in this province, named in *Speed* and *Dugdale's* Monasticon, whose revenues they do not express, (nor the places where they were extant) but tell us, that they were dedicated to the blessed virgin Mary, the lady of angels, and were black monks of the *Augustines*. This college house, since its dissolution, hath been applied to secular if not prophane uses." *Hals*, pp. 62, 63.

seems that there was a religious house at *Rialton*, dedicated to St. Peter.§ At *St. Bennet's* in the parish of LANIVET, was a nunnery.

Of the parish churches in this deanry, S. COLUMB (says *Hals*) is "higher in the king's books than any other in Cornwall, and not much inferior to the rectories of Southmolton, Uffculm, and Silverton, in Devon."‖

§ "Ryalton in St. Columb Minor, was first given from the crown or dutchy of Cornwall, by king Athelstan, as parcel of the endowment of his newly erected priory of Benedictine monks, at Bodmin. It was thus, and is still privileged with a court leet and court-baron; having both its stewards for the manor and hundred courts whereof it is lord. It hath a strong prison for securing the persons of debtors, though of late this prison and court have been much neglected, and the bailiwick thereof of no great advantage to its owner." *Tonkin's MSS.*

‖ "At the Norman conquest, this parish was taxed under the name of *Toll-scat*, or *Tollscad*---now the duchy manor of *Tollskidy*, (i. e. *the shady hole or pit) Bodeworgy*, and *Chiliworgy*; places still well known in those parts. At the time of the inquisition of the bishops of Lincoln & Winchester, 1294, into the value of Cornish church-revenues, *Ecclesia de S. Columb in Decanatu de Pedre*, was taxed xviil. xiiis. iiiid." "In Camden's Britannia, in Cornwall, we are told, that this church is dedicated to one *Sancta Colomba*, a holy woman, who lived in those parts, and that her life was written in the Cornish tongue, and in possession of one Mr. Roscarrock. I find it written in Baronius, that there lived in Senns, in France, in the time of the fifth persecution by Aurelian, A. D. 276, a holy christian virgin, named *Columba*, of such exquisite beauty, that one of his sons fell passionately in love with her; and, because he could not obtain his lustful desire on her, offered her marriage. But he being an idolater, she refused his embraces. Whereupon she was much persecuted by Aurelian, and cast into prison; where in great misery she expired, and was buried at Senns. At her grave many miracles being reported to be done, she obtained the reputation of a saint and martyr, A. D. 300. Query, therefore, whether this be not the woman mentioned in the book aforesaid, and in the patent for the fair in November, called *Sancta Columba Virgo*, and whether the parish-feast (being the Sunday after) is not a good argument that the church is dedicated to this virgin and martyr? Be it how it will, well assured I am, that divers of our celebrated Cornish saints, are either imaginary only, or fictitious; there being but one *saint*, viz. *San-Wen*, or *San-Wena*, mentioned in Domesday, in the whole province of Cornwall. But at the time of the inquisition of the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, 1294, they were multiplied or increased to the number of seventy in our churches." "Before this church of St. Colomb was erected, within the borders of its now parish were extant four free chapels, wherein God was worshipped in former ages, viz. at Tregoos, (i. e. the *wood-town)* Tre-sithan-y, (the weekly town, the town frequented on the sabbath) Ruth-es, (i. e. the *multitude is)* and Lanhengye, near the bridge, under the town of S. Columb. (i. e. the *temple of judgment)* the old cemeteries of which, are now all converted to orchards and gardens, or arable ground. And the inhabitants eat the fruits or products thereof without regard to the ground's ancient use, or scruple of conscience." "Upon Bodeworgy, or contiguous with it, are still extant the ruins of *an old chapel*, wherein God was worshipped before St. Columb church was erected, called *Bes-palf-an, Bis-palv-an*, synonymous words, signifying *prayer in the palm of the hand.*" *Hals*, pp. 58, 59, 63, 67.---We pass to other parishes.------*Hals* says, there was an old church in the parish of S. MERIN, dedicated to S. Constantine, and that this church, being overwhelmed by the sea-sand, occasioned the inhabitants to build Merin-church farther up the country. *Hals's MSS.* The old names of the church of S. ISSEY, were Eccles. de *Nansant*, (see Taxat. Benef. 20. Edw. I.) and *Egloscrock*---the former signifying the *holy valley*; the latter, the *church of the cross*. *Tonkin.* In S. *Issey* is a part of a consecrated chapel and well yet standing, called S. *Giggy*. *Hals.* In S. MAWGAN, the patron-saint is said to have lived and died. S. CUTHBERT. In 995, Aldhun, bishop of Holy Island, to secure himself from the Danish invasion, took up the corpse of S. *Cuthbert*, then buried in Chester upon the street, and removed it to Durham, where he fixed his see. Now, our legend saith, that before this, the monks of Lindisfarn being disquieted in the Danish wars, and forced by that people to wander up

and down with the reliques of St. Cuthbert, resolved at last to transport themselves with them into Ireland; and on their way thither, were driven into *Porth-island* here, and thought to have settled in this bye place. But being admonished by an oracle to return, and fix the corpse at Durham, they *built this church* in remembrance of their being here: And the reliques communicated their healing quality to the *holy well*; which place they had accidentally touched. See *Collier's* Eccles. Hist. v. 1. p. 204. and *Camden* in Durham, p. 776. This well stands under Kelsey-point, belonging to the manor of Hellanclase. It is nothing, indeed, but a small spring dropping out of a dark hole in the cliff, into a small cavern made by the sea, and always accessible when the tide is out. To get up to it, is difficult. For the water petrifying as it runs off, has crusted over the rock, in which is cut a small square to receive it, scarce large enough for one person to stand in. The water is good in scrophulous cases, and is pleasant to the taste. It is much resorted to, especially on Holy Thursday. *Tonkin's MSS.* "PIRAN IN THE SANDS is so named from that famous Irish saint, to whose sanctity, saith Mr. Camden, a silly childish writer has attributed the finding provision, for ten Irish kings and their armies, for eight days together, with no more than three cows; as also bringing to life dead hogs and dead men. It seems those kings were not very gratefull to him; for he was forced (as the same tradition saith) to swim over from Ireland hither on a millstone. And, saith Mr. Carew, (f. 58.) if my author the legend lie not, after that (like another Johannes de temporibus) he had lived 206 years with perfect health, [he] took his last rest in a Cornish parish, (viz. this) which, there through, he endowed with his name. He is also looked upon as the patron of the tinners, who keep his feast on the 5th of March; and tell twenty idle stories of him, much derogating from his sanctity. Note, that on that day (5th of March) there is a fair held near the church; the profit of which belongs to the parish."------"Tonkin, in another MS. of his, which Mr. S. Jago, of St. Erme, lent me, makes some extracts from Vertot's critical history of the establishment of the Bretoons in Gaul. Amongst others, all tending to disprove or to disparage the accounts of the Bretoon saints, Vertot has this remark, v. 1. p. 349. and Mr. Tonkin makes this addition to it. "St. Sampson, abbot of Dol, was educated under an abbot named *Pyron*, whom the author of the life of St. Sampson calls a most excellent man, and a holy priest: However, this British saint being drunk, fell into a well and lost his life. His countrymen made him one of their saints, as Quibert abbot of Nogent relates." "I have read, and God is my witness I have read again and again with detestation, in the life of St. Sampson, so much in esteem among the French and the Bretons, that there lived in his time, a saint named *Pyron*; and presuming from my author that he made a good end, I found that this saint *acquired his sanctity*," Vertot says no such thing, "by *getting very drunk*, and falling into a well, where he died." Vertot says only, that he was drunk, fell into a well, and died. "I fancy 'tis to this St. Piran, that the parish of Piran-Uthno, or Little Piran, is dedicated; since to this day, they say, when there has been a feast or frolick, such [an one] was Piran, or who was Piran last night, that is very drunk." (84, 85.) All this is very strange. The biographer of St. Sampson, and the tinners of Cornwall, appear to accord exactly in their ideas of their saint. He represents him to have died drunk; *they* "tell twenty idle stories of him, much derogating from his sanctity," alluding plainly to his habitual drunkenness; and *they* popularly call a man very drunk, a Piran. Yet who can believe such a man to have been made a saint? No one surely that has common sense. He was certainly a good man, a remarkably good man, in the eyes of those who canonized him at first. He is expressly declared by his Bretoon biographer, to have been "a most excellent man, and a holy priest." For what else indeed could he have been canonized? Not for his drunkenness. No one was ever canonized for that, except by a club of drunken tinners over their cups. No one could be, while mankind have got their sober senses about them. Yet how then comes Piran to be represented as a drunkard? From the drunken humour of his votaries, I believe. Men shape their saints to their own practices. Thus the Papists have formed most of theirs, upon their own models of idolatry and persecution. The drunkards of Bretagne and Cornwall have done the same. Some freer and more conversable spirit in Piran than in others of his sainted brethren, perhaps, has occasioned this agreement in both to delineate him as a drunkard. And as the legendary lives of all the saints are little else than the incidents, with which folly and viciousness have disgraced their lives; so the fictions of drunkenness, with which the topers of Cornwall and Bretagne degraded the conduct of Piran, at last were adopted by his biographer, and this most excellent man and holy priest, reduced into a toper, like the biographer perhaps, and into a drunkard, like the tinners certainly." *W. T. MSS.* vol. 1. pp. 27, 26. S. AGNES. Here was a small free chapel dedicated to St. Agnes. "This

6. In the D. of POWDER, ST. PROBUS is remarkable for its collegiate church of secular canons. This college existed before the conquest.* Here was a dean:‡ And four prebendaries or portionists occur upon the Lincoln taxation. At TYWARDRETH, *(Truwardraith,* or *Tywardreit)* was an alien priory of Benedictine monks belonging to the abbey of St. Sergius and Bachus in Angiers. It was founded before A. D. 1169, by Champernulphus or Chambernon, of Bere, lord of the manor of Tywardreth, or by the ancestors of Robert de Cardinan, perhaps Robert

saint was a Roman by birth, descended of noble ancestors: and being beautiful of body and mind, at thirteen years was courted in marriage by the son of Sempronius, then governor of Rome. But, because he was no Christian, she utterly refused his addresses; on which his father sent for Agnes, and renewed the proposals of marriage made to her by his son, making larger offers for her advantage. This altogether proving ineffectual, Sempronius asked her whether she would sacrifice to the Roman gods, and abandon the superstition of the Christians? But she, proving constant to her religion, was committed to prison; and thence, after much hard durance, sent naked to the brothel-house; where her innocence and purity were miraculously preserved, till at length by the governor's order she was committed to the flames, which immediately parted asunder, and did her no harm. Then the governor Auspitius, his agent, commanded her to be taken out of the fire, and forthwith to be beheaded by the common hangman, 20 Jan. A. D. 304. St. Ambrose wrote her life. St. Isidor, St. Augustine, Demetrius, and Prudentius, with Lexomanus, bishop of Seville have all written very commendable things of her. In the glass windows of this church I remember to have seen the remains of a broken inscription,..... *In Carcere ferat* AGNES." *Hals,* p. 3. On the manor of *Mythian* in this parish, was an ancient free-chapel.

* *Domesday.* "Canonici St. Probi tenent. Lantrebois. Ibi est una hidæ," &c.

‡ "A. D. 1258. Dom. Episc. Exon. contulit custodiam decanatus Ecclesiæ St. Probi magistro Henrico de Bolish." *Regist. Bronscomb. Episci. Exon.* "The manor (says *Borlase*) which the canons had here, is called Lanbrabois in Domesday, (Exon. p. 434.) erroneously, for Lan Probus, and was held by Edward the Confessor himself, so that it must have been granted to the canons by Edward the Confessor, or after him. "The church was given to the bishop and church of Exeter by king Henry I." (says *Tanner)*; But I find by Henry First's charter, that he only restored it to St. Mary, and St. Peter's church in Exeter, "for the absolution of his sins, and the good of his soul, together with the other churches of St. Petrock, St. Stephen, Peran, and Tohou, as free in every respect, and quiet as the famous kings, his predecessors appear by their charters to have granted them." There were five prebends here. Henry de Bolish was made dean by the bishop of Exeter in 1258; and I find by an extract, (ex Regist. Exon.) that Henricus de Bollegha, (doubtless the same man) by his instrument of donation, bearing date the 14th of February, 1268, grants the perpetual patronage of the prebends of Probus to the bishop of Exeter, and his successors for ever. After this Henry, I have found no mention of a dean, but "William, bishop of Exeter, soon after gives the church of Probus with all its rights of presenting and nominating the prebends, and vicar, the impropriation of the tythes, (a particular portion being reserved to the prebends) and every appurtenance (saving the rights and dues of the vicar) to the treasurer for the time being of the church of Exeter, moved thereto, by the great expence which the said treasurer was put to in maintaining perpetual lamps in the church of Exeter." For the better support of which, especially on the feast of the dedication of the said church, the feast of the nativity, feasts of St. Paul, and our Saviour's circumcision, this was granted by the bishop, with the consent of the chapter." *Borlase's Antiquities,* pp. 354, 355. The church of Probus is dedicated to *Probus and Grace.* So the feast which is kept in the beginning of July, is popularly denominated. The husband and the wife, I suppose, were martyred together. But who was Probus? In Bede's Martyrology, where as a Roman we might expect to find him, he does not occur." *Whitaker's MSS.* Tradition says, they were married.

Fitz-William.§ The advowson of the priory of Tregoney is mentioned as belonging to the abbey de Valle, in Normandy.‖ Perhaps, instead of the priory, it should have been only the rectory or church of St. James, in Tregoney; which, by means of some exchange, was made over by the abbot and convent de Valle, in Dioec. Bajoc. to the prior and convent of Merton, to whom it was appropriated, and a vicarage ordained by Peter Quivil, bishop of Exeter. ST. ANTHONY,¶ near St. Mawes,

§ *Regist. Exon. Tax. Lincoln. MS. Regist. Exon. Ryley*, p. 466. et *Rot.* 22. Edw. I. *Leland* says, they were Cluny monks. (Collect. i. 76. iii. 122.) "By this name the foreign Benedictines were often called." *Rymer.* Foed. iv. 248.---"This abbie was first founded by William earle of Morton and Cornwall, and was of the rule of Augustine and Benedict. It was afterward re-edified and greatly augmented in its revenues by Robert de Cardinham temp. Richard I. 1190, (See the Monasticon Anglicanum of *Dugdale* and *Speed)* for which reason he is by some persons taken to be the founder thereof. In the third treasury, being in the old Chapter-house of the abbie of Westminster, as I was informed, under a door with three locks put in a fair chest with locks, are in baggs several records, temp. Richard I. king John, and Henry 3, concerning this abbey of Tywardreth. This prior of Tywardreth leased some tenements of land for lives and years as appeared from some of these old deeds lately extant, to let some tenements on condition of providinge for him yearly in lieu of rent, concubinam, sive nitidam puellam.---Several other priours in those parts granted leases to the same end and purpose though not in those very words. Giraldus Cambrensis, a bishop, our famous historian, temp. king John, published a little treatise called Speculum Ecclesiæ, of the abuses of church and churchmen, wherein reflectinge upon the immoralities and debaucherys of religious men, he hath not spared the very Carthusians themselves---whereupon Adam Dorensis, the abbot of Dore monastery near Hereford, undertook to answer the said booke; who not beinge able to cleare his brethren from the imputation of vice and debauchery, sharply assaulted Girald with contumelious and scandalous verses. Wherevpon Symon Esse, alias Ash, of Saltash (or Rose Ash) commonly called Symon Fraxinus, in vindication of his friend Girald of Cambria aforesaid, writ a tract called Apologia Rythmica. *Hals's MSS.* "The prior of Tywardreth, with divers other benefactors, (as appears from the carving and inscriptions on the stones thereof) founded and endowed the church of *St. Austell*, within the town of *Trenance*, now St. Austell town. After which it was indifferently written *Trenance Prior*, and Trenance-Aus-tell, so called in respect to *Tywardreth*, its superior or mother church." *Hals*, p. 11.----*Lanlivery* belonged to the priory of Tywardreath. Hither the monks used to send one of their number to minister; he paying them, yearly, for his small tythes, four marks.

‖ It is mentioned Fin. Div. com. 52. Henr. 3, n. 18.

¶ St. Anthony, the Hermit, a native of Egypt, and the first founder of the monks, lived to the age of 105, and died on the 17th of January, in 356. To this saint, are dedicated three different churches in this county. His memory is celebrated in *S. Anthony-Meneg*, on the day of his death. This district (says *Hals)* was taxed under the jurisdiction of *Treligan* or *Tregeare*, and obtained not the name of *St. Anthony* 'till the year 1184. At which time William Warlewast, bishop of Exon, founded here a church, and dedicated it to St. Anthony; having before dissolved the dean and four prebendaries in the collegiate church founded at Plymton, in Devon, by the Saxon kings, and in the room thereof erected a priory of black canons, and dedicated the same to the Virgin Mary; who also in this church of St. Anthony erected a priory, or cell, of two black canons, canons regular, or Augustines, so called from St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo in Africa, who died in the fourth century. This priory was called *St. Mary de Vall*, or *de Vale*, to distinguish it from *St. Mary de Plym*, in Devon, so named from the rivers on which they are situate. Ecclesia de Sancto Anton. in Roseland, was valued to the pope's first-fruits LX*s*. The patronage was formerly in the prior of Plymton. *Place* (i. e. in Cornish, *a palace)* was heretofore the mansion of the prior and his two black canons.---Gervase, of Canterbury, among other Cornish monasteries in his time, mentions *Tolcarn*, and

was a small priory of two Austin canons subordinate to Plymton.* In the latter end of K. Henry the Third's reign, a *convent* of black Friars settled at TRURO, in Kenwyn-street.†

Among parish churches, ST. MICHAEL PENKIVELL, or Penkivell simply, was an endowment of high antiquity. "Here, at the time of the Norman conquest, there was an endowed church. For then this district was taxed under the jurisdiction of *Penkivell.* In the inquisition of 1294, it was called simply Ecclesia de *Penkivell,* in decanatu de Powdre----and was valued xl*s.* This church of Penkivell was endowed by the Fentongollans or de Tregagos lords of the manor of Fentongollan, upon whose lands it was built. Out of which is since taken the manor of Tregothnan. They also, at their own proper cost and charge, built the south chapel or aisle thereof as a peculiar to them and their family, and obliged those lands, for ever, to repair the same. Besides this, they founded in this church a chantery, together with a convent-house in the churchyard, still extant, for the chanter's residence, and endowed the same with competent lands for their subsistence."‡ Of other parishes I shall state a few particulars below.§

St. Mary de Valle, as cells of black monks to Angiers, in France. But "I know not where they were (says *Tanner)* unless Tolcarn, which was dedicated to St. Andrew, be the same with Tywardreath; and the other be the same with St. Michael de Valle, a priory in Guernsey."---The other, according to Hals, was the priory of St. Anthony. In the Cart. Roll of the fifteenth year of K. John, m. 2. n. 42. there is a grant of a hundred shillings per ann. out of the church of St. Berian, in Cornwall, to the monks of *St. Matthew.* I have not yet found any monastery in England dedicated to that apostle. *Forsan* ST. MAWES. *Tanner,* p. 70.

* *Leland's Collect.* vol. iii. p. 121. *Itin.* vol. iii. p. 15. *Taxat.* Lincoln. p. 638.

† Their church was consecrated in the second year of bishop Walter Bronscomb. *Regist. Bronscomb.*

‡ *Walker's Hals's* MSS. in St. Michael Penkivell

§ ST. ROCHE. "This parish takes its name from, and is dedicated to St. Roch, born at Montpelier in France, of which city his father was lord. After his father and mother were dead, though but then 20 years of age, he took a resolution to dispose of part of his estate, which he distributed amongst the poor; left the administration of the remainder to his uncle; and from a prince became a pilgrim. He took the way to Rome; and both in his journey thither, and in that city, cured several people of the plague, by making only the sign of the cross. Being at last attacked by it himself, he withdrew into a wood, where a neighbouring gentleman's dog brought him every day a loaf of bread. At last being cured, he retired into his own country. But it being troublesome times, he was taken up for a spy, (and by his uncle who did not know him) shut up in prison; where he suffered incredible evils. And dying there in 1327, he was at last discovered by a writing found about him. The church celebrates his memory the 16th of August. But this parish was called Roch, before this saint was born; without the addition of saint. For it is named *De Rupe* in Taxat. Ben. 1291, from its remarkable Rock; and was dedicated to St. Conant, whose memory is still preserved

by his well on Trefrank, his park, and meadow, corruptly called St. Gonnet's. Authors cannot always draw conclusions from their own premises. We have an instance of this here. The parish of Roch has *no* relation to the noble pilgrim of France. It "was called Roch, before this saint was born." And the saint of the church was St. Conant, whose memory is still preserved by his well on Trefrank, his park, and meadow, corruptly called St Gonnet's. But this saint was afterwards superseded by a more modern one. A nameless one, actuated with the spirit of the pilgrim in France, renounced the world, retired to this rock, built a small house of stone upon a point at one end of it, and there spent his days in hermetical devotions. The house is still entire in the shell of it; having a small sort of common window at the outer end of it, and a little flat for a garden upon one side. This, from its proximity to the church and church town, was very near to the haunts of men for a hermitage. And the view from it must have been *then*, not much more wild and savage than it is *at present*; the house and parish of Tregorrick being just under it. Indeed the hermitage must have been built by the family itself, as it is planted upon their ground. Even one of the family, I suppose, was the very hermit. Nor could that have been constructed for this, at any remote period. Later than 1291, as appears from the valor of Edward, which calls the parish only Roche, and knows of no saint of the name; the look of the whole building, and the form of the window particularly, concur to fix the hermit probably as late as the year 1400, and to mark him perhaps for the last of the Tregorricks. Deprived of all male issue, he perhaps grew disgusted with the world, resigned up his mansion and his estate to his daughter, and devoted himself for the remainder of his life to poverty, to sequestration, and to prayer. And from the natural tendency of mankind, to revere those virtues of self-denial and devoutness in others, which they are too indulgent to practise themselves; he became revered in his life, he was canonized after his death, and the parish took its denomination from its native saint, its saint of the Rock, and its own saint Roche; preferring *him* to its old saint Conant, and for his sake attaching the name of saintship to its old name of Roche." *W. T.* v. 2. pp. 63, 64, 65. LADOCK from *St. Ladoca*, an Irish saint. ST. ALLEN. "At the conquest, St. Allen was taxed under the jurisdiction of *Lan-er*, or *Lanher*, i. e. *Templer*, so called for that, long before, was extant upon that place a chapel or temple, dedicated to God, in the name of St. Martin of Towers; the memory of which is still preserved in the names of *St. Martin's Fields Woods*, heretofore perhaps the endowments of that chapel. This Laner is still the voke-lands, or capital messuage of the bishop of Exon's manor of Cargoll, whereunto it is now annexed; in which place of Laner (formerly in a forest of trees) the bishops of Cornwall, and afterwards the bishops of Exon, had one of their mansions or dwelling-houses for many ages. In this parish, at Tretheris, are yet extant the walls and ruins of an antient free chapel and cemetery, built perhaps by the bishops of Cornwall and Exon, when they resided at Laner, with which it is contiguous." *Hals*, pp. 4, 6. "ST. CLEMENTS, a vicarage, hath upon the north St. Erme and St. Allen, west Kenwyn, east the creek of Tresillian river, south and west Truro river, or arm of the sea. In Domesday it was taxed under the name of the great earl of Cornwall's manor (now duchy) of *Mor-is*, or *Mor-es*, i. e. the manor or parish of the *Sea*, or a manor situate upon the sea; according to the natural circumstances of the place. And I doubt not but before the Norman conquest this church or chapel was extant, since at the time of the inquisition of the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, 1294, it was valued to first-fruits *vil.* vicar. ejusdem xiiis. iiiid. by no other name than *Ecclesia de Mores*; that is to say, the *church of the sea*, or situate upon the banks thereof, as the same is; which was endowed or founded undoubtedly by the lords of the manor of Moris, viz. the earls of Cornwall, whose successors (the dukes) land the same still is, and who are patrons thereof." *Hals*, p. 55. "The manor and lordship of *Trigavethan* (the town of graves) is a sort of franchise; and, as they have it by tradition, was a distinct parish from KEA. Not far from the manor-house was a chapel and burying-place, now in ruins. They still have a constable to themselves; maintain their own poor, and pay no church rates; instead of which, they repair a part of the church called Trigavethan-aisle." *Tonkin*. FEOCK. "*S. Feock*, the guardian of this church, probably lived at Le-Feock, i. e. Feock's dwelling. But who or what his parents were, when or where born, &c. I must plead *non sum informatus*. But chancing to espy in the glass-windows of this church, the figure of a man in priest's robes, with a radiated or shining circle about his head and face, and under his feet written ST. FEOCK; beneath whom, also in the glass, were depainted kneeling and bending forward, in way of adoration, the figures of a man and woman, and behind them several children, out of which man and woman's mouths proceeded a label, with this inscription: --- *Sancte Feock, ora pro bono Statu L. Trewonwoll et Elianoræ, Uxoris ejus.* ---- I was fully satisfied that he was indeed the tutelar guardian of this church, and so worshipped as a mediator or intercessor; which the depainted oral addresses of the inhabitants and the radiated circle aforesaid abundantly testify the truth of." *Hals*, p. 131. "For that this parish took its name from its tutelar saint

St. Feock, I make no question. As for the inscription on Lawrence Trewonwoll, it is utterly false. It is not on a label coming out of his mouth, but written under the figures without any mention of St. Feock. For then it would not have been *orate*, for *ora pro nobis*, &c. Neither is St. Feock's picture in this window, but in another." *Tonkin's MSS.* GERANS. "The bishop of Exon, lord of Penryn, and the prior of St. Anthony, endowed this church; the one half as a rectory, the other as a vicarage, viz. the prior's part. The name of this church in the pope's inquisition St. Gerendus, may possibly relate to one St. Gereon, a Roman, whose feast is October 12. *Hals*, p. 137. "The parish of Gerens took its name from this king of Cornwall, afterwards sainted. "The yellow plague," says the life of St. Telian in the register of Landaff, "took off Malcon, king of Venedotia, and destroyed his country; and so much did the said pestilence rage, that it nearly desolated the country. St. Telian therefore arose, taking with him some of his suffragan bishops, and men of other orders, with persons of both sexes, men and women. And he first came to THE CORNISH REGION, *and was well received* by GERENNIUS, the KING of that country, *who treated him and his people with all honour*. Then went on the saint with his companions to the Armorican tribes.---"The plague ceased." Hearing this, the faithful leader Telian rejoicing though moderately---gathered his compatriots diligently together; that they might all, now the plague was removed, return in peace through all the space between to their own land. Then preparing a large *bark*, and having finished seven years and seven months, which St. Telian had past in the country of the Armoricans; he entered the bark, with many teachers and some *other* bishops, and arrived at a *port* called DINGEREIN, king Gerennius being then at the close of life; who, having received the body of the lord from the hand of St. Telian, departed in joy to the lord. After this, the holy man sought his own episcopal seat" in Wales (Usher's Brit. Eccles. Ant. London, 1787. 290.). This Din-Gerein is plainly the round fort now in Gerens parish, having the port here called from it, and now called Creek Stephen, directly under it. "About a myle west of Penare," says *Leland* in Itin. iii. 30. concerning this very fort, "is a force nere the shore on the paroch of St. Gerons. It is single diky'd, and *within a but shot* of the *north* side of the same appereth an hole of a vault broken up by a plough in tylling. This vault had an issue *from* the *castelle* to the *sea*. [A mile distant from this, is another in the side of an hille, *Tregare*.] And a little by *north* of the castelle are foure or five burrowes or cast hilles." The vault here noticed was not in the fort, but *without* it, and "within a but shot of the *north* side" of it, in the village adjacent to it, and passing from it to the sea *as a sewer*. There is accordingly in Creek Stephen a hole in the face of the rock towards the sea, in which foxes have been frequently found; in which some sheep were not many years ago drowned, having got into the hole, and being there destroyed by the influx of the tide afterwards, and in which some fishermen say they have gone a considerable way. There were some burrows, one very large, in the lane adjoining to the round fort on the north; the burying-place, probably, of Geren himself, and betwixt it and the town. The kings of Cornwall, who lived at Elerky, occasionally lived at Gerens, and at Din-Gerein. He appears above to have been a religious man, and so was sainted. The parish was called from him Gereins, (or Gerens) and the church is known to be dedicated not to St. Gurons but to St. Gerein; St. Gorrans festival being kept in Gorran parish the sunday after Easter, and the feast of Gerens on the second sunday in August, November 17, 1792." *W. T.* v. 4, p. 236. RUAN-LANYHORNE. This parish had its name (with a little variation) from St. Rumon, or rather St. Ruan, as I am fully satisfied by Mr. Selden's note on Drayton's Polyolbion, vol. 1. p. 15.---"their Ruan, who, as they affirm, first planted religion before Christ among them (the Irish); nor desire I your belief of this Ruan's age, which by their account (supposing him living three hundred years after the Flood, and christened by St. Patrick) exceeded MDCC. years; and so he was older than that impostor &c. the wandering Jew." [Mr. Tonkin is an useful collector of notices. But he is not a judicious reasoner upon them. His first idea of the patron saint of this parish, was right. But his second is absurdity itself. To suppose a church in Cornwall dedicated to such an obvious fiction of vulgar imagination in Ireland, was a monstrous excess of folly.]---Such was the saint to whom the church of Ruan-Lanyhorne was dedicated! There are two other parishes in Cornwall, as we shall soon see, which bear the appellation of Ruan, and have for their patron St. Rumon (see *Ecton's* Liber Valorum.) There is also a parish in Devonshire, which is called Romansleigh, and takes its name I believe from our Rumon. The parish is written Ruon, in the very last Valor. And as words with an intermediate *m* or *n* in them, when pronounced in Cornwall or other countries, generally drop this letter, and therefore are written without it; Ruman became Ruan in pronunciation, and Ruan with a stroke over it denotes the unspoken letter, in writing. As for the adjunct of Lan-y-horne, that is the church of iron; I believe

it took it from the castle near it, as being in those times a place of great note and strength. [This is one of the most injudicious strokes, in the whole work. It is indeed infinitely injudicious. That a church should be characterized as iron, because a castle near it was of great note and strength, carries the very stamp of folly upon its face. But the origin of the name is this. The parish is one of those, which existed prior to the valor of 1291; because it is named there. It was originally denominated Lanyhorne. It was so denominated when its church was built. It took its denomination from its church. And the church was denominated from its position, upon an angular projection of ground; *Lany-horne*, or *the church at the angle*; just (I apprehend) as Hornchurch, in Essex, is named; and just as a village in Cornwall is certainly called Trig-an-horn, or *the house in the angle*. This is so plainly the import of the name, to one who is moderately skilled in the British language; that I conjectured from the name the nature of its scite, before I saw it. Cornel (W.) is an angle or corner, Corn (W.) a horn, Kernat, Kernal (C.) a corner or angle, Kern (C.) a horn, Kern (A.) an angle or corner, and Keirnael, Kearn (T.) a corner or angle. And Corn is softened in the pronunciation into Horn; especially in the pronunciation of such words as are compounded of two, and have this in the posterior part of the composition; and so has given Horn as a word to our present language, and Lanyhorn as a name to our present parish. And Lanherne, the name of lord Arundel's house, at St. Mawgan, near St. Columb, is just in the same manner. A copse in the parish, which belongs to the lord, still retains the original denomination of the parish, in its appellation of Lanyhorne-wood; while another copse, which is upon the glebe, has adopted the new title, and is called Ruan-wood; and the very castle of it is called sometimes RUAN and sometimes LANHERN castle.] --- The Glebe (at Ruan-Lanyhorne) belonging to this house, is a singularly good one. It consists of a long and walled garden on the cliff, that is uncommonly early with its fruit, but has suffered considerably in its breadth; an orchard planted with choice trees by Mr. Grant, but sadly neglected by Mr. Henchman, and new planted in part by Mr. Whitaker; with hop-gardens, orchard, and kitchen-garden, all intermixed, of 2 acres, 4 poles; of land now tillable, 72 acres, 2 roods, 36 poles; of a wood, 24 acres, 1 rood, 84 poles; of a moor, now recovered from the waste and planted with hops, nearly 1 acre; and of furze-brakes and hedges, about 4 acres, and 1 rood; in all, 104 acres, 1 rood, and 30 poles Cornish measure, and 124 acres, 1 rood, and 14 poles statute measure. So munificent was the lord, the *first* patron of the church, to his rector! Such an ample scope of land did he give him, out of the baronial possessions! He gave him one entire and unbroken scope, interrupted by no other possessor, and bounded by the brook, the river, the lane, and a hedge, from every one." *W. T.* MSS.

"On *Trevellick* in CREED, are a ruinated chapel and well, dedicated to St. Naunter or Naunita." *Tonkin.* *St. Guronus*, to whom is dedicated ST. GORAN'S *Church*, was an hermit, and lived in this place, which was afterwards inhabited by St. Petrocus, a few miles from the Severn shore, and thence called Bosmanack, i. e. the monk's house. *Usher de Brit. Eccles. Primord.* ST. STEPHENS in Brannell, is at present with St. DENIS a daughter-church to ST. MICHAEL CARHAYES. "There is a very striking singularity, in the nature of the present parish: which is but slightly or hardly noticed, by Mr. Tonkin. It has been taken out of the parish of Car-hayes, and yet it is actually distant from it. It is considered as one living with Car-hayes, and yet has Probus and Creed in a first line, Tregoney and Cuby in a second, Veryan and St. Ewe in a third, successively coming betwixt Car-hayes and it. It is now held with St. Dennis as its daughter, and Car-hayes as its mother, by a clergyman who holds Boconnock and Braddock as one church, together with it; and who therefore stands forward to the curious eye, a most singular instance under the *present* forms of ecclesiastical law, of one man lawfully possessing five churches. But how is all this phœnomenon in parochial formations, to be accounted for? It can be accounted for, I think, only in this manner. The manour of Car-hayes was originally a royal one, I suppose. The house was therefore the seat occasional of our Cornish kings. It was a seat peculiarly frequented, I also suppose, for the sake of the adjoining forest of Brannel. And the donation of Brannel by William the Conqueror to Robert earl of Moreton, when he made him earl of Cornwall; proves it to have been in the hands of the crown at the time, and intimates it to have been a part of the Cornish demesnes originally. The lands, that had belonged to the Cornish crown, would certainly be attached to the English, on the suppression of kings; and would assuredly be conferred on the earldom of Cornwall, when the kings were succeeded by earls. In this condition of the parish and the forest, when the latter was annexed to the house, and so became a part of the former; any house that was raised in the forest, for the temporary reception of the king, was necessarily considered to be as much in the parish, as it was in the manour. When other houses were built, and a perpetual

7. In the D. of KERRIER, the *collegiate church* of *Glaseney*, in the parish of GLUVIAS,* claims the first notice, in point of importance, though not of time. "Walter Bronscombe,† the good bishop of Exeter (says Tanner) about the year

inhabitancy took place in them; a chapel was naturally erected for the participation of the inhabitants in divine offices, and the rector of Carhayes was called upon to officiate in person or by proxy at it, in person while the king was there, by proxy when he was not. And he had the tithes of this newly cultivated part of the woodland, to repay him for his trouble or his expence. This accounts satisfactorily, I think, for the strange extension of the parochial compasses here. One leg was centered at the house of Car-hayes, and therefore the other stretched over all the intermediate regions, and took its footing on the woodland of Brannel beyond. Nothing but the *regality* of both, could have permitted such a vast stride as this. A Neptune may stalk from promontory to promontory, and a king may take a colossal step from Car-hayes to Brannel. The very name, too, seems to concur with all this. Called Bernel, Beranel, and Brannel, and originally belonging to the crown, it speaks its royal relationship at once; Breilin or Brennin (W.) being a king; Brennyn, Brein, Brenn (C.) royal; Bran being the Welsh name for the famous Brennus, Brenhinol, (W.) and consequently Brennol (C.) once, being kingly or royal. The house also at Car-hayes has a royal kind of appearance with it, being built in the old style of grandeur round a court, having a chapel, a hall, and all the *uncomfortable vastness* of a princely house. In this manner did St. Stephens go on to form a new kind of parish, by encroaching upon the royal woodland, and by peopling these gloomy deserts. Considered at first as a chapelry to Car-hayes, it was valued with it in 1291. It afterwards became parochiated, and is valued as a distinct parish in the valor of Henry the Eighth. But, before the period of this second valor, St. Dennis, which was wholly unknown in 1291, had risen upon St. Stephens just as St. Stephens had risen upon Car-hayes before. The daughter of Car-hayes thus became a mother to St. Dennis. And, the wildest and remotest part of this ancient forest of our kings, coming to be peopled, and requiring a church for its inhabitants; St. Stephens stands in the new valor, accompanied with is chapel of St. Dennis." *W. T.* v. 3. pp. 147, 148. "The ancient name of MEVAGISSEY was *Lanvoreck*, a church near the way to the creek. This name is still preserved in the church-town, and the tenement above it. It takes its first name from the two saints to whom the church is dedicated; S. Mevie, and S. Issey." *Tonkin.* FAWEY. "*Foy*, from *Foys-fenton*, (the *walled well of water)* arising about Altar Nun, St. Cleather, or Temple moors; whence its confluence is called the Foys river, and so denominates Foys town, as situate thereon. In Domesday, this place, or parish, was rated under the jurisdiction of *Tywardreth*. Neither was there any endowed church here extant at the time of the inquisition of the bishops of Lincoln---unless (what can hardly be supposed) *Ecclesia de Fano appropriata domui de Tywardreth in Decan. de Powdre* be a corruption of Foy-ton." *Hals*, p. 134. The church is said to be dedicated to *St. Fimbarrus.*

* "Gluvias was an endowed church, chapel, or place of jurisdiction, before the Norman conquest. For in Domesday, *Gluvise* is rated as such." *Peard's MS.* "Anciently the church of St. Gluvias was called *Bohellan, village-hall-church* --- Bo-hell-an, it seems, in those days, being a considerable hall and vill." *Hals's MS.* "St. Mary Magdalene's chapel, in St. Gluvias, is now all in ruins. It lies on the woody skirts of Cosawse. It was, I believe, formerly, a chantry belonging to Glaseney-college, and probably founded by one of the Bodrigans." *Tonkin's MSS.*

† The bishop was admonished, it seems, to found his college of Glaseney by a vision in the night. To this vision his epitaph alludes: ---

"Olim sincerus pater, omni dignus amore,
Primus Walterus, magno jacet hic in honore.
Edidit hic plura, dignissima laude statuta;
Quæ tanquam jura, servant hic omnia tuta.
Atque hoc collegium, quod GLASNEY plebs vocat omnis,
Condidit egregium, pro voce datur sibi somnis.

1270,‡ built a collegiate church on a moor called Glasenith, at the bottom of his park at Penryn, to the honor of the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Thomas of Canterbury. It consisted of a provost, a sacrist, § eleven prebendaries, seven vicars, and six choristers." At *St. Pieran, St. Keveryn, Kevran,* or KEVERNE, were a dean and chapter in the days of Edward the Confessor. They were endowed with lands, and the privileges of a sanctuary. This church was given by king Henry I. to the bishop and church of Exeter. Afterwards, here was a cell of Cistercian monks, subordinate to Beaulieu-abbey, in Hampshire.‖ At ST. MARTIN, there was a

Quot loca construxit? pietatis quot bona fecit?
Quam sanctam duxit vitam, vox dicere quæ scit?
Laudibus immensis jubilet gens Exoniensis;
Et chorus & turbæ, quod natus in hac fuit urbe.
Plus si scire velis, festum statuit Gabrielis,
Gaudeat in cælis igitur, pater iste fidelis."

Thus Englished, by *Prince*.

" This sincere father, worthy of love so high,
Walter the first doth here in honour lie.
He wholesome laws did for his church indite,
That all things safe might keep in peace and right.
Fair Glaseny college, as 'tis call'd, he founded,
Warn'd thereunto, b'a voice in's sleep, that sounded.

What buildings he? what pious works did raise?
How holy too? what tongue can speak his praise?
On this her high renown may Exeter glory,
In her was born the man so great in story.
Would you know more? he made to Gabriel
(Heavens bless his pious soul!) a festival." *Prince's Worthies*, p. 62.

‡ Not A. D. 1288, as Camden and Speed. Bishop Bronscombe, the founder, died in 1280.

§ One of these prebends was annexed to the dignity of the archdeaconry of Cornwall.

‖ " Canonici St. Pierani tenent Lanpiran, quæ libera fuit T. R. E. De hoc manerio ablatæ sunt ii. hidæ, quæ reddebant Canonicis T. R. E. firmam quatuor septimanarum, et decano xx. sol." *Domesday.*----" John of Tinmuth, in his life of Kiaranus, says, that in Cornwall, where he was buried, he was called Piranus; the same author adds, " that his father was called Domuel, and his mother Wingella :" and this might be true of St. Piran, but other parents are ascribed to Kiaranus in a MS. which archbishop Usher says, he had then in his possession, for his (viz. Kiaranus's) father was said to be Lugneus, " *de nobilioribus gentis Osraigi,*" and his mother, called Liadain, " *de gente quæ dicitur Corculaigde,*" whereas Piranus was *ex Ossoriensi Hiberniæ provincia*, son of Domuel and Wingella. However, from John of Tinmuth, as I suppose, Leland (Itin. vol. vii. p. 110.) calls the parish church of St. " Keveryn, alias of Piranus ;" but whatever name St. Piran had before he came into Cornwall, St. Keveryn, and St. Piran were certainly different persons; for Domesday *(Tanner*, p. 69. not. *c.)* says, " The canons of St. Pieran held Lan Piran ;" that is, some lands which (from their belonging to a church of that saint) had the name of Lan Piran; and at Piran San the bishops of Bodman had a manour called Lan Piran, now almost entirely over-run by the

nunnery.¶ There was a priory or hospital at the W. S. W. end of the town of Helston, founded by Killigrew, and dedicated to St. John the baptist.* St. Michael's Mount, and the Sylleh isles, are included, it seems, in the deanry of Kerrier. At St. Michael's Mount, was placed a priory of Benedictine monks, by Edward the Confessor; but before A. D. 1085, annexed to the abbey of St. Michael in Periculo maris in Normandy, by Robert† earl of Moreton and

sands, and so great esteem had the Cornish for the name of this saint, that we have three parochial churches dedicated to him, and two of them are at present in the patronage of the church of Exeter. But St. Keveryn does not appear to have had any connexion with the bishop of Exeter, any otherwise than as its diocesan. The patronage is in lay hands; and here seems to me to have been a distinct religious house, with lands called Lanachebran, which we find mentioned as one of our religious houses in Cornwall, but have not known hitherto where to fix it. "There was a society of secular canons in a place of this name, at or about the conquest, (says bishop Tanner, p. 69.) dedicated to St. Achebran;" and it appears from the Domesday in Exeter cathedral library, p. 433. that these canons held Lanachebran in the time of Edward the Confessor. Now this St. Achebran is not to be found in Cornwall: the name therefore seems to me contracted into Kebran, or (according to the Cornish idiom) Kevran, the same as Kiaranus, now called St. Keveryn, or St. Kevern, in the deanry and hundred of Kerrier.

¶ Called "*Hellnowith*, or the New-Hall-Nunnery. It was endowed by the bishop of Exon, and the prior of St. Michael's Mount, and dedicated to St. Martin of Tours." *Hals's MSS.* in St. Martin. So is *St. Martin*: the daughter church to Mawgan.

* *Leland's* Itin. vol. iii. p. 10. ----MS. Valor.

† Ecclesiæ St. Michaelis tenet Triwal. Brismar tenebat T. R. E. Ibi sunt ii. hidæ, quae nunquam geldaverunt, &c. &c. De his ii. hidis comes Moriton abstulit i. hidam. *Domesday*. "Thirteen miles off the most western-most promontory of Great Britain called the Land's-End in Cornwall, in the inmost recess of a bay named from it the Mount's Bay, on the southern shore in lat. 49. 58; long. from London, 5. 58. stands St. Michael's Mount. This hill has gone by several names. The Cornish inhabitants (remarkable for naming places from their most striking and natural properties) antiently called it Karak-luz-en-kug, *i. e.* the grey or hoary rock in the wood. The wood is gone, but the remains of the trees sometimes found buried under the sands between the Mount and Penzance, confirm the propriety of this name. [Mr. Scawen in his MS. of the Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 106, writes this Cornish appellation Carn coose an clowse, that is, as he englishes it, the rock hid in the wood.] In the book of Landaff it is called Dinsul, a compound word signifying either a hill dedicated to the sun (a thing not unusual in the times of gentilism) or a contraction of Dinas-whal, in the Cornish language noting a high hill, or a hill difficult of ascent. In the beginning of the 6th century, and perhaps long before, it was called St. Michael's Mount, afterwards by the Saxons Mychelstow—in latin St. Michael de Monte, and as Scawen says, (ibidem) St. Michael de magno Monte. The mountain in circuit exceeds a mile. The hill grows narrower and more stickle upwards; its sides more rocky, with precipices to the south and west; and on the top are the remains of what was anciently only a monastery; in tumultuous and warlike times a fort and monastery together, and now neither fort nor monastery, but a neat comfortable and secure dwelling-house. The whole height from low-water-mark to the top of the building (as taken by Mr. J. Nancarrow, junr. a diligent observer) is 238 feet; from the pier or key to the town of Marazion on the opposite shore is now near half a statute mile, which space is covered with the sea six hours in twelve, viz. from half-flood to half-ebb, and during the other six hours is open for passengers to go on foot from either side. Such is the present state of this place in general: and there are several particulars relating to it both in religious, military and natural history not unworthy of ob-

Cornwall. At INISCAW, the largest of the Sylleh Isles, was a poor cell of

servation. - - - When this hill was first dedicated to religion does not appear, but as soon as Christianity spread and had taken root in Britain, such hills as this, no doubt, attracted, as they did other countries, the notice of the times and were judged most proper for religious retirement. Hermits and pilgrims of both sexes renouncing the delicacies of life chose their retreat among rocks, placed their oratories on summits of the most difficult approach, soon became admired by the people for their sanctity, honoured by novices and probationers ardent to succeed in the same holy catalogue, and dignified by reported miracles. Nor were supposed visions without their share in consecrating those hills; among the rest St. Michael, highest of the archangels, was supposed therefore to be fond of them, and to appear preferably on such eminences; the Italians laid claim to a visit from this archangel on mount Garganus; they had also the monastery of St. Michael del Bosco (or St. Michael of the Wood) standing on a hill at Bologna. The French claimed the same honour for their mount in Normandy dedicated to St. Michael. And the monks who lived on the top of this mount in Cornwall, put in for the same angelic vision and shewed the place on which the archangel sat, giving some high and steep rocks on the western brow of the hill the title of St. Michael's chair. The first time I find this hill upon record as a place of devotion is in the legend of St. Keyne, a holy virgin of the British blood-royal, daughter of Braganus prince of Brecknockshire; she is said to have gone a pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, she lived about the year 490, and her festival is celebrated on the 30th of September. Now it must be concluded that St. Michael's Mount was before of great repute, either for the residence of some saint or working-miracle hermit, or celebrated for some supposed angelic vision, as was the humour of those times, otherwise one of St. Keyne's dignity and eminence would not have undertaken a pilgrimage thither; St. Keyne made no short visit, she stayed long enough by the sanctity of her life and the miracles she was thought to have performed, to ingratiate herself with the inhabitants. For some years after this, St. Cadoc making a pilgrimage to this same place found here, to his great surprize, St. Keyne his aunt by his mother's side, at which rejoicing he endeavoured to persuade her to go back with him to her native country Brecknockshire (the intercourse between Cornwall and Wales being then frequent and familiar) but the people of the country interposing would not endure her removal; at last having had an express command from above the saint obedient to the heavenly monition retired to her own country. Let it be observed here, that although there may be somewhat of the fabulous in these, as there is in most legends, yet that here are two pilgrimages of the same age, which mutually confirming each other, add tolerable support to the story in general. Other circumstances are not wanting; here is added, the consanguinity of the two saints, and what proves St. Keyne to have been in Cornwall, a church still remains dedicated to her memory, and a well consecrated by her name. St. Cadoc had also his church and well in Cornwall, of which you have also in such history as those ages afford, the following particulars. He lived in the time of king Arthur (viz. about the beginning of the sixth century) and as he was returning from St. Michael's Mount parched with thirst, the saint thrust his staff into a dry place, and as soon as a plentiful fountain began to flow, worshipped and prayed that all the sick and weak who came here and drank might be healed, and the waters prove an infallible remedy against poison, worms, and pestilential infection, and near this fountain the grateful inhabitants of Cornwall founded a large church in honour of St. Cadoc. So far from the legends, enough, however, though but legendary, to convince us that the Mount was consecrated to devotion, at least as early as the latter end of the 5th century. Full five hundred years after these pilgrimages, Edward the Confessor, founded a priory here, of the Benedictine order, and endowed it (for the better promoting his new regulations) with several lands; he gave by charter all the lands of Treworveanef .... Vennefire with the town, villages, fields, meadows, tilled and untilled lands, and added the port which was called Ruminella, with all that belonged to it as mills, fishery, &c. and if any one (says the charter) will slander, or rather, lay any claim to this gift, may he incur the anger of God for ever. Signum regis Edwardi, signum Roberti archiepiscopi Rothomagensis, Herberti epis. Lexoniensis, Roberti epis. Constantiensis, signum Rodulphi, signum Vinfridi Nigelli, vicecomitis—Anschitilli Choset Turnstine Leofricus. Leofricus (otherwise called Livricus) first bishop of Exeter, in the same reign, to advance this new foundation gave up the rights of his own see, and exempted the church of saint Michael from all episcopal jurisdiction. The Normans coming in soon after, Robert earl of Moriton and Cornwall became patron of this religious house, erected some build-

two Benedictine monks, dedicated to St. Nicholas. It belonged to Tavistock-

ings here and gave the house some lands, but, from a superior affection to Normandy his native country, abridged its liberties annexing it to the monastery of St. Michael de periculo maris in Normandy, from which time it became only a cell depending upon and subordinate to that foreign priory. By another charter in the year 1085, the same Robert for the safety of himself and his wife, and the king gave half a hide of land, as free and quiet as himself held it, three acres of land in Amaneth, Lismanoc, Trequaners and Carmailo so free from all pleas and suits, that they (*i. e.* the occupiers of such lands) shall be answerable to the king for nothing but man-slaughter, concluding thus: "This gift I Robert earl of Moriton have made with the consent of king William (*i. e.* Conqueror) his queen and children." It is said in Domesday that when the Normans came in, the priory had two hides of land in Treiwall [Trewall in the Mount] at that time no small inheritance, but the earl of Moriton dispossessed it of one half. The bull of pope Adrian in the year 1155 confirms to the monastery of St. Michael de periculo maris all its possessions whatsoever in England and Normandy, with an anathema to such as should wrong, and a blessing to all that should add to the same. The next benefactor was Richard earl of Cornwall and king of the Romans who besides other grants confirmed to the monks here the grants of his ancestors kings of England of three fairs at Marhasyon. His son Edmund earl of Cornwall in his subsequent donation recites and confirms all the grants of his father Richard, being several parcels of lands and in this grant minutely described. Alan earl of Britany gave to these monks ten shillings per ann. due to him from the fair of Mardresem, and Conan duke of Britany confirmed to them the land of Wath, given them by his predecessors. In the extent of lands taken in the 12th of Edward the First, before Solomon de Ross and his colleagues itinerant justices at Launceston, from Easter-day during the space of three weeks the prior was found to have 8 acres, where it is to be noted that eight Cornish acres were at least each 120 common or statute acres of land. Golsinney (als. Golsithney) is a considerable manor including almost the whole parish of Piran-Uthno, the church about two miles from the mount; it formerly belonged to and was part of this priory, now the property of Sir George Trevillian, bart. The church of Sennar (als. Zenor) about 5 miles distant from the Mount, is said to have been endowed by the prior of St. Michael's Mount and to have been formerly wholly impropriate (*Hals's* Hist. of Cornwall) but this I believe is a mistake; it never belonged to this priory; for in the Lincoln Taxation made in the 16th of Edward the First, A. D. 1288, the church of Senare is said to be appropriated to the canons of Pernini that is Glassiney, or Glasseneth college there. In the same taxation (viz. 16th of Edw. 1.) the church of St. Illary is reckoned among the appropriations of the priory of St. Michael, and in all appropriations the great tythes of the parish went to the priory, and the small tythes sometimes with reservations, sometimes otherwise and free went to the vicar presented to the cure by the prior. The advowson was in the duke of Cornwall. In Edward the Third's time this priory was valued at 200 marks a-year, a great income for that time and so few monks, for I remember but six stalls in the choir, and generally it is to be supposed there was not the full number resident and by a certificate from bishop Grandison's register in the church of Exeter, the income besides oblations is valued at one hundred pounds, at which time (viz. 1336) this house was visited by that bishop and appeared to have greatly degenerated from the institution of the founder and the rules of the order which it had embraced; the emoluments also had been very ill-managed, the revenues in debt, the lands farmed out at too low a rent and to insufficient tenants, corn and other goods lent and delivered into bad hands, great decay and dilapidation; the prior was also charged with having remained single without any monk for one month and more, contrary to the rules of the order, and not taken sufficient care of preserving the rights of churches appropriated to his priory for all which the prior is summoned to answer before that prelate. Of the monks of the Benedictine order (such as were the monks of the Mount) some were reformed and called Cistertians, and of the Cistertian kind was a subdivision order called the Gilbertine, instituted by Gilbert of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, which Sempringham was the first monastery instituted by the aforesaid Gilbert (says *Hals*,) A. D. 1148, By this rule of the Gilbertines the monks and nuns were placed in one house, and the rule spread itself with that rapidity that St. Gilbert (for he was sainted) saw, before he died, in England 18 convents, and in them 700 monks and 1100 nuns; the Gilbertine habit was a black cassock and over that a furred cloak, the men wore a hood with lambskins, the nuns a veil, in other respects alike." *Pryce's* MSS. of St. Michael's Mount, pp. 1..... 13. The respect in which this church was held, may be estimated from an instrument, which, according to William of Worcester, was found among its ancient registers. "To all Members of Holy Mother Church, who shall read or hear these Letters, Peace and

abbey‡ before the conquest; and was confirmed to this house, by Henry the First, and Reginald earl of Cornwall.

Salvation. Be it known unto you all, that our Most Holy Lord Pope Gregory, in the Year of Christ's Incarnation 1070, out of his great zeal and devotion to the Church of Mount St. Michael in Tumba, in the county of Cornwall, hath piously granted to the aforesaid Church, which is entrusted to the angelical Ministry, and with full approbation consecrated and sanctified, to *remit* to all the Faithful, who shall enrich, *endow* or *visit*, the said Church, a *Third Part* of their *Penance*: and that this Grant may remain for ever unshaken and inviolable, by the Authority of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he forbids all his Successors from attempting to make any Alteration against this Decree." We learn from the same Author, that these words were placed publickly on the gates of the church, and enjoined to be read in other churches, that the devout might be induced to visit the Mount more frequently and in greater numbers. Between Marazion and St. Michael's Mount is the place called the *Chapel Rock*, whereon the pilgrims, who came to visit the Priory of St. Michael, are said to have performed certain devotionary and superstitious ceremonies, in a kind of initiatory chapel, previous to their admission to the more sacred Mount.

‡ A short time after Athelstan had reduced Exeter and driven the Cornish beyond the Tamar, the islands of Sylleh are said to have been given to the abbey of Tavistock. In consequence of this and other subsequent grants, the monks of Tavistock were styled lords of Sylleh. Yet our kings sent governors thither, had fortresses in them, and granted lands: So that there were lay-estates at all times in these islands, independant of the abbey of Tavistock or the cell of St. Nicholas in Sylleh. "Whether Scilly was included in the foundation of the abby of Tavistock in the year 961 is, I think, uncertain; but bishop Tanner, (not. *a* p. 69.) says, that it belonged to that abby before the conquest. And yet Henry the First grants (does not confirm, which was the usual expression when houses or revenues had before been granted) "to Osbert, abbot of Tavistock, all the churches of Sully, with their appurtenances, and the land as the monks or hermits held it in the time of Edward the Confessor and Burgald bishop of Cornwall." From which passage it should seem likely---first, that there were, at the time of this grant, several churches in Scilly; and secondly, that the monks and hermits there, held them independant of the abby of Tavistock, otherwise this king would have confirmed, or restored, and not used the word granted only. Reginald earl of Cornwall, natural son to Henry the First, grants and confirms all wrecks but whale and wholeship, to the monks of Scilly, in Rentemen and Nurcho, and the isles of St. Elidius, St. Samson, and St. Theona. These monks had also all the tythes of Scilly, and particularly of rabbits, given them by Richard Dewick, for his soul, and the souls of his parents, and of Reginald earl of Cornwall his lords; as appears by the acknowledgment and confirmation of the bishop of Exeter, who therein says, that all the lands of *Sully* belonged to his diocese. Pope Celestin, by his bull dated the fourth of the kalends of June, A. D. 1193, confirms to the abbey of Tavistock the Islands of St. Samson, St. Elidius, St. Theona, and one called Nutho, with their appurtenances, and all churches and oratories through all the Islands of Scilly, with the tythes, offerings, and every thing belonging, and two pieces of digged ground in the isle of Aganas, and three in the isle of Ennor. King John (A. D. 1200) gives, grants, and confirms to the abbey 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." *Borlase's* Scilly Isles, pp. 100..103. "St. Helen's was of great resort, unless I am much mistaken, in times of superstitious pilgrimage." "St Lide's isle, says *Leland*, (1) wher yn tymes past at her sepulchre was gret superstition." This is called St Helen's by the islanders, but I suspect the true name to be St. Elid's, it being the same, as I apprehend, which in the records is called *Insula Sancti Elidii*.(2) From St. Helen's we passed close by a little Island called Tean (3) (probably the *Sancta Theona* of the Records) but at present uninhabited." *Borlase's* Scilly, pp. 50, 51, 52.

(1) Vol. III. p. 9.

(2) See Pope Celestin's Confirmation Bull, Monasticon Ang. p. 998. and the charter of Reginald, earl of Cornwall, ibid. p. 1002. Leland, or his editors have made this a female saint, but in the Records 'tis otherwise. In the first grant of these islands to Francis Godolphin, esq. 13th of Elizabeth, are distinctly mentioned (as if two different islands) "St. Helen's Isle, Lyde's Isle," but the word or, or alias, is here wanting, and it should be written, (at least as I conjecture) St. Helen's Isle, alias, Lyde's Isle.

The church of CONSTANTINE seems to have been a church of more than ordinary note, from what is said in Domesday under the title "Ecclesiæ aliquorum sanctorum."§ This church was afterwards appropriate to the dean and chapter of Exeter.

§ "S. Constantinus tenet dim. hidam terræ, quæ fuit quieta * ab omni servicio T. R. E. Sed postquam comes terram accepit, reddebat geldum injuste, sicut terra villanorum." *Constantine* seems to have borrowed its name from Constantine king of Cornwall and Devon. Constantine is said to have succeeded king Arthur about the year 542, whose death he revenged by murdering two innocent youths of royal blood (supposed to be the sons of Mordred) at the very altar; for which Gildas calls him the tyrannical whelp of an impure Danmonian lioness. After which, in 588, having lost his wife and children, he grew weary of the world, turned monk, preached the gospel to the Scots, suffered martyrdom in Scotland, and was canonized for a saint. See *Tirrel's* Hist. of Eng. l. 3. pp. 139, 148. and *Boeth.* l. 9. ST. BUDOCK takes its name from St. Budocus, who (says *Leland)* was "an Irisch man, and came into Cornewalle and ther dwellid." For *Meliorus*, son of Meliorus duke of Cornwall, to whom the church of MYLOR is dedicated, see *Fuller's* Worthies in Cornwall, p. 199. "In WENAP, or *Gwennap*, (a pretty fertile soil, considering the neighbouring parts of the country) is a chapel dedicated to *St. Dye*; which was of public use before the dedication of Gwennap church, and some time after, though now daily falling into ruin. A fair is held here, on Good Friday." *Hals's* MSS. St. Dye was heretofore a chapel of ease to Gwennap---- its tutelar guardian St. Dye of Gaul, who lived in the 5th or 6th century. There is a church in the province of Lorraine still bearing his name. Norden calls it a hamlet, where was some time a chapel now decayed, called Trinity; to which men and women came in times past from far, in pilgrimage. "The resort was so great, that it made the people of the country bring all sorts of provisions to that place. And so long it continued with increase, that it grew to a kind of market: And by that means it grew, and continueth a kind of market to this day, without further charter. St. Dye in every respect is a part of the parish of Gwenap. It has, however, this singular custom, that of holding its feast on a different day. Gwenap-feast is held on Whitsunday: And St. Dye-feast on the sunday, three weeks following." *Peard's* MS. "ST. GERMOCUS a chirch, 3 miles from St. Michael's Mount, est-south-est, and a mile from the se. His tomb is yet seen ther. St. Germok there buried. St. Germok's chair in the church-yard. St. Germok's welle a little without the chirch-yard." *Leland.* BREAGE is said to derive its name from its patroness *St. Briaca*, of whom, and St. Germo the neighbourhood hath this Cornish verse:

"Germow mahtern, Breage Lavethas." "Germow was a king, Breage but a midwife."

And a noble midwife she in one sense was, since she brought into Cornwall such a number of Irish saints; of whom Leland speaks thus: (Itin. v. 3. f. 4.) "Breaca venit in Cornubiam comitata multis sanctis; inter quos fuerunt Sinninus abbas qui Romæ cum Patritio fuit, Maruanus monachus, *Germochus* rex, Elwen, Crewenna, Helena, Tecla. Breaca appulit sub *Revyer* cum suis, quorum partem occidit Tewder. Breaca venit ad Pencair. Breaca venit ad *Trenewith*. Breaca edificavit eccles. in *Trenewith* et *Talmeneth*, ut legitur in vita St. Elwini." Which Leland thus explains: "Pencair an hill in *Pembro* parish vulgo St. Breage---- Recyer, castellum Theodori in orientali parte ostii Hayle fluv. nunc, ut quidam putant, absorptum a sabulo: It was on the north se.---*Trenewith*, a little from the paroch church of Pembro, where the paroch church was or ever it was set at Pembro. Talmeneth a mansion-place in Pembro." Whence it appears that the old church built by St. Breaca did not stand where the present one is, but at Trenewith, *i. e.* the new town, probably so called on her erecting the church here; and thus drawing the people to build houses round it. From hence also it appears, that the ancient name of this parish was Pembro; which, says *Camden* (Brit. in Pembr.) signifies the cape or sea promontory. It is the same as Penvro." "In the Taxat. Benef. 1291, CURY is called Eccles. St. *Ninani*, which Ninian was a noble Briton: He died in 432. (See *Collier's* Eccls. Hist. v. 1. p. 48.) In the king's

* "Immunis." Exeter Domesday. "Semper reddidit gildum."

8. In the D. of PENWITH, our first object is ST. BERIAN. Here king Athelstan* is said to have built and endowed a collegiate-church, and to have granted the benefit of a sanctuary and other privileges to the same in honour of St. Beriana† a holy woman from Ireland, who had an oratory and was buried at this place. At the conquest, there were secular canons‡ at St. Berian; as there were a dean and three prebendaries at the close of the period before us.§ The deanry of Berian contains the parishes of St. Berian, St. Senan,‖ and St. Levan.

Of the parishes, so much must be reserved till the next ecclesiastical survey, that I have little to say here.¶

books, it is called Cap. de Corantin, alias Cury. This Corantin was bishop of Cornwall; and an hermit at Menheniet; converted Cornwall to Christianity; and died in 401; and was reckoned one of the seven British saints." *Tonkin.* "The name of MULLION is a corruption of St. Meliana, a Roman lady, who died in 438." *Tonkin.* I have already spoken of ST. RUAN, and his hermitage in the Nemean woods. "St. Rumonus sepultus apud Tavistoke. *Ex vita Rumoni.*---Rumonus genere fuit Scotus Hiberniensis. Nemea sylva in Cornubia plenissima olim ferarum. St. Rumonus faciebat sibi oratorium in sylva Nemæa. Falemutha. Ordulphus dux Cornubiæ transtulit ossa Rumoni Tavestochiam." *Leland's* Col. v. iii. p. 152, 153 There are yet some remains of a very ancient chapel on *Tregonwell*, in the parish of MANACCAN. At *Trewothack* in ST. ANTHONY, there was a chapel with a burial-ground.

* *Leland.* Itin. v. iii. p. 6.

† That St. Berian derives its name from Beriana an Irish saint, who had an oratory and was buried here, is the current opinion; though *Hals* asserts, that no such saint is to be found in the Roman legend, nor calendar; nor yet in *Capgrave's* catalogue.---King Athelstan had vowed to build a religious house in case he returned victorious from the Sylleh isles. He built this house, therefore, in the sight of those isles, in performance of his vows. Walter de Gray was one of the deans of St. Berian in 1213.

‡ "Canonici S. Berianæ tenent Eglosberry, quæ fuit libera T. R. E. Ibi est una hida, &c." *Domesday.*

§ Or, at the time of making the Lincoln Taxation, 20. Edw. I.

‖ "*St. Sennan* or *Sinninus*, as Leland calls him, Itin. iii. fol. 4. was an Irish abbot, who went to Rome with St. Patrick. He came over with St. Breage, and the church celebrates his memory as a martyr on the 30th of June. I suppose he was one of those murdered by Theodore, and that St. Breage and her companions built this church in remembrance of him." *Price's MS.* p. 36.

¶ CAMBORNE (according to *Hals*) signifies "an *arched burne*, or *well-pit of water*, from that famous consecrated spring of water and walled well in this parish, called Cam-burne well; to which place young people, and some of the elder sort, make frequent visits, in order to wash and besprinkle themselves with the waters thereof, out of an opinion of its great virtue and sanctity, forsooth! And such as are thus sprinkled are called by the inhabitants *mer-rasicks*, viz. such as have been much sprinkled with sprigs, or branches, of rosemary or hyssop. These again by others are also nick-named *mearagacks*, alias *moraragiks*; that is to say, persons, straying, rash, fond, obstinate." *Crewenna*, the patroness of CROWAN, came from Ireland with St. Breage. *Leland*, v. 3. f. 4. "St. ERTH, is called in Taxatio. Benef. *Lanhudnow*. There is a tenement so called near the church: and probably this church was taken out of it---now called *Lanhuthnow*. (*Usher de Brit.* Eccles. Prim). Ercus, a king's son, who lived in the

III. This, then, is an outline of our church-history. It is a faithful, but a feeble outline. In the review of the times before us, we are surprized at a devotion† the most fervent, an enthusiasm almost insuperable by any obstacle in nature:‡ And we wonder more, when we see them associated with unrelenting barbarity and the grossest impurities.§ Yet to the spirit of religiousness, must we attribute the rapid organization of our ecclesiastical establishment. The zeal of our

time of Patricius, is the patron of this parish, which is called in the register of Exeter Ecclia Ercei." *Price's MS.* p. 13. PIRAN-UTHNO, one of the least parishes in Cornwall, contains about 500 acres of land. GULVAL. "*Lhuyd*, was of opinion, that this parish took its name from the inscription on the stone in Maddern, "Rialobran Cunoval fil." and that *Cunoval* is by corruption turned into *Gulval*. But I must beg leave to dissent from him and ascribe as patron to this parish, a christian bishop St. Gulwal, whose memory the church celebrates the 6th of June. In Tax. Benef. this parish is called *Ecclia de Lannesely*, and in the king's books *Gulvale*, alias *Lanistly*, from the manor of Lanistly, i. e. the place to the east of the church." *Price's MS.* p. 18. LUDGVAN. The church of Luduan is dedicated to St. Paul; not to Luduan, being so called from the principal estate in it." *Carew.* f 90. "ST. IVES. The paroch-church is of Ia, a nobleman's daughter of Ireland, and disciple of St. Barricius. Ia and Elwine with many others came into Cornwall and landed at Pendinas. This Pendinas is the peninsula and stony rock where now the town of St. Ies standith. One Dinan a great lord in Cornewaul made a church at Pendinas at the request of Ia, as it is written in St. Ies legende. Ther is now at the very point of Pendinas a chapel of St. Nicholas, and a Pharos for lighte for shippes sailing by night in those quarters." Itin. v. 3. f. 7. The original name of this place was *Porthies*, the port of S. Ies, or St. Ia: and it is still the vulgar name.

† "Richard earl of Cornwall was very religious, according to those times, building and endowing divers monasteries and churches, and taking upon him two expeditions to the Holy Land, to rescue it out of the hands of the Saracens, where he gave such proofs of his courage and skill in military affairs, as he did also in Gascoigne against the king of France, that the pope offered him the kingdom of Naples, and the seven electors of Germany chose him emperor, which last he accepted, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 1257. But the elector of Bavaria and some other princes turning his enemies, he grew so uneasy, that he left his dignity, and a great part of his treasure, and returned into England, where he died soon after, and was buried in his abbey of Hales near Winchcombe in Gloucestershire." *Mag. Brit.* p. 322. Our religious houses were in some respects beneficial to religion and learning; but in many of deleterious influence. Among other evils, their appropriations and exemptions from tithes proved extremely injurious to the interests of the church. See *Fuller*, p. 283.

‡ Of Cornish atchievements in the holy wars, I have already observed, that we have no very striking memoirs. But of our cousins the Welsh, there is an anecdote much to the credit of *Britons*. Whilst it throws a splendor, indeed, upon Wales, it gives to *Cornwall* at least a refracted radiance. The Cornish and the Welsh were still proud of being considered as one and the same people; opposing themselves, as *Britons*, to the intruders from the continent, the Saxon or the Norman *English*; and still fond of associating together, and assisting each other, on every great emergence. Nothing is more probable, than that the Cornish and Welsh united their forces on the occasion to which I allude. The anecdote is as follows: "Gilbert de Lacy, a great baron of England, and ROBERT MANSEL, a knight of *Wales*, and two nobles of Acquitaine assaulted by night the camp of the sultan Noureddin on the confines of Damascus, and put to the sword and took prisoners the greatest part of his army. The historian attributes the success of this enterprize to the spirit and intrepidity of Mansel and his *British* followers." See *Gul. Tyr.* lib. ix. c. 8, 9.

§ That a want of principle was sometimes discoverable in the feligious characters of these times, the following fact will prove: "Upon Palm-Sunday, Walter Lodswell chancellor to bishop Blondy, Richard Sutton his register,

forefathers, indeed, was at one time blazing out, like a meteor, in romantic adventure; and, perhaps, like a meteor disappearing, without one salutary end. Yet was the same zeal at other times exerted, for the good of many a future age, in the founding of cathedrals and ‖churches, of colleges and hospitals.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

CIVIL AND MILITARY, AND RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE.

I. IN opening the views of our roads and fortifications simply military, our castles erected for residence as well as war, and our mansions gradually accommodated to domestic uses; in delineating our religious houses and churches; and, lastly, in describing our towns, I have been pleasingly engaged; since the same objects,

John Fitzherbert his official, and William Ermscore the keeper of his seal, did all of them open penance in St. Peter's church, for false contriving and disposing of sundry spiritual livings of the said church under the bishop's seal, without his privacy or consent, even whiles he lay sick on his death-bed, being past all hopes of recovery." *Izacke, p.* 15.

‖ The parish-feasts, still celebrated in Cornwall, (though the sports of hurling and wrestling and other pastimes of the Cornish are in most places discontinued) are probably as ancient, as the dedication of the churches. These feasts were originally kept on that saint's day to whose memory the church was dedicated: the munificence of the founder, and endower of the church, was at the same time celebrated, and a particular service composed for the occasion.(1) On the eve of that day there were prayers in the church, and hymns sung in memory of the saint throughout the night. From these watchings, the festivals were called *wakes*, and the name still continues in many parts of England, though the custom whence it arose has been long abolished. From the *singing* at the parish-feasts, were derived, perhaps, the names of several places; such as, *chy-carra-dre*," the house-singing-town,"—*trecan*, " the singers'-town,"—*Fenter-gan*, " the fountain of the singers,"—*Hanter-gantic*, " the midnight-singing-place." The tinners of this county hold some holidays peculiar to themselves, which may be traced up to the days of saintly superstition. The *Jeu-whydn* or *White-Thursday*, before Christmas, and St. *Piran's day*, are deemed sacred in the mining-districts.

(1) See Durandus Rationale Divin. lib. vii. fol. 215. and Dugdale's Warwickshire.

however familiar, have assumed a degree of novelty from their distribution and relative position.

1. Of our three sorts of civil and military buildings, various castles intended simply for the purposes of war, have been given to the Danes; but as I have more than once remarked, without the least show of probability.* I have already described the greater part of these military works as existing before the age of Vortigern. It is not unlikely that such stations were occupied, successively, by the Saxons and the Normans; and thus repaired and altered, as emergence might urge, or opportunity suggest. And additional works were often raised in intermediate spaces. I doubt not, that there are still † vestiges of the military course of Athelstan ‡

* "Few of those castles (says a learned correspondent) which in this country are called *Danish*, were really the works of the Danes. The situation of these fortresses, in general, implies a settled people. They are raised on the tops of hills, at a distance from water, and seem to communicate with one another, by artificial roads. Yet if we rely on tradition and the common opinion, we shall attribute almost the whole chain of military works that runs throughout the county, to the piratical Danes, whose incursions were only predatory; who were never able to establish themselves, for a moment, in these western parts, and whose only fortifications were hasty works, thrown up along the coasts."

† In the parish of St. Blazey, there is a stone of a very ancient appearance; with many characters; but evidently too much obliterated to be decyphered. Tradition says they have been decyphered thus: "Hitherto the Saxons came, but no farther."----"In the parish of Senan is situate the most remote north-west promontory or head land of the island of Great Britain; where it is not above an arrows flight breadth (at the end thereof) the lands naturally or gradually declining from St. Just, and Chapel Carne Bray, 4 miles distant, to this place, and the sea at least 80 fathoms under those places. At low water there is to be seen far off towards Scilly a dangerous stragge of ragged rocks. Of old there was one of those rocks more notable than the rest which tradition saith was 90 feet above the flux and reflux of the sea, with an iron spire at the top thereof, which was overturned or thrown down by a violent storm in 1647, and the rock broken in three pieces. This iron spire, as the additions to Camden's Britannia inform us, was thought to have been erected there by the Romans, or set up as a trophy by king Athelstan when he first conquered the Scilly islands (and was in those parts) but it is not very probable such a piece of iron in this salt sea and air without being consumed by rust, could endure so long a time: However it is, or was, certain I am it commonly was called in Cornish "an marogeth arvow'd," *i. e.* the armed knight." *Walker's Hals*, p. 170.

‡ After the conquest of Cornwall, our ancient beacons, occupied by the Saxons, much assisted them in keeping the country in subjection. Their name among us is derived from the Saxon becnian, to shew by a sign, or to *beckon*. They were placed on a high ground, and sometimes on a tumulus, on which a pile of wood or barrel of pitch was elevated on a pole and fired in the night; or a smoke was raised from some combustible matter. A watch was kept at them in time of danger: Horses and men called *hobbelers*, were posted here, to give notice to the country, on any alarm, or the approach of an enemy. The care of them was committed to one or more of the adjoining hundreds. "On *Trevithan* in Gerens, stands a double round entrenchment, which lying very high, the middle serves for a beacon." *Tonkin's* MS. *Treculiack-hill*, in Constantine, is very high land, nearly about the center of the hundred, and has on it a remarkable beacon." *Peard's* MS. "At *Golsithney* in St. Hilary, our ancestors the Britons, set up a watch in times of trouble and war." *Hals*.

from the Tamar to St. Berian. At Trewithan in Probus, *Sworn-field* is famous, it seems, for a battle with the Danes, from whose blood sprung up the plant called Dane's-wort or dwarf-elder.§ "On the sea-shore on the top of St. Michael's-Mount-Bay (says *Hals)* stands that notable treble entrenchment of earth, after the British manner, called LES-CADOC, as tradition says, the castle of Cadoc,‖ earl of Cornwall."

§ See *W. Tonkin*, p. 55. "This field (says Mr. W.) was lately a common and had in it a round for Cornish games. It was called not *Sworn*, but *Sorn*, and probably from an estate adjoining, that is denominated either Sorn or Dorn. No tradition of a battle with the Danes is now known [1792]. Nor is dane's-wort or dwarf-elder, known to have abounded here more than in any other part of the parish. It abounds in many parts of it. Nor can I find *one* invasion of Cornwall by the Danes. Dr. Borlase *has not mentioned* one, in his dissertation upon the subject; yet he speaks of numerous forts erected by them for their own defence against the Cornish. The fact is, that they never were in Cornwall but as friends, and even as friends only once. In 835, says Florence of Worcester, "Dani multa cum classe in occidentalium Britonum terram qui Cuwalia [Cornwallia] vocatur, appulerunt; cum quibus Britones paciscuntur, &c. &c." Devonshire east of the Exe, and Cornwall then extending up to the Exe, as appears from the history of Athelstan afterwards, "depopulantur. Quod ille audiens, &c. &c." they retreating to the west of the Exe and even to the west of the Tamar, "in loco qui dicitur Hengest-dune, id est, Mons-Hengisti, cum eis certamen iniit; ex quibus multos trucidavit, reliquos vero fugavit." [291]. Nor can I account for any *forts* being popularly or scholastically called Danish in Cornwall, except from mistaking their name of *Dinas* or *Dennis* for Danish; or any *places* being reported to be the scenes of Danish battles, except from mistaking again the name for the Saxons, *Dena* for Danes. Thus in 823 the Saxon Chronicle calls the invading Saxons *Dena* or Devonshire-men; *Devon*-shire, even so late as Camden's days, being denominated popularly *Den*-shire (p. 144. edit. 1605). And in 835 the same chronicle says, that Egbert routed the Cornish, "Wealas," and the Danes "Denisean." *W. T.* vol. 2. p. 44.

‖ *Hals's* MSS. --- "Among the fortifications (says *Britton)* in the west of Cornwall, those of Castle Chun, Castle An-Dinas, are monuments of singular curiosity. Dr. Borlase contends that all the castles west of Penzance were constructed by the Danes; but this opinion is confuted by Mr. King in the first volume of his Munimenta Antiqua, where he states, that many fortresses of a similar construction remain in Wales, in Scotland, and in parts where the Danes never had access. Besides, if the situation and character of those above-named are examined, there can be no hesitation in attributing them to a British origin. The remains of *Chun Castle* occupy the whole area of a hill, commanding an extensive tract of country to the east, some low grounds to the north and south, and the ocean to the west. It consists of two walls, or rather huge heaps of stones, one within the other, having a vallum, or kind of terrace, between them. This terrace is divided by four walls; and towards the west-south-west is the only entrance to the castle, called the Iron Gateway. This turns to the left, and is flanked with a wall on each side, to secure the ingress and egress of the inhabitants. The outer wall measures about five feet in thickness: but on the left of the entrance it is twelve feet; whilst the inner wall may be estimated at about ten feet; but, from the ruinous confusion of the stones, it is impossible to ascertain this decidedly. The area inclosed within the latter, measures about 125 feet in diameter, and contains a choaked up well, and the ruined foundations of several *circular* tenements, or habitations. These are connected to the inner wall, and run parallel all round it, leaving an open space in the centre. The present state of these ruins demonstrate that this castle was constructed before any rules of architecture were adopted in military buildings; for there appear no specimens of mortar, nor door-posts, nor fire-places with chimnies: and had any of these ever been used in this singular and rude fortress, it is exceedingly improbable but that some traces might be now discovered amidst its vast ruins. On the north side of the castle appears a passage, or road, partly excavated out of the soil, and guarded by high stones on each side. This communicates with the fortified retreat, and the ruined buildings of a village or town, which occupy the north face of a hill, and consist of numerous foundations of

The *Giant's Castle* on St. Mary's, one of the Sylleh isles, is described by Borlase, as a cliff-castle prior to the Normans.* But of *military* works intended for defence only,† I have exhausted my store in the former period; and shall, therefore, hasten to our walled castles for defence and residence. Artificial hills, with keeps erected on those hills, were, evidently, of very high antiquity; though from the numerous fortresses designed in this manner by the Normans, many writers have deemed the keep-castle of Norman origin. It appears, that most of our castles without keeps, were distinguished by turrets. The art of fortification was, doubtless, in its infancy with the Saxons: But Alfred was not inattentive to military architecture. And in 915, his daughter Elfleda, erected several works on artificial hills in Staffordshire and Warwick.‡ At the conquest, William ordered a great number of castles with keeps to be built throughout the kingdom. The nobles immediately put his designs into execution: And in the time of Henry the Second, were reckoned no less than 1115 Norman castles in this island.§ In the reign of king Stephen, (according

circular huts. These are from ten to twenty feet in diameter, with a narrow entrance between two upright stones, without any chimney; and the walls composed of various sized stones, rudely piled together without mortar. The knowlege of lime as a cement, says Mr. Whitaker, was first introduced into this country by the Romans. *Castle An-Dinas* is very similar to the above, though on a larger scale." *Britton's Cornwall*, pp. 500, 501.

* "This castle is situated on a promontory, which towards the sea is an immense crag of rocks, as if heaped on each other. This heap, or turret of rocks declines also quick, but not so rough towards the land, and then spreads to join the downs, where at the foot of this knoll it has first a ditch crossing the neck of land from sea to sea; then a low vallum of the same direction; next, a second ditch and a higher vallum; lastly, near the top of this crag, it had a wall of stone encompassing every part, but where the natural rocks were a sufficient security; this wall by the ruins appears to have been very high and thick. It is called the *Giant's Castle*, the common people in these islands, as well as elsewhere, attributing all extraordinary works to giants. We have many of these castles on the Cornish cliffs; they seem designed by pirates and invaders to protect themselves whilst they were landing their forces, ammunition and implements of war, and to secure a safe retreat towards their ships in case of need. I am apt therefore to think that such cliff-castles are as ancient as the times of the Danish, if not of the Saxon invasions." *Borlase's Isles of Scilly*, pp. 17, 18.

† King Arthur's castle of *Damelioc* is mentioned by Hals, under St. Tudy, as "a treble entrenchment of the Britons; where Gothlois earl of Cornwall immured or fortified himself against Uter Pendragon's soldiers. The lands about this fort, have, since its first erection, been enclosed and cultivated; so that furze and brambles deface, but not entirely hide this treble entrenchment from the sight of spectators." *Hals's MSS.* "*Goongoose*; a mountain by the sea-side, near Helston, signifying the hill of blood. There are ancient marks of martial acts (as trenches of defence and hills of burials) perhaps between the Britons and Saxons." *Norden.*

‡ See *Dugdale's* Warwickshire, p. 373.

§ "The materials (says *Grose)* of which they were built varied according to the places of their erection: But the manner of their construction seems to have been pretty uniform. The outsides of the walls, were generally built

to the Saxon Chronicle) the poor people were worn out with the toil of building; and the kingdom was covered with castles. And William Rufus (says *Henry Knyghton)* erected royal castles and palaces in various counties, as the castle of Exeter. Between the time of the Norman conquest and Edward I. a mixed kind of buildings succeeded the round Norman keeps. These structures discovered little taste or design. This much for preliminary observation.----I have already described the castle‖ of LAUNCESTON,¶ one of the most ancient in this

with the stones nearest at hand, laid as regularly as their shapes would admit. The insides were filled up with the like materials mixed with a great quantity of fluid mortar. The angles were always coigned, and the arches turned with *squared stone brought from Caen in Normandy*, with which the whole outside was now and then cased."

‖ Lidford-castle, as situated within the limits of ancient Cornwall, should be mentioned, at least, in the words of William of Worcester. "Castrum quadratum de Lydeford fundatum fuit antiquis annis præteritis per primores Cornubiæ tum conver..... Pons profundissimus tocius Angliae sub ponte et strictus..... Flumen pontis altissimi sub castro de Lydeford, per sex miliaria de Tavystoke, et 6 usque Tokynton; currit de Dertmore, fons ejus per 10 miliaria ex parte boriali prope villam seynt Nyght ow, et currit usque aquam portus de Plymouth." *William of Worcester.*

¶ Names of Launceston in Records. "Apud *Laustaveltune.*" Dugd. v. ii. p. 530. "Galfr. Mannyon ded. eccl. de *Lanstephan*, &c." Dugd. vol. ii. p. 549. "Apud *Lanchevitine, Lanstanenton*, &c." *Rot. Pat.* 3. *J.* "Prior. de *Lanzaneton* pro 1 feria obla." "Homines de *Lanstaneton*, &c." *Rot. Pat.* fin. 7. *Jo. Lanstancton*, Burg. & mer. castr. de *Lancenenton* delivered to John Fitz-Richard. *Rot. Pat.* 10. *Joh.* Delivered up castr. of *Launzaneton* to Hen. fil. Com. *Rot. Pat.* 17. *Joh.* The king granted to the prior and canons of *Lancendaniton* the advowson of the moiety of the chap. of the castle of Lanc. *Rot. Pat.* 17. *Joh.* Ordered ye castle of *Landzanenton* to be given to Rob. Cardinan. *Rot. Pat.* 17. *Joh.* Castr. de *Lanzaneton*, 4. H. 3. *Pat.* Two or three times afterwards spelt in the same manner. Villam de *Lanzaneton*, 5. Henr. 3. "The common opinion is, that Lanceston is derived from Lanstuphadon; Launstaveton, as in Domesday; Lostephan, as in Leland, that is, the church of Stephen; whereas they seem to me, the names of two different places. The church of St. Stephen is near a mile from the town of Lanceston, and had a college of canons belonging to it before the conquest, with many houses, which, as in other places of the like kind, people thought it their interest to build near the monastery, and might probably enough be called Lanstuphadon, *i. e.* the town of St. Stephen's church. Earl Harold possessed (as lord of the manor) this Lanstavedon, in the time of Edward the Confessor, and here was held a market at that time, but the earl of Moreton and Cornwall transferred it to his own castle, that is, to Launceston. Unum mercatum quod ibi jacebat ea die qua R. E. F. V. & M. abstulit inde Comes de Moritonio & posuit in castro suo. *(Exeter Domesday).* Now if Lanstuphadon had been the same as Lanceston, with what propriety could it be said that the earl of Cornwall took away the market from Lanstaveton, and fixed it in his own castle, that is, in the town, within the precincts, and rights of his own proper castle? and therefore Lanstaveton, and this Lanceston, (where the earl of Cornwall's castle is) must be two different places, and it could never be called Lanstaveton castle, but by mistake, and the delusive affinity of names. I am therefore of opinion, that Launceston is the proper name of this town, for the abovementioned reasons, as well as that, neither our towns nor our castles (in this county) take their most ancient names from saints; but from some notable property of situation, or shape, the use they were designed for, or river on which they are planted. Now Lanceston signifies (in mixed British) the church of the castle, and in the inquisition 20 Edward I. (A. D. 1293-4). I find it was rated by the name of Capella de Castro in decanatu de

county.* That it existed before the conquest, we cannot doubt; as Othomarus *de Knivet*, (perhaps *Dunhevet)* of Danish extraction, was hereditary constable of the castle of Launceston, and was displaced at the Norman invasion for being in arms against the Conqueror. Condorus, earl of Cornwall, was, at the same time, deprived of his earldom; and the town and castle of Launceston given to Robert earl of Moreton. That William earl of Moreton and Cornwall, son and heir of Robert, built this castle, is among our popular errors. We are assured, that he kept his court here; and might, perhaps, have made some alterations and additions to the building. From William, it fell to the crown with his other lands.---The castle of TREMATON,‖ also,

Eastwellshire. Lanceston may also be a contraction of Lancesterton; for in the bishoprick of Durham we have Lanchester, the Longovicus of the Romans, and Lancastre in (Lancashire) should have the same derivation; Langborough, that is *Longum burgum*, a Long-town; and 'tis not improbable, that the most ancient name of the castle should have been Lancestre, and the town thence called Lancestreton, but by contraction Lanceston, in the same manner as Cheshire, which is, but a contraction of Chestreshire, (it's ancient name) and Cheston for Chesterton, or Cestreton, as in Kennett (Par. Antiq. p. 224) for the easier pronounciation." *Borlase's* Ant. pp. 329, 330.

* "It is seated to the W. S. W. of the town: So that we have a full prospect of it from the western road. Before it, is a large and deep graff, which formerly surrounded it, and is still visible on this west side; the rest being taken up partly by the highway, and partly by gardens and buildings, which, on the eastern side, come home along to the castle-walls. The west gate is, in a manner, all in ruins: Neither are there any remains of the chapel, hall, or constable's house; there being now no other building remaining therein, but a house, which now serves for the common gaol: Whereas, the old one, as the town's men say, was over the N. E. gate; which is still kept in good repair, though no one lives in it. At the N. E. end stands the keep, on a high tapered mount, which I once thought was artificial, though I am now satisfied to the contrary; there being a quarry of stone almost at the very top of it, though there has been, nevertheless, some art used to bring it to its present form. A covered way formerly led you by steps of stone of an easy ascent to the top of it; which steps are now carried off, as well as the roof; and the whole is in a ruinous condition. This pleasant seat was formerly accommodated with a fine park well wooded, with a small rivulet of water running through it. The whole is now held by lease for lives, by Hugh Piper, esq. who by virtue of the holding, is now constable thereof, and keeper of the gaol: the which was granted to his grandfather, Sir Hugh Piper, knight, together with the L. governorship of Plymouth, by Charles the Second, as a reward for his sufferings and exemplary bravery in the civil wars; in one of the battles during which, the said Sir Hugh was left for dead in the field for a whole night, with his throat cut from ear to ear; and being found in this condition the next morning, and put into a warm bed, on his servants feeling some signs of life in him, and carefully looked to, lived after this, to a good old age." *Tonkin's MSS*

‖ Trematon castle occupies the summit of a high hill, at a small distance to the west of St. Stephen's. The remains of this once formidable structure are still very considerable, and when seen from the east, have an aspect of great boldness and grandeur. From some points the tufted scenery, which surrounds it, and the encircling ivy, which envelopes its battlements, give it an air of picturesque beauty. The area inclosed by the outer walls, which are about six feet thick, is nearly circular, and contains somewhat more than an acre of ground. The walls are embattled, and are in many parts still perfect, though several massive fragments have fallen into the deep ditch which surrounds the whole fortress, excepting at the gateway. This is in good preservation. The entrance is under a square tower, sup-

hath passed under our review. But, as the head of a barony of the ancient dukes of Cornwall, it must again be mentioned.† On the north side of the town of LESKEARD

ported by three strong arches, between which are the grooves for the portcullisses. This leads into the area. At the north-west corner stands the keep, consisting of a conical mount, considerably elevated, with a wall on its summit ten feet thick, and rather more than three times as high. The space inclosed is of an oval form, measuring about twenty-four yards by seventeen. This is now a kitchen-garden, but was originally distributed into apartments, which must have been wholly lighted from the top, as the wall of the keep does not contain any windows. The entrance was by a round arched door-way, opening towards the west On the north was a sally-port, and probably some buildings, the surface of the ground being in this part very uneven. The view from the ramparts commands a fine prospect of the Hamoaze, Dock, Mount Edgcumbe, and Maker Heights. A branch of the Lynher Creek flows near the foot of the hill.

† It appears by Domesday, (1) that William earl of Moreton and Cornwall had here his castle and market, and resided here; but we are not to suppose that this William or his father Robert, were the builders of all the castles which they possest. For when the Conqueror came in, Condorus the last earl of Cornwall of British blood, descended from a long train of ancestors, sometime called kings, sometime dukes, and earls of Cornwall, was displaced, and his lands as well as honours given to Robert earl of Moreton: and where the residence of those ancient earls of Cornwall was, there surely he settled his court, as at Lancestón, Tintagel, and Trematon. Carew in his Survey (f. 111.) gives us this account of an ancient monument found in the parish church of St. Stephen's to which this castle belongs. "I have received information (says he) from one averring eye witness that about fourscore years since, there was digged up in the parish chancel, a leaden coffin, which being opened, shewed the proportion of a very big man. The partie farder told me how a writing, graved in the lead, expressed the same to be the burial of a duke, whose heir was married to the prince, but who it should be, I cannot devise. Albeit, my best pleasing conjecture lighteth upon Orgerius, because his daughter was married to Edgar." This Orgerius was duke of Cornwall, A. D. 959. and might probably have lived at Trematon castle in this parish; but he was buried in the monastery of Tavistock, (as Wm. of Malmsbury says, p. 146.) so that probably the duke of Cornwall buried here, was Cadoc. Under Robert earl of Moreton and Cornwall, it appears by the Exeter Domesday, that Reginald de Valletorta, held the castle; (3) but the inheritance came to William earl of Cornwall, from whom it passed by attainder to the crown, with his other lands and dignities; when, as some think, Cadoc, son of Condorus was restored to the earldom of Cornwall, and lived and died at the castle of Trematon, leaving one only daughter and heir Agnes, married to Reginald Fitz-Henry, natural son to Henry I. From him this lordship of Trematon came with one of his daughters to Walter Dunstanville, baron of Castle-combe in Cornwall, whose issue (male) failing, it went with a daughter and heir to Reginald de Valletorta, (temp. Ric. I.) who had 59 knight's fees belonging to the honour of Trematon.(4) His son John de Valletorta had issue Roger, (by others called Reginald) who, having only two daughters, Elgina married to Pomeroy of Bury Pomeroy in Devon, and of Tregeney in Cornwall, and Jone married to Sir Alexander Oakeston, knight, settled this lordship of Trematon on Sir Henry Pomeroy, knight, his grandson by his eldest daughter, Elgina: and this sir Henry, (or a son of the same name, and title, as is more likely) by his deed bearing date the 11th of Edward the Third, released to Edward the Black Prince, (then created duke of Cornwall) his right, and claim to the honour, castle, and manor of Trematon. (5) It then became again, as it was most anciently, a part of the dutchy of Cornwall, and so it still continues.----

(1) Camden, p. 21.

(3) "In ea Mansione habet Comes unum Castrum et Reginaldus tenet istud de Comite." F. 67.

(4) Evidences from the Red Book in the Exchequer.

(5) In consideration (as Hals says) of an annuity of forty pounds per annum out of the Exchequer, which deed was extant when Prince wrote his Worthies of Devon, and in the possession of Roger Pomeroy of Sandridge in Devon, esq.

stood the castle; of which there is little to be discovered except the scite; near which was a park.‡ - - - - The castle of RESTORMEL, about a mile to the north of Lestwithiel, was one of the principal houses of the earls of Cornwall.§ This castle stands not on a factitious mount. The architect, finding a rocky knoll, on the edge of a hill overlooking a deep valley, had only to plane the rock into a level, and shape it round by a ditch: And the keep had elevation enough, without an artificial hill, like that at

Mr. King says, (in his observations on ancient castles) that we may safely venture to pronounce *Trematon Castle* in Cornwall, to have been a *Norman structure* of the first age, notwithstanding the doubts of Dr. Borlase to the contrary; and that it was built by Robert earl of Moreton. - - - - - "The fact stands thus;" says WHITAKER. "The castle of Trematon was an original palace of the Cornish kings, like Restormel. It was thus given by the Conqueror to the earl of Moreton, as Lanceston and other demesnes of the crown of Cornwall, which had devolved to the Saxon earls of Cornwall, and were now transferred to the Norman. Here therefore he had a castle, at the time of the Domesday survey. He had the castle, that had belonged successively to the kings and earls before. This is plain from the Cornish name of it, which implies it to have been a castle originally, and the castle of a king. But at Lanceston he erected himself the castle, which he had there. And the previous name of Lanstuphan-dun, concurs with the erection of a castle by the earl himself, and shows the royal house at St. Stephens to have been no castle, to have therefore shared with the district in the name of the church, and to have also compelled him to erect a castle. But, wherever the king resided much, there a market would naturally be formed. Many of our markets, I apprehend, have taken their origin from this circumstance. Many have since sunk into disuse, and the effect has ceased when the cause was removed. But some remain, by their own formation of towns, or by other incidents producing towns to them. So was there a market at St. Stephen's near Lanceston, which the earl of Moreton translated to his castle. There was also another market, says Domesday, which the earl had at his castle of Trematon. Both were in existence originally. And, as the scite of the royal house was not altered at Trematon, the position of its market was not changed. It was originally on the scite of Saltash, and the original cause and matrix of it, fixed at a little distance from the castle, on the outside of the park, and upon the hill declining to the Tamar; it was held chiefly round a great ash-tree, it seems, and so took the name of "Villa de Esse" or "Essa," among the Saxons and Normans. That this is the real etymon of the town's name, and not Mr. Carew's, who translates "Villa de Esse" into "Esse his town," and adds that "such gentlemen," or gentlemen of such a name, "*there* have been of antient descent and faire revenues;" is obvious of itself. "Villa de Esse" means only "the town of Esse." The town is therefore called simply "Essa." *W. T. MSS.* vol. 3. pp. 155, 156.

‡ "And therein (says *Leland*) a chapel of our lady." *Itin.* vol. 3. p. 21. - - - *Tencreek*, in Menheniot, was one of the seats of the earls of Cornwall. "Ten-creek, Den-creek, was formerly the lands and possessions of Richard earle of Cornwall, kinge of the Romans, second son of kinge John; who probably, at som tymes, lived at it, (as also at his castle of Leskerd) for in the old delappidated houses of this once famous fabrick, I saw the ruins of a moorstone ouen about 14 foot diameter, in testimony of the hospitallitie once kept heer. And moreouer, in the frout of the castle wise moorstone gate or portall, I beheld his armes cutt in stone, viz. *within a bordure bezantee, a lyon rampant, crown'd.*" *Hals's MS.*

§ "The park of Restormel is hard by the north side of the town of Lostwithiel. Tynne works in this parke. Good woode in this parke. Ther is a castel on a hill in this park, wher sumtymes the erles of Cornewal lay. The base court is sore defaced. The fair large dungeon yet standith. A chapel cast out of it a newer work then it, and now onrofed. A chapel of the Trinite in the park not far from the castelle." *Itin.* vol. 3. pp. 16, 17.

Trematon. The bass-court was "sore defaced," as Leland says, in his time. In Carew's time, some few ruins were to be seen in the lower part, where the ditch is very wide and deep still, and was formerly filled with water, brought by pipes from an adjoining hill: On the higher side also leading to the principal gate, there are traces of buildings to be found. The keep is a very magnificent one. The outer wall, or rampart, is an exact circle of 110 feet diameter within, and ten feet wide at the top, including the thickness of the parapet, which is two feet six. From the present floor of the ground rooms to the top of the rampart are 27 feet six, and the top of the parapet is seven feet higher, garreted quite round. There are three stair-cases leading to the top of the rampart, one on each side of the gateway ascending from the court within, and one between the inner and outermost gate. The rooms are 19 feet wide, the windows mostly in the innermost wall; but there are some very large openings (in the outmost wall, or rampart) now walled up, shaped like gothic church-windows, and acutely arched. They were formerly very handsome and pleasant windows, and made to enjoy the prospect, their recesses reaching to the planching of the rooms: These large openings are all on the chamber-floor (where the rooms of state seem to have been) and from the floor of these chambers we pass on a level to the chapel. This chapel is but 25 feet six by 17 feet six, but that it might be the more commodious, there seems to have been an anti-chapel. The chapel, as Leland well observes, is a newer work than the castle itself. I may add, that the gateway, and the large windows in the rampart wall are, also, more modern than the keep: for they were not made for war and safety, but for pleasure and grandeur. Yet they must be at least as ancient as Edmund son of Richard king of the Romans; for, since his death, I cannot find that any earl of Cornwall resided here. Richard king of the Romans kept his court here, and probably made these additions in the time of Henry III. The officers belonging to this castle, lay below it in the bass-court, where marks of desolation to the north and east are still apparent, and with the ruins on either hand as we approach the great gate from the west, shew that this castle was of considerable extent. There was an oven (as Carew says) of 14 feet largeness among the ruins in the bass-court, which may serve to

give us some idea of the hospitality of those times.*---There is a keep and castle yet standing at TREGONEY, of no longer date than the conquest. It was erected by the Pomeroys, whose seat it was. So far Tonkin. But at present there is scarcely the trace of a ruin. "RUAN-LANYHORNE *castle,* (says *Tonkin)* stood to the south of the church, at no great distance from it; the rectory-house lying between them, below that and parallel with this; in a pleasant situation enough, on the edge of a creek, into which a small rivulet empties itself, and the river Fale, which

* This noble keep (as well as the bass-court) is now all in ruins, over which Carew's lamentation runs thus:---" Certes, it may move compassion, that a palace so healthful for air, so delightful for prospect, so necessary for commodities, so fair in regard of those days for building, and so strong for defence, should in time of secure peace, and under the protection of its natural princes be wronged with those spoilings, than which it could endure no greater at the hands of any foreign, and deadly enemy; for the park is disparked, the timber rooted up, the conduit pipes taken away, the roof made sale of, the planchings rotten, the walls fallen down, and the hewed stones of the windows, dournes, and clavels, plucked out to serve private buildings; only there remaineth an utter defacement to complain upon this unregarded distress."†----" On the summit of a very high hill, about one mile north of Lostwithiel, are the mouldering remains of *Restormel Castle*, a fortress magnificent in ruin, and proudly exalting its ivy-clad walls above the contiguous narrow-winding vallies: and though it is now only tenanted by the owl, the bat, and the daw, yet the grandeur of its ruins, and the importance they communicate to the surrounding scenery, render it peculiarly interesting. The hill on the north side is remarkably steep, having its base swept by the rapid waters of the Fawy River. This side, and, indeed, the greater part of the hill, is covered by a thick mass of wood, of diversified character, and variegated foliage. The rampart or outer wall of the castle is nearly a circle, surrounded with a wide and deep ditch, having a raised terrace on the outside, which commands many views, singularly beautiful from the combination of wood, water, lawn, and meadow, the contour of the hills, and the variety of the receding distances. The entrance to the castle is beneath the ruins of a square tower, and an arch more inward. It leads into an open area, between which and the embattled wall of the ramparts are a number of different apartments, extending round the whole inside. These were subdivided into lesser chambers, disposed into two stories, and originally covered with a circular roof, which, however, did not extend over the inner area; the diameter of which, from east to west, is sixty-eight feet; and from north to south, sixty-five. The various apartments occupied two stories: the uppermost seems to have contained the state rooms, and to have had large openings, or windows, of the gothic form, in the outer wall, but the spaces are now filled up; most of the other windows were in the innermost wall. Just within the entrance to the area are two stair cases, leading between the rooms, and the embattled outside walls, to the parapet, which is seven feet higher than the top of the rampart, and two feet and a half in thicknesss. The rooms of the upper story were entered by a third and descending stair-case, which led through the wall from the former. This floor communicated with a small chapel, (twenty-five feet, six inches, by seventeen feet six,) which projected from the outer circular wall, nearly as far as the centre of the ditch, and seems, with the windows and the gateway, to have been more modern than the other parts of the building; in the southern wall are two small niches where holy water was kept. The thickness of the rampart of the outer wall is nine feet; and its height from the bank to the parapet, about twenty-seven. The depth of the ditch from the outer bank is nearly nine yards." *Britton*, pp. 409, 410.

† I think this castle must have been built since the Norman conquest; for in the Exeter Domesday it is not named, nor in a list of the Earl of Moreton's lands and castles, transcribed from a MS. in the Ashmolean Library among the Dugdale MSS.

is here of a considerable breadth when the tide is in; and surrounded formerly with woods, which are now mostly destroyed. Leland gives this account of the state it was in, in his time. 'From Tregony to passe down by the body of the haven of Falamuth, to the mouth of Lanyhorne creeke or *hille*, on the south-est side of the haven, is a 2. miles. This creke goith up half a mile from the principale streame of the haven. At the hed of this creke standith the castelle of *Lanyhorne*, sumtyme a castelle of an eight toures† now decaying for lak of coverture. It longgid as principal house to the Archedecons. This lande descendid by heires general to the Corbetes of Shropshir, and to Vaulx of Northamptonshir. Vaulx part syns bought by Tregyon of Cornewaule.'* By this one may guess what a stately castle this formerly was. For in my time, was only one tower of the castle standing; which was so large, that, if the other seven were equal to it, the whole building must be of a prodigious magnitude. But I fancy this was the body of the whole, for there is not room enough about it for so great a pile: So that I believe the eight towers mentioned by Leland were only turrets, and appendixes to this principal part. I wish I had taken a draught of it in season (as I often intended); for this too was pulled down in or about the year 1718, by Mr. Grant; who, having obtained leave from the lord to do it, erected several houses with the materials, and turned it to a little town; to which ships of about eighty or one hundred tons come up, and supply the neighbourhood with coal, timber, &c. as the barges do with sand. But, since the writing of this, I am informed that six of the eight towers were standing within these thirty years; of which that which I have mentioned was the biggest and loftiest, as being at least fifty feet in height." Thus Tonkin. On which Whitaker observes:---"The contradictoriness of Mr. Tonkin's account of the castle, is but too apparent; not in the posteriour information correcting the prior ideas; but in the primary and original ideas of all. He considers the church as denominated the church *of iron* from the castle, this "being in those times a place of great note and strength." From Leland's

* Itin. vol. 3. f. 12.

† "Seven towers." *Leland* corrected.

account one may guess, he adds, "what a *stately* castle this formerly was." Yet he remarks, that "there is not room enough about it for so great a pile; so that I believe the eight towers mentioned by Leland were only turrets." And the fact is this, freed from all its contradictions and embarrassments. The castle consisted only of *seven* towers, as Leland had corrected his eight in the MS. These were not entire, even in Leland's time. The castle was, he says, "*sum-tyme* a castel of a 7 toures;" and was *then* "*decaying* for lak of coverture." It had been long deserted. Its roofs had fallen in. And its seven towers had already begun to moulder away into ruins. Of these, however, "*six* were standing within thirty years" before Mr. Tonkin's writing, or since the commencement of the present century. These had stood all the beating rains and shaking storms of a region, peculiarly exposed to the watery turbulence of the Atlantick; for a whole century and a half. But they had been crumbling insensibly away, under all. At last, I suppose, *four* of the six were thrown to the ground in that great storm of November, which came sweeping with so much violence over the Atlantick, which has made the year 1703 so memorable in our annals by its destructiveness, and the fury of which must have been peculiarly felt here. *Two* of its towers remained within the memory of some living in 1780. These were adjoining to the water. One of these was standing within the memory of Mr. Tonkin. This "was so large, that, if the other seven [six] were equal to it, the whole building must be of a prodigious magnitude." And "I wish," he subjoins, "I had taken a draught of it, as I *often* intended." This however was not "the body of the whole." Nor were "the eight [seven] towers mentioned by Leland, only turrets, and appendixes, to this principal part." This was merely "the biggest and loftiest." The whole castle, says tradition, spread over the higher ground immediately to the north. This indeed makes it a large building. But so it must have been, from its denomination of a *castle*, from its being "the principal house" of its lords; from the number of its towers, and from the general extent assigned it by tradition. The grand part of the castle in modern time, appears to have been that tower, which was so superior to the rest, and formed a distinct fortress of itself. This, says tradition, was *round* in its

form. It is still remembered by the appellation of the Round Tower. And the others were consequently square. This was the keep or dungeon of the castle. It was the place, in which the lord kept the prisoners of his baronial judicature. The interior fortress of a castle obtained the denomination of a *keep*, from keeping the prisoners in it; as a prison has now acquired the occasional appellation of a *dungeon*, from the baronial prisons being in the dungeon or inner fortress. And a low, a deep, a subterraneous part of a prison, is peculiarly entitled a dungeon now; from the baronial prison being low, deep, and subterraneous. This was exactly the case here. On what is now near to the brook of Ruan, and what was formerly the very margin of the tide-way, stand some lofty remains, which always attract the attention of a surveyor; and in which is what tradition calls the *dungel*, and reports to have been a *prison*.* And *Dungel*, the popular appellation among the Cornish of Ruan, for the Round Tower itself, is now confined to its *dungeon* or prison. *That* was "at least fifty feet in height," within the present century. *This* is placed by tradition, where the remains are still about forty feet high. A thick remnant of the castle shoots up into a kind of lofty gable-end. In this is a couple of stone-chimnies. One of them is still used in a house, that has latterly obtained the name of the Musick-Room, from a musical society convened in it at times by Mr. Grant. But close to this chimney on the south, is a kind of funnel in the wall, about two feet wide and five deep, that comes down from the roof, is closed up in the chamber above, is all open to the east in the ground-

* Our word *dungeon* is derived from the British language, and appears under the very form of *dungel* there. Din or Dun (C.) is a hill, a fortified hill; Dinevour (C.) is a fort on the sea, says Borlase, but rather, like Dinefar or Dinevor in Wales, which was the palace of the kings of South-Wales, on an inland hill eight miles *east* of Carmarthen, Din Vaur, or the Great Castle; Din (W.) is a fortified hill, Din, Dinas (W.) is a castle or city, as in *Din*-bren, the township in which *Dinas* Bran is situated, and in *Dinas* Emrys on Snowdon; and Dun (T.) is a habitation built on a hill, a strong or fortified house, a fortress, or fastness, as in *Dun* Criomhthain, the palace of an Irish king, near the hill of Hoth, *Dun* Cearma now Wicklow, and *Dun* Dubhline now Dublin. These all produce *Daingean* in Irish, now lost in Welch and Cornish, a fortification, fort, or *tower*; and have given the appellation of *Daingean*, to the present town of *Dingle* there. And the *Dungel* of the Ruanites thus appears to be the same, with the *Dingle* of Kerry, with the *Daingean* or Dungeon of the Irish, and with the *Dun* or *Din* of the Welch and Cornish; to have also been formerly, as we see from *this* appellation of Ruan, equally in the Cornish once; and to have signified in the Cornish, just what it does in the Irish, a fortress or tower.

room, and descended lately by a hole in the floor to an unknown depth in the earth. Forty years ago the boys called this funnel the *Dungel*, threw stones down the uncovered hole in the floor, listened with admiration to their rattle as they descended, and then ran away with terror. All the dust of the house used more recently, to be swept into it. It has thus become so far filled up in time, that a young girl used a few years ago to let herself down into it, in order to recover any thing that had fallen down it. It was then about seven feet deep. And it is now boarded over. Under this room is a kind of cellar, used as a warehouse now, but reported by tradition to have been a prison formerly. It was the real *dungel* or dungeon of the castle; being then accessible, says tradition, only from above. And it must have been a dark and dismal dungeon, having no light into it even at present, except a little that comes in by a small lattice in the new part of the wall over the door; having the walls thick and damp around it, and even the rock for a yard high on the north-side; being accessible only by a rope or a ladder, through a trap-door in the floor above; and being reached every tide with the waves of the sea. Such a picture have we here, of the severity used to criminals formerly! The milkiness of compassion, that sensitive plant which is so much cultivated in our English soil at present, shrinks up into itself with a tremulous vivacity of feeling, at the conception of such treatment, even for the vilest criminals. But the temperament of the British body, was infinitely better calculated formerly, for bearing the damp of such a dungeon; than it is now. Our very prisons are now dryer, than the castles of our barons were. And, as to the solitude and darkness of a prison, these surely are very properly adapted to the purposes of corrective confinement; to the sequestration of the guilty mind, from objects that divert its attention from its guilt; to enforcing upon it the consideration of its own criminality; and to the production of an useful penitence in it. Immediately over this subterraneous kind of prison, must the *jailor* have lived. Ths chimney of the room over the dungeon, was the chimney of his house. But what was the funnel by it? It was one of the privies in the castle. This appears to have had its seat at the top of that

tower; like the necessaries at the top of the houses, in the crouded part of London; and to have had its pipe, like those, and like our water-closets at present, leading down to the ground. The pipe terminated, together with its accompanying chimney, on the flat summit of the tower. It thence went down in the substance of the thick wall, into the earth below the dungeon. Three of its sides are still preserved, by the preservation of the chimney and of the two walls without; while the fourth side is gone, with the rest of the building. It has accordingly been plaistered up, with the chimney itself, in the bedchamber above. It has also been walled up in the cellar or dungeon below. And on the north-side of this wall appears to have been what one should naturally expect in a dungeon, another place that has been equally walled up, and once formed a collateral privy for the prisoners. The grand receptacle below, I suppose, was washed every tide through an opening in the foundation, and by a dock which was cut in the beach; the latter of which ran up then to the very walls, and continued running up more than half the way, within the memory of the present generation. Immediately on the west-side of this, and connected with it, is another chimney, of stone shooting up in the same substance of the wall, but having a different funnel. The fire-place of the chimney is very large, and shows the room belonging to it to have been very ample. Above also, and at a good height for an ancient building in Cornwall, is the *water-table* of it; being a channel cut in the face of the wall, for the reception of the end of a roof. This continues for a considerable way on the north, and shows the roof to have been long and sloping. On the southern side it goes off much sharper, and then is lost in the loss of the wall. And from all, and from the vicinity of this building to the dungeon, I suppose it to have been the *great hall* of the castle; the room in which the baronial court was held, and the criminals of the dungeon were tried. The hearth of this chimney yet remains, composed of several stones cemented together. But the chimney itself has been latterly contracted, repaired, and provided with an oven at one side; for a building that has been erected in the room of the hall, that had been divided into two dwellings, and was approached by a flight of steps, and a narrow access, from the present wharf below. The foundations of the hall also still remain in the ground, above a yard in height, and three or four yards in

length; lining with the solid and massy angle of the dungeon, but much less massy and solid than that. Between these two buildings, rose up the Round Tower. This was so large in the eyes of Mr. Tonkin, that it seemed at first to have been "the body of the whole;" and appeared at last, as "the biggest and loftiest" of all. Just above the peaked point of the water-table, and on the north-side, still are seen the evident reliques of a large arch. This must have been constructed, for supporting the tower; and have been therefore accompanied with a similar arch, on each of the three other sides. Resting on all, and rising about ten feet higher than the present remains, was the platform of the Round Tower; having two chimnies back to back, and the seat of a privy on the south-side of them, in the middle of it; and being secured with battlements all round. This, says tradition, just before its demolition, had the daws building their nests in the holes of it; and the boys, by some broken steps (I suppose) of the ancient staircase, went up to rob them. And Mr. Grant is said, when he wanted the stones of it for his buildings, to have offered a mason a couple of guineas for the demolition of it; to have afterwards marked the state of it to be so tottering, that it all rested upon a single stone; then to have induced the mason without a fee, to go and remove that stone; and thus, almost before the mason could get away, to have brought the whole fabric to the ground. Contiguous to the hall on the west, was the *brew-house*. Accordingly, in the coal-yard adjoining to the present garden of the hall, immediately beyond the hedge, and close to the new privy there; was found, in making the coal-yard, a place that had been built up for a furnace. This shewed the capacity of the furnace, by its own size. The latter must have been large enough, to contain a hundred gallons. A vessel of such a magnitude, aptly represents to us the expensive luxury of a baronial family then, in that great and almost only liquor of baronial cellars, ale. And, what corresponds with this idea of magnificence in brewing, the furnace had no less than four flews to it. A little beyond this, and in the way from the gate of the coal-yard to the ascent into the building there, were found two walls, running parallel with each other, and leaving only a narrow space between them. This, no doubt, was the guarded avenue from the *water-gate*, into the body of the castle. The water-gate stood about the gate of the coal-yard, but more within the yard, and in a

line with the wall of the dungeon, and the foundations of the hall. The narrow avenue shows it to have had a tower over it. A couple of moorstone apples also have been found here, that were neatly wrought with a tool, and had once served assuredly to top the pinnacles of this tower. And, though this tower was square, while the first was round, it was like the first, I suppose, in having the seat of a privy upon the top, and the pipe of a privy in the body, of the fabric; *this* being appropriated perhaps to the superior part of the baronial household, while *that* was to the inferior; and *this* being washed like *that*, no doubt, by an opening in the foundation, and by a dock from the brook. In the same coal-yard, but two or three yards on the west of this, and near the rock now cut down into a cliff; about forty years ago, was found the skeleton of a man. A workman, employed in digging up the deep soil that lay here, came running to his employer in a hurry; and with a wildness of wonder told him, he had found a man. The employer repaired to the place. He there saw the fair figure of a man, above six feet high, with his right hand raised erect above his head, and with his left reclining along his side. He advanced up to it, and touched it about the shoulder. And, to his astonishment, the whole skeleton vanished from his view at once, and dissolved into dust. This person, I apprehend, had been employed in the same work, by which he was discovered; and had been levelling the rough banks of the ground, for the reception of the castle. The ground of this had been originally as steep and as precipitous, as it still remains to the west and east. But the steepness was mitigated, and the precipices were smoothed, by cutting down the banks, and spreading their soil into a slope. A bank occurred here, very tall and big. The man went incautiously to work. It rushed down upon him, before he was aware; and buried him as he was found, in twelve-feet depth of earth. This was the line of the castle, towards the water. Here, and *within* the western wall of the coal-yard, I suppose, ranged the west front of the castle. This is all gone, and immemorially gone too. But, opposite to the present gate of the parsonage, and near the village-well, are, and have been, some remains. A beam of the castle, black with age, and chisselled for inserting the ends of joists into it, was found in the gutter west of the well, five or six years ago, and is now applied to keep up the failing road immediately

above. About the same time, and in the same gutter, the wall of the castle was discovered in its foundations. It was first dug up opposite to the well. It then came up to a point of the bank, in which I shall soon show some remains, of the more southerly of the two northern walls. It went on to a wall, that I shall equally notice soon, as the more northerly of the two. It was thus traced for four or five years. And, in the interval between the two walls, was laid open an arch of stone, upon which the wall was supported, and by which a spring of water was discharged from the castle into the lane. The well itself was the original *well* of the castle. But it was not exactly where it now is. A yard or two from it, appears an arch in the wall of an adjoining house, which has been closed up, and is almost buried in the growing soil. This was a well, in which a boy was drowned about seventy years ago. It was therefore walled up across the mouth, and another made in a more open and less dangerous form near it. A few yards to the right or south of this well, no doubt, was the gate-way into the court of the castle. It was not *at* the well, because a fragment of the wall, that remains there, shows no signs of an arch springing from it. This it must have done, if the arch of the gateway had sprung from it. And the gateway probably stood about the middle of the court, on the scite of the house belonging to the coalyard, and opposite to the present opening into the area of the castle. The fragment of wall mentioned above, spans across the arch of the well above the mouth, and forms more than half the side of a small house, as the well goes directly under the house. The eastern half of this wall has been thrown down, and then repaired with its own materials. The top has been also repaired in the same manner, and had a window inserted in it. But the western end witnesses sufficiently its antiquity, by its aspect. It rises up, like some of the walls within the parsonage, contracting in its breadth as it ascends. And it appears again in its foundation, at the bank before it. This therefore is the only relique of that *range of rooms* which formed the *northern* side of the court; as about ten or eleven feet north of it is another wall, very entire, and the back-wall of these rooms. The small house, which has the well under it, is thrust in between this wall and that, represents therefore the rooms that were formerly inclosed between them, and shows them to have been only ten or eleven feet in width. The well, projecting with its

broad and arched back into the rooms, though it was probably covered then, as it now is, with the level of the floor; shows us the designation of the rooms. The *kitchen* of the castle occupied the western half of this north-side, with its *scullery* at the western end of it. And the northerly or back wall now shows itself very tall, very long, and very ragged, as it has been skinned of its facing stones, for the construction of houses in the village. It extends to the very limit of the castle-ground easterly, failing a little in its upper parts towards the end, but still preserving its original length in its foundations. There the end of it coincides with another wall, that appears by the dungeon; that constitutes the easterly side of the dungeon itself; comes out a little to the right of the door in the well-house; and ran on within these six or seven years, and the slighter because of the fall in the ground there, to meet the high wall above, and to be the back-wall of the *eastern* range of rooms. A part of it *then* fell down with age; and the breadth in it has been left un-repaired, as it opens a new road of access to the houses under the cliff. We have thus made the circuit of the castle-court. We have noted the disposition of the parts, where we had any notes to direct us. We have also pointed out the position of two of the towers. Let us now note the position of two more. *One* of course was over the gate of entrance. *Another* was over an opposite gate on the east, I suppose, for a way into what was then the *garden* of the castle. A kitchen-garden, I believe, was all that was then aimed at. And this lay, I doubt not, upon the ground running parallel on the east; which has been, equally with the castle-area, levelled apparently by the hand of art; and which however had no part of the castle upon it, as the terminating walls show, and as the non-appearance of any stones above or under the ground confirms. We have now four of the seven towers, accounted for. But where shall we find the other three? We must find them in a *second* court, of which tradition has lost nearly all remembrance. It only said some years ago to me, that the castle extended to the north of the road. Yet the evidence is too clear to be doubted. And yet it is merely to be collected from that faint whisper of expiring tradition, and from some notices minute and vanishing. The more northerly of the two walls above, that which runs so tall and so long towards the east, now comes out to the west beyond the well and the well-house; and was cut through about

four or five years ago on the west-side of the house, to make a way from the house to the long and narrow garden adjoining. With this breach in its course, it goes on about a couple of yards more to the west; and then ends in a ragged form, that shows it, by the freshness of the appearance, to have been recently destroyed here. And it appears to have come forward to the same bank, on which the foundations of the parallel wall still appear; and had its own foundations there dug up, about forty years ago. Both terminated at this bank, as I have already shown; and so united with the western line of the castle-wall, that has been discovered at this point, coinciding with the end of the building in the coal-yard, and the assigned place of the gateway. But from this termination of the northerly wall, another wall must have commenced, carrying on the course of the western wall up the bank of the road from the church to the mill, and pointing through the porched house there. A little to the east of the porch, parallel with this have been found in the long and narrow garden adjoining, several walls issuing from the great wall, and crossing the narrow breadth of the garden. These were evidently the foundations of a range of rooms, that extended along the northern face of the great wall, as another extended along the southern; and constituted one side of a higher court, as the other did of a lower. And as the depth of the garden below the road, about five feet, has been produced by the *cellars* under all; so the breadth of the garden denotes the size of the rooms, not much superior in dimensions to those on the southern side. On the road then from the church to the mill, and about the porch of the porched house, stood the *gateway* of the higher court; facing the greater church-style, admitting the road from it at this front-gate and dismissing it to the mill at a back-gate, where the great wall and the long garden equally terminate to the west. How far this higher court went to the north, I cannot ascertain. No remains are known to have been discovered, behind the porched house, or behind its accompanying house on the west. But it extended some way, no doubt. It formed a just quadrangle or regular court. And its memory has been nearly lost, I suppose, to the present generation; from its materials having been early begged of the lords by their nomineers the rectors, for the enlargement of the parsonage house, for the inclosure of its courts, and for the re-construction of some of its offices. Two of the three

towers were fixed, of course, upon the two gate-ways of this higher court. The third was fixed, I believe, upon another gate-way, that opened to the north, and towards some appendages of the castle; the orchard, the farm-yard, and the fields, retained for its own use. And, there being no space for these appendages upon the south, because of the tide-way, on the east, because of the precipices, or on the west, because of the parsonage; they must necessarily have been on the north. This was the lower. The higher was a much later addition. This is evident from the difference of architecture, in the remains of both. Those of the lower are universally constructed with *clay-mortar*; while those of the higher are cemented with *lime*. Both are reciprocally apparent in all the joints of their stones. And in that part of the long wall, the foundation of which has been dug up lately at the western end, pieces of lime have been found, so solid and so massy, that some persons wildly supposed the lime, to have *petrified* in the ground from age. These pieces assuredly were the liquid lime, that had been poured boiling-hot upon the foundations; had formed itself into irregular cakes, in the interstices between the stones; and then, from its close adherence to the stones, perhaps from the opposition between the heat of these and the cold of those, and certainly from the exclusion of the external air afterwards, had consolidated into some similarity of nature with the stones themselves. The mode also of construction in the two courts, is very different. In the base court, the *stones* are huge, unshapen, and ill-compacted, gaping rudely in the joints, and presenting a clumsy and coarse appearance to the eye. But, in the higher court, the long wall exhibits to us a piece of masonry, that would do credit to a modern builder; the stones being shaped into smooth surfaces, being laid in regular courses, and carrying a fair and modern appearance with them. And both appear to be the stones of a quarry upon the Glebe, which only ten years ago exhibited all the aspect of a deep and an ancient quarry, showing a high face of rock, being covered with trees, having formerly been famous as a harbour for snakes, and being found on examination to have been perfectly worked out. They are certainly the stones of the Glebe, from their hue and their hardness. The ground of the base court has been found, to be remarkably deep in soil. Hundreds of loads of earth have been carried away from it, for manuring the

adjoining fields. But the ground of the higher court is very shallow. This is attributable to two causes co-operating. The lower court was constructed with clay floors generally, and with side-walls of clay entirely, I presume. These, in the demolition of the whole, have mingled with the soil, and have deepened it. But the other was constructed obviously in a more modern style of refinement, with side-walls of stone and with boarded floors. And these have left the ground, in its original shallowness of soil. The other cause is this. The plane of the castle-hill was originally uneven and precipicious, and required much labour of levelling. This threw vast quantities of earth into particular places, to fill up hollows, and to smooth the falls. And I have given a remarkable instance, of a man caught by a falling bank, and buried twelve feet deep in earth. But the ground above was of a different nature, and required little levelling and therefore received little accumulation of earth in places. It remained therefore in its original state. I was some years ago informed by an old man, who from his constant residence in the village, and his great age, was the faithful chronicle of the parish; that a giant once lived in this castle; an incident of romance, which seems to carry us up to some of the remotest periods of our history. But he added, that another giant lived cotemporary with him at *Trelonk*, an estate in the parish; that two giants so near being sure to quarrel for exclusive dominion and sole sovereignty, the giant of Lanyhorne fought with the giant of Trelonk; and that as giants scorn to contend with the ordinary weapons of a man, they hurled stones at each other. But, from the opposition of the owner of this castle to the possessor of the house of Trelonk, I consider the story only as the echo; an echo indeed that has redoubled the sounds in the repetition; of some pitched battle between two rival barons. But how could there be any baron in a parish, that was the property of the lord of Lanyhorne pile? Or how could any gentleman in the parish, presume to fight with him who was the sovereign of the whole? I account for both these circumstances, thus. Trelonk is a house that has a large barton belonging to it; and is the only house in the whole parish, besides what I shall show hereafter to have belonged to the seignor of the castle, that has any barton at all. Its appellation too concurs with its barton, to prove it a very considerable mansion. Tre Long, which

in pronunciation readily becomes Tre Lonk, and is the indubitable analysis of the name, obviously means the Long House. The word *Long*, indeed, is lost in the Cornish; but is preserved in the Welch and Irish Llong and Long a ship, a name and a quality nearly similar, I suppose, to our *Long*-boat. This implies something considerable in the house. But the Irish language explains the whole to us, at once. This exhibits the discriminative term, in an idiomatic sense. *Long*-phort in Irish is literally a *Long* Fort, or *Long* House, from *port* a fort or house; but in construction means a palace or royal seat. Thus "D'airg se a *Long*-phoirt," signifies "he plundered the king's seats." A *Long House* therefore was the appropriate title among the Britons, for a king's mansion. They marked the royalty of the house, by the length of it. And Trelonk appears from all, to have been one of the Long Houses of Cornwall, one of the mansions upon the royal demesnes here. In this view of Trelonk, the owner of it might maintain a battle with the castellan of Lanyhorne, as well as any other baron in the neighbourhood. He was not subject to the castellan. He held not Trelonk from him. He held it only from the king himself. He had also the honor to live in a royal mansion, to receive the king into his house at times, to have him for a sojourner in it, to partake in his feasts, and to share in his sports. Such a man might well therefore, bristle up his back with pride, and even (in the licentious freedoms of feudal lords) meet the castellan boldly in the field with his servants in arms. How numerous these servants must have been, let tradition further tell us in its usual confusedness of remembrance. It says, that there was a city at Trelonk formerly, and that a *king* resided in it. It thus confirms my deductions from the name very decisively. And this is the main, substantial part of the popular narrative. But when it adds, that this city reached from Trelonk to Reskivers near Tregeney, and that it was denominated the city of *Reskivay*; it confounds Tregoney with Trelonk, *that* being actually and probably reported to have once shot out to Reskivers, and this additional town being said to have been denominated the city of Reskivers or Reskivay. It says, however, that Trelonk was a city. In this it may have been equally deceived, by the same assimilation of circumstances. Yet that is not likely. The appellation of a city for Trelonk, was the very circumstance which occasioned the assimilation, the very link

that tied the tradition of Tregoney to Trelonk. And it subjoins what corroborates the substance of its verdict in the point, that a king resided in this city. All shows it to have been a capital house, the natural though unequal rival of the castle. The house is remembered about forty years ago, to have had a narrow approach to it, with a wall on each side, and a room (for a porter's lodge) above, in the style of a castellated mansion; to have then had a gate and a wicket, with a small court before the whole. The barton also is remembered to have been set to different tenants, who resided in different parts of the house. All the buildings are said to have constituted a small village. Many foundations of walls also have been latterly discovered, about the present house; which is a recent structure, and stands below the scite of the old house. Three or four years ago, in a plat of ground which was covered with briars and brambles, the soil was found to be black earth for four or five feet deep, and a regular pavement the area of a court was discovered beneath. And about thirty years ago were also found, what spoke to vulgar antiquarianism, the existence of three different smith's-shops at Trelonk; but what only denoted probably the three different stations on the barton, at which the king's smith had successively exercised his business; a quantity of cinders in the ground of three different places there, and fragments of iron among them. So closely does tradition unite with etymology, and discoveries incorporate with all; to shew the greatness of Trelonk as the antagonist of this castle, and the superior greatness of this castle still to its antagonist of Trelonk!"* ---The castle of TRURO, which stood on an eminence to the North-west of the town, is by Mr. Whitaker supposed to have been erected by one of the Norman earls: I have considered it as of higher antiquity. Its only remains are the name, a waste area, and the artificial mount or keep, the earth of which is daily decreasing by its being applied to other purposes. On this it is probable the main tower was situated; but its smaller wards must have occupied the natural ground. At HELSTON, was formerly a castle, on the scite of the present bowling-green. PENGERSICK castle, in the parish

* *W. T.* vol. 2. pp. 79, ...92.-------I anticipate the thanks of my readers for this specimen of minute architectural description; which, with other excerpts from Whitaker's MSS. will operate to the preservation of my history.

of Breage, is situate on the borders of a small creek, in a bottom at the village of Pengersick, a name signifying the head-ward, or fenced or fortified place. The present remains consist only of a square tower of three stories, a small one annexed, and some fragments of walls; the whole is faced with squared stone. In the smaller tower is a flight of winding stone steps, leading to the summit of the building, which commands a pleasing but not extensive view. The walls of the ground-floor are pierced with loop-holes; the door on the north side is machiolated; many of the apartments are fallen; those which remain are used as granaries and hay-lofts by a farmer. That ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT, was used as a fortress, in very remote times, there is no reason to doubt; though as its history is rather ecclesiastical than military, I shall say little here on the subject.†----CAER-GUIDN, or the

† "From the foot of Mount St. Michael, you ascend the hill or rock through a narrow crooked craggy path, to the outer portall or gate, a considerable height on the one side by the way. In the rock is a small springe of water, that falls into pitts made in the stones to lodge the same, for the lower or bottom inhabitants use; which water never intermits its current. Above the second gate there is another springe of water issuinge out of the rocks, that makes a pretty confluence for six or seven winter months, and then intermits; which renders the portage of it vpwards much the easyer for the inhabitants vse in that season. After you pass through this second gate, betwixt a windinge and crooked path artificially cut in the rocks on the north-side thereof, and follow the same, you arrive to the top of this mount; where towards the north-west is a kind of levell playne, about four or six land-yards, which gives a full prospect of the Mount's-baye, the British ocean, Penzance towne, Newlyn, Moushole, Gulvall, Maddron, Paul, and other parishes, over a down-right precipice of rocks towards the sea, at least twenty fathoms high. From this little square or playne, there is an artificiall kind of ascent also goinge towards the east, which offers you a full sight of the outer walls of the castle, and brings you to Porth Hoarn, (i. e. *the iron gate)* part of which is yet to be seen. This little fortress comprehendeth sufficient rooms and lodgings for the captain or governour and his soldiers to reside in; to which adjoining are several other houses or cots heretofore pertayninge to the monks that dwelt there; all admirable for their strength, buildings, and contrivance. On the topp of a rock naturally fortified, a small number of soldiers haueinge provision and ammunition, might defend themselves against the greatest armies; though I confess, since the art of war is growne to greater perfection in mischief and destruction, a few cannon or boombs from the opposite hills, would soone shatter it to pieces." *Hals's MS. of St. Michael.* ----"This monastery has often assumed the name of *castle* or *fort*, and been reckoned a place of security in time of danger, equal to most in Cornwall.

St. Michael's Mount---who does not know
That wards the western coast?

Says *Spencer*. And thus his cotemporary, *Carew*, p. 157:----

Who knows not Michael's Mount and chair,
The pilgrim's holy vaunt;
Both land and island twice a day,
Both fort and port of haunt.

For the better security of the castle, and to guard the ascent which is on the north, there is a curtain about the middle of the hill, parallel and flanking the approach. At the western end of this, there is a ravelin through which every one

White-castle, in the parish of Sancred, is mentioned by Borlase as resembling Tintagel in its structure.* At the mouth of the river Hayle, there was a castle; but of what description we cannot determine.† - - - The castle of CARNBRE, noticed, also, in a former chapter, commands attention from its situation and structure. "It is situate upon the summit of a large, lofty, and tremendous rock, built four-square of lime and stone, about forty feet high, and twenty feet square; wherein (as appears from the beam-holes, windows, and chimnies) were two planchings, besides the leads at the top thereof; though now there are not to be seen either leads or beams. Only the walls, windows, chimnies, and garrets thereof, are still extant and uniform; which, maugre all the force of wind and weather, are likely to stand firm, till the final consummation of all things. It hath but one way of access or entrance into it, through a little hole artificially cut in the rock, under the foundation of its walls, about four feet high; the other parts thereof being surrounded with inaccessible rocks, carns, and downfalls. Some such kind of castle or fortification, Cæsar mentions in his commentary at Uxelodunum, in Gallia; for Uchell-dun-on is the lofty fort or for-

is to pass, walled with three or four embrasures, and a centry box at the angle, in the eastern shoulder, to guard the passage. There was formerly an iron gate. There was also formerly two other ravelins on this ascent, lately planted with shrubs. On the southern brim next the sea, there seems to have been a breast-work for small arms; and at the south-western point of the mountain, under a crag, (which I take to have been St. Michael's chair) there was a small battery for four or six cannon, masked by huge rocks. That this has been a seat of warlike business from the remotest antiquity, we may satisfy ourselves among other proofs, from the antiquities mentioned by Leland. It was no uncommon thing for the religious and military to subsist together where the natural situation was convenient for both. The monastery of St. Michael de periculo maris in Normandy (to which the Cornish Mount was annexed) was a considerable fortress as well as religious house; it was held by Henry (afterwards Henry the First) against his elder brother William Rufus who was here unhorsed and had been slain but that he discovered himself and daringly bespoke the soldiers who was going to kill him, "Rascals lift me up, I am the king of England." The same Henry afterwards stood a siege in the same strong fort of Mount St. Michael against both his brothers, which after a brave resistance and at his own request obtaining water in his extremity from the brotherly kindness of Robert duke of Normandy then one of his enemies, he was also forced to surrender. *Price's* MS. p. 27, 28.

* "It lies on the side of a hill, and has not the judgment of the ground: I, therefore, think it British." *Antiq.* p. 321.

† "*Ryvier* castel almost at the est part of the mouth of Hayle river on the N. se: now, as sum think, drownid with sand. This was Theodore's castelle. *Cayl*-castell a mile by est from Ryvier in S. Filake's paroche." *Itin.* v. 3. f. 5.

tress.‖ I take this castle to be the watch-tower mentioned by Orosius, as opposite to such an other in Gallicia; which Carew and Camden conjecture to have stood near St. Ives." [Camden places not this "watch-tower," as Hals calls it, or this light-house, as he ought to have called it, "near St. Ives." But Carew led Hals into that mis-nomer and this error. Speaking of St. Ives, Carew tells: "Mr. Camden observeth, that *neere hereunto* stood the *wach-towre*, mentioned by Orosius, and oppositely placed to such another in Gallitia." Camden expressly places it at the Land's-end, very far from St. Ives, and still farther from Carnbre, at neither of which places could it look possibly towards Spain. But folly rides upon the back of folly, till it raises itself to the moon.] "Near this castle, on the top of this mountain, are divers circular walls or fortifications, made of rocks and unwrought stones, after the British manner, and a never-intermitting spring or fountain of water, for the use of the inhabitants thereof. Probably this castle was built by some of the Brays of Cornwall, or those that came into England with William the Conqueror of that name; otherwise so called from *the natural circumstances* of the place; Carnes, *i. e.* spar-stones." The name is wholly Cornish, Carn Brea the mountain rock; and Carn has no more relation to spar-stones, than it has to pebble-stones.* CARN-BRE castle stands at the eastern end of Carn-bre hill, on a ledge of vast rocks, which not being all contiguous, are connected by arches turned over the cavities. One part of this fortress is very ancient, and pierced with loop-holes; but the other is of more modern construction, and seems to have been raised to embellish the prospect from Tehidy, of which it is in full sight. It commands a vast horizon; and

‖ *Uchel-dun* is high fortress, Ugehelder (C.) being height, Ughella (C.) the highest, Uhal, Uhel (C.) high, Uchel (W.) being high, lofty, and Din, Don, Dun, a town or fort.

* *W. T.* vol. 2. p. 64.----"There is no tradition or memory of the person, who built this costly and tremendous castle or tower, or for what use it was made other then to dwell in it, comparatively above the middle region of the air in those parts; more than what is expressed in the name thereof, Bray's Castle. [The name is not Bray's Castel, but Castle Carn Brea; and in this lies no builder's or owner's name concealed.] Undoubtedly, whatsoever human creature it was that dwelt in and possessed the same, he was a person that had un parallelled confidence, not only in the strength thereof for his safety and protection, such as never any person after his quitting thereof attempted to enjoy, (but also in the airiness of it) for the pleasure of his five senses. [It was most probably the original seat of the predecessors of the Bassets, and the primary Tyhyddy of the family, Ty Gueidh, the "conspicuous house;" the present Tyhyddy being at the foot of it.*] P. 66.

the views from the nature of the country, have a very peculiar character. This building appears to have consisted originally of three stories, the lowermost of which only is now in repair. On the north-west were formerly some outworks.*----The castle of TINTAGEL, already described, was highly celebrated as the residence of king Arthur: And from the days of Arthur, (and probably for centuries before) it was a seat of the kings and dukes and earls of Cornwall, to the time of Edward, when the ancient castles fell to ruins; and from palaces were converted into prisons. Here Richard king of the Romans entertained his nephew David prince of Wales: and here resided his son Edmund.†----BOSCASTLE is so called, from being the castle of the lord

* About 360 yards to the west of this fortress, and near the summit of the hill, I have noticed a circular fortification, called the Old Castle, which appears to have been included within a strong stone wall.

† "The ruins of some works, are here to be seen on the tops of two high rocks that stand to the sea; one of them was formerly surrounded by it, and continues to bear the name of the island: But great part of it, by length of time, having fallen down, hath made a neck of land, which hath joined it to the other. It is a rock of stupendous height, containing about thirty acres of pasture, and is so very steep and difficult, that it is hard to be conceived how it is possible the sheep should keep their footing, and not fall into the sea as they ascend or descend. The renter of the pasture (as I am informed) has two or three sheep, which he has often drove to and from thence, which he puts foremost to lead the rest: And what is very remarkable, there is a spring of fresh water on the top, which rises to the surface, and then makes its way through the pasture, to the edge of the rock, and so falls into the sea. This place is called king Arthur's castle. *B. Willis*, pp. 120, 121.----"Tintagel, was (saith Mr. Willis Not. Parl. v. 2. p. 117). very anciently demesne land of the crown, and famous in our histories [the fabulous histories of our nation] for its castle, the ruins of which are reckoned among the wonders of this county." [Borlase says, however, p. 352, that the remains here are not at present considerable.] It is situate about half a mile from the little towns of Trevenna and Bossiney, on the sea-coast, upon a high rock abutting on the sea, with a steep precipice. Half the building (as Carew tells us, f. 120. b.) was raised on the continent, and the other half on an island, joined formerly by a drawbridge, but long since separated by the fall of some cliffs: The further side passage into this island is very dangerous: on the top are two or three terrifying steps [see the plate in *Borlase*], which admit you to the hill; upon which, he informs us, he saw a decayed chapel, a fair spring of water above, a cave, and a hermit's grave hewn out in the rock." [See what he says farther of it.] Leland (Itin. v. 7. p. 92,) describing this castle, says, "It had, in all likelihood, three wards, whereof two were worn by the sea, insomuch that it had made there almost an isle; and that there was no way to enter into it, but by long elm-trees laid for a bridge; so that without the isle runned only a gatehouse, and a wall. In the isle remained old walls, and in the east part of the same, the ground being lower, remained a wall embattled; and men then alive saw therein a postern-door of iron. There was in the isle a pretty chapel, with a tomb on the left side, (p. 557.) and a well, near which was a place hewn out of the stoney ground to the length and breadth of a man. There remained also in the isle a ground quadrant-walled resembling a garden-plot; and by this wall appeared the ruins of a vault; and the ground of this isle then nourished sheep and conies." The same author in another place (Itin. v. 3. p. 73.) informs us: "From Bossiney to Tintagel castle on the shore, a mile. This castelle hath bene a marvelus strong and notable forteres, and almost situ loci inexpugnabile, especially for the dungeon, that is on a great and high terrible cragge environed with the se, but having a draw-bridge from the residew of the castelle into it. There is yet a chapel standing within this dungeon, of St. Ulette, alias Uliane. Shepe now fede within the dungeon. The residew of the buildings of the castel be sore beten and yn ruine; but it hath bene a large thinge. This castel standith in the paroche of Trevenny, and the

Botreaux; who held, in those times, very considerable possessions in Cornwall. Here, the round artificial hill, called the court, is still to be seen. The hill was small: and there are no other remains. In these martial times, the seats of gentlemen of inferior rank, were also fortified buildings. Such seats had mounts, drawbridges, and

paroche thereof is of St. Simphorian." Dr. Borlase has made so many mistakes concerning this castle, that I think it requisite to correct him. "The ruins on the peninsula," he says, "consist of a circular garreted wall W. inclosing some buildings, among which there was a "' pretty chapel of St. Uliane (St. Juliane's chapel in Tintagel castle, Lel. v. iii. f. 95.) with a tombe on the left side, (standing in Leland's time, temp. Henry VIII.) and men then alive remembered a postern door of iron.'" Leland (v. ii. p. 81.) calls this improperly the dungeon, (for it is indeed only the walling of the base court) and thinks the situation must have rendered it impregnable; the cliffs, it must be owned, are hideous, and not to be climbed without the utmost danger; but, with all deference to so great a judge of antiquity, the ground here was badly chosen, the hill dipping so very quick, that every thing within the wall was exposed to a hill over against and scarce an arrow flight from it; whereas the judgment was to have placed the fortress higher, so as it should have reached the top of the hill N." This is erroneous in every part. This castle says Leland, "had in all likelihood three wardes." Of these, "two," he adds, "be worn away with gulfyng in of the se, yn so much that yt hath made them almost an isle." These two, therefore, were within the isle, and still shew remains of themselves there. "In the isle," he subjoins, "remayne old walls, and yn the est part of the same the ground beyng lower," which Dr. Borlase expresses by "the hill dropping so very quick," "remayneth a walle embattled, and men alyve saw theryn a postern dore of iron." This is the only part of the castle within the isle, which is noticed by Dr. Borlase. "The ruins in the peninsula," he tells us, "consist of a circular garreted wall D, inclosing some buildings," *among which* there was "a pretty chapel," &c. But Leland says not this chapel was within *this* wall. "Ther ys *in the* isle," *he* tells us, "a pretty chapel," &c. Nor does Leland call *this* improperly "the dungeon;" as he does not call this alone the dungeon. He calls the two wards together so. These, I have already shewn, he places upon the isle; or, as Carew calls it, "the *hill*, upon which I saw a decayed chapel," &c. In the very same style Leland says, "the dungeon is on a great an high terrible cragge, environed with the se, but *having a drawbridge from the residew of the castelle into it*." And within these two wards, without specifying which, he places the chapel: "there is yet a chapel standing *withyn this dungeon*, of St. Ulette, alias Uliane." Nor is this "indeed only the walling of the base-court." It is the wall of what Leland calls the second ward, the ward that communicated immediately by a drawbridge with the ward on the main land. But "ther remayneth yn the isle," Leland tells us, "a ground quadrant-walled, as yt were a garden plot; and by this walle appere the ruines of a vault." This, Dr, Borlase notices not. Yet it appears in his plate. It appears also "embattled" or with embrasures to it. And it evidently formed a part of the wall of the third ward. Nor is Dr. Borlase much juster, in his censure of the castle, for not running up to the top of this peninsular hill. It actually did run so. "The dungeon is *on* a great and high terrible cragge environed with the se." The whole castle is *therefore* declared to have been "a large thinge;" and "the dungeon especially" to have been "a marvelus strong and notable forteres, and almost situ loci inexpugnabile." And the ruins of the walls appear even in Dr. Borlase's own plate, running up to the top of the hill. The castle then was originally, I believe, on the main land, but afterwards pushed out a couple of wards, as a great dungeon or castle within a castle, into the peninsula. It thus covered the whole peninsula compleatly. And accordingly Leland, who says in his 7th vol. p. 115, that "the ground of this isle now nuryshyth shepe and conys," in his 2d vol. p. 112, says, that "shepe now feade within the dungeun." Mr. Willis goes on, "This castle, manor, and borough of Tintagel, were settled by Edward III. on his son Prince Edward, when he created him duke of Cornwall, and continued to his heirs the succeeding dukes of Cornwall; before which, this king's brother, John of Eltham earl of Cornwall, held it. This castle boasts much greater antiquity, and is said to have been the seat of the dukes of Cornwall, and pretends to have been the birth-place of the famous king Arthur, which

portcullises, and all that belonged to the castles of war. I shall not venture to particularize many of our old houses, however ruinous, as antecedent to the reign of of Edward the First.---TREDINICK-house once the seat of *Tredinick* (an extinct family in Breock) appears, from its present ruins, to have been a very stately pile. The hall window is, I believe, the largest of that kind in the kingdom.-----The old house* at CARHAYS, formerly stood to the north of the present, towards the brow of the hill, a far better situation. Its scite is still called Hellan, or the Hall.†----At TRENERE, in Wendron, is an arched vault of

happened above five hundred years before the conquest, that prince being born in the year 500; fifteen years after which, he is said to have succeeded his father in the kingdom, and to have lost his life in the 36th year of his reign, in a battle near this place, spoken of in Camelford. I shall conclude my account of this castle, with the information of a worthy friend of mine, who, in his travels into these parts, went purposely to visit it. "'The ruins of some works,'" as he tells me, "'are here to be seen on the *tops* of two high rocks, that stand to the sea; one of them was *formerly* surrounded by it, and *continues* to bear the name of an island; but great part of it, by length of time having fallen down, hath made a neck of land, which hath joined it to the other.'" This is just the reverse of truth. The two parts of the castle, says Carew, were "joined *formerly* by a *draw-bridge*, but *long* since *separated* by *the fal. of some cliffs*." "Two of the three wards," adds Leland, "be woren away with gulfys yn of the se, yn so much that yt hathe made ther almost an isle, and no way ys to enter ynto yt now but by long elme-trees, laid for a bryge;" it having formerly "a draw-bridge from the residew of the castelle onto it." And the fact consequently is, as Dr. Borlase says, that "the gap (purposely cut through the isthmus at first for the security of the work) is now much widened, and the communication intercepted." "'It is a rock of a stupendous height, containing about *thirty acres* of pasture; and is so very steep and difficult, that it is hard to be conceived how it is possible the sheep should keep their footing, and not fall into the sea, as they ascend or descend.'" This is most extravagantly hyperbolical, as two wards of the castle were built upon it. "'The renter of the pasture,'" as he was informed, "'has two or three sheep, which he puts forward to lead the rest, he having often drove them to and from thence.'" This evidently relates only to the driving of the sheep to and from the peninsula; and the author absurdly applied it to the peninsula itself. "'And, what is very remarkable, there is a spring of fresh water *on the top*, which rises to the surface, and then makes its way through the pasture to the edge of the rock, and so falls into the sea. This place is called King Arthur's Castle.'" See in Hollingshed's Chronicle, vol. 1. p. 92. Leland's verses upon king Arthur, translated by Mr. Nicholas Roscarocke." *W. T.* v. 4. pp. 191, 192, 193, 194.

* "*Trevanion* or *Trevagnion*, (*Itin.* v. 3. f. 2. and 14.) the town in a hollow place. This gave name to the family of Trevanion, and was their old inhabitance; till on their marriage with Arundel's heir, they left it for Carhays. The house here, is now so wholly destroyed, that it would be hard to guess where it stood, but for the footsteps of two or three ways, pointing to its former situation. The park is here, and not on Carhays, being well wooded, and having a fine river through it; and part of it is on the other side, in the parish of St. Goran, called by the name of Brown-berry, and paying a quit-rent to the duke's manor of Trevenen, out of which it plainly appears to have been taken."(1) *Tonkin's MSS.*

† "But the odd desire of our ancestors to settle in the bottoms, and get (as they call it) as much in the *lewth* as they could, inclined one of the Arundells to remove it to where it now stands; and that so long since, that nothing now remains, but the name of their ancient dwelling." *Tonkin's MS.*

(1) Richard Trevanion, of Trevanion, knight of the shire, 9. Henr. 4. and 8. Henr. 5.

moorstone near the house, said to have been a cellar of the ancient dukes of Cornwall, and this one of their hunting-seats. This vault, which is very entire, indicates a place of some distinction.‡

2. We come now to our religious structures; with respect to which it appears, that at the beginning of this period, the walls even of our cathedral churches were built of wood. "There was a time (says venerable BEDE) when there was not a stone church in all the land; but the custom was to build them all of wood. Finan, the second bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, built a church in that island, in the year 652, for a cathedral; which yet was not of stone but of oak, and covered with reeds: And so it continued, till Eadbert, the successor of St. Cuthbert, and seventh bishop of Lindisfarne, took away the reeds, and covered it all over, both roof and walls, with sheets of lead."* Under the regulations of the Saxons, our churches were rebuilt with stone. And they were square or oblong buildings, generally turned semi-circularly at the east-end. Towers at first scarcely rose higher than the roof; intended chiefly as a kind of lanthorn, for the admittance of light. An addition to the height of our towers was suggested on the more common use of bells: And it was, probably, about the time of Alfred, that high towers and cross aisles were introduced. For our Norman artists,† it appears, that they loved to work on their own Caen stone; which was more beautiful and durable than they could, as yet, discover in the quarries of Cornwall.§ In the reign of Henry the Third, the Saracenic or Gothic architecture seems to have been established in this county;

‡ *Tonkin's MSS.*

* Bede, l. iii. c. 4. 25.

† For the character of Saxon and Norman architecture - - - - the walls are very thick, generally with buttresses; The arches, both within and without, as well as those over the doors and windows semi-circular, and supported by very solid or rather clumsy columns, with a kind of regular base and capital: And though plainness and solidity are the general characteristics of this kind of building, yet the capital was often adorned with carvings of foliage and various animals, and the massive column decorated with the small half column, or overspread with a kind of lozenge network. To the Saxon or Norman buildings we find no pinnacles or spires, or indeed, any statues on the outside, which are so graceful in the Saracenic or Gothic structure.

§ "Vast quantities of stone were imported into Cornwall, as well as other parts of England, from the quarries of Caen in Normandy." *Wren's Parentalia.*

whilst the circular gave way to the pointed arch, and the massive column yielded to the slender pillar. This kind of building is marked by its numerous and prominent buttresses, its lofty spires and pinnacles, its large and ramified windows, its ornamental niches, its sculptured saints, the delicate lace-work of its fretted roofs, but chiefly by the small clustered pillars and pointed arches formed by the segments of two intersecting circles.§ The only objects that render the town of ST. GERMANS of importance, are the remains of its ancient cathedral church, and the seat of

§ In the "ornaments of Gothic churches considered," (a treatise of Dr. Warburton which has been very little read) I find a passage relating to Gothic architecture so well written, so curious, and really so important, that I cannot omit to transcribe it in this place. "Our Gothic ancestors had juster and manlier notions than the modern mimics of Greek and Roman magnificence; which, because the thing does honour to their genius, I shall endeavour to explain. All our ancient churches were called, without distinction, "Gothic," but erroneously: They are of two sorts; the one built in the Saxon times, the other during our Norman race of kings. Several cathedral and collegiate churches of the first sort are yet remaining, either in whole or in part; of which this was the original. When the Saxon kings became Christian, their piety (which was the piety of the times) consisted in building churches at home, and performing pilgrimages to the Holy Land; and these spiritual exercises assisted and supported one another: For the most venerable as well as most elegant models of religious edifices, were then in Palestine. From these our Saxon builders took the whole of their ideas, as may be seen by comparing the drawings which travellers have given us of churches yet standing in that country, with the Saxon remains of what we find at home; and particularly in that sameness of style in the later religious edifices of the knight's templars, (professedly built upon the model of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem) with the earlier remains of our Saxon edifices. Now the architecture of the Holy Land was entirely Grecian, but greatly fallen from its ancient elegance. Our Saxon performance was indeed a bad copy of it, and as much inferior to the works of St. Helen, as her's was to the Grecian models she had followed; yet still the footsteps of ancient art appeared in the circular arches, the entire columns, the division of the entablature into a sort of architrave frize and cornice, and a solidity equally diffused over the whole mass. This, by way of distinction, I would call the *Saxon* architecture. But our *Norman* works had a very different original. When the Goths had conquered Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate, and the religion of the old inhabitants had ripened their wits, they struck out a new species of architecture unknown to Greece and Rome; upon original principles, and ideas much nobler than what had given birth even to classical magnificence. For having been accustomed, during the gloom of paganism, to worship the deity in groves, (a practice common to all nations) when their new religion required covered edifices, they ingeniously projected to make them resemble groves, as nearly as the distance of architecture would permit; at once indulging their old prejudices, and providing for their present conveniences, by a cool receptacle in a sultry climate. And with what art and success they executed the project, appears from hence, that no attentive observer ever viewed a regular avenue of well-grown trees intermixing their branches over head, but it presently put him in mind of the long vista through a Gothic cathedral; or ever entered one of the larger and more elegant edifices of this kind, but it represented to his imagination an avenue of trees. And this alone is what can be truly called the Gothic style of building. Under this idea of so extraordinary a species of architecture, all the irregular transgressions against art, all the monstrous offences against nature disappear; every thing has its reason, every thing is in order, and an harmonious whole arises from the studious application of means proper and proportioned to the end. For could the arches be otherwise than pointed when the workman was to imitate that curve which branches make by their intersection with one another? Or could the columns be otherwise than split into distinct shafts, when they were to represent the stems of a group of trees? On the same principle was formed the spreading ramifications of the stonework in the windows, and the stained glass in the interstices; the one being to represent the branches, and the other

lord Eliot, which, in the immediate vicinity of the church, was originally the site of the priory. The church is more particularly interesting to the antiquary, as in no county in England are fewer remains of Saxon architecture than in Cornwall. This church was conventual, and was included within the body of a priory, which, according to the most ancient records, was founded by king Athelstan, and dedicated to St. German. The west front is furnished with two towers, both of which have apparently been once octagonal. The upper part of the south tower is now square, and surmounted with embrasures; though the lower part exactly corresponds with that on the north, which is nearly enveloped with ivy. Between the towers is the ancient door-way, which is a very fine circular receding arch, in shape and ornament somewhat similar to that at Dunstable. Its whole width is twenty feet: Of this space six feet are allotted to the door, and the remainder to the pillars and sides of the arch. The pillars are four on each side, having plain square bases and capitals, and being contained in semi-circular niches. The arch contains seven mouldings: the two innermost are plain and round; the third and fourth have a zig-zag ornament; the next is round; the sixth and seventh are zig-zag. A sculptured ornament of foliage surrounds the whole, and is terminated at each end with some rude ornament resting on the capital of the outer pillars. Between the pillars is a zig-zag ornament, in alternate succession. The height of the pillars is seven feet, six inches; that

the leaves of an opening grove; and both concurring to preserve that gloomy light inspiring religious awe and reverence. Lastly, we see the reason of their studied aversion to apparent solidity in these stupendous masses, deemed so absurd by men accustomed to the apparent as well as real strength of the Grecian architecture. Had it been only a wanton exercise of the artist's skill, to shew he could give real strength without the appearance of any, we might indeed admire his superior science, but we must needs condemn his ill judgment. But when we consider that this surprising lightness was necessary to complete the execution of our idea of a rural place of worship, we cannot sufficiently admire the ingenuity of the contrivance. This, too, will account for the contrary qualities, in, what I call, the Saxon architecture. These artists copied, as has been said, from the churches in the Holy Land, which were built on the models of Grecian architecture, but corrupted by prevailing barbarism; and still further depraved by a religious idea. The first places of Christian worship were sepulchres and subterraneous caverns, from necessity, low and heavy. When Christianity became the religion of the state, and sumptuous temples began to be erected, they yet, in regard to the first pious ages, preserved the massy style; made still more venerable by the church of the Holy Sepulchre; where this style was, on a double account, followed and aggravated. Such then was the Gothic architecture; and it would be no discredit to the warmest admirers of Jones and Palladio, to acknowlege it has its merit."*

* See Warburton's note on Pope's Moral Essays, ep. iv. l. 29.

of the door, ten feet. The whole height of the arch is about sixteen feet. Over the arch is a pediment, with a cross at the top, resembling an heraldic cross patee within a circle; on each side is a small pointed light; and above these are three small, narrow, round-headed windows. The north aisle is divided from the nave by five short, thick, round columns, each connected with a half pillar opposite to it in the north wall, by a low surbased arch. All the capitals of the columns are square, and curiously ornamented with Saxon sculpture. The third from the west end is embellished with grotesque figures, having bodies resembling dogs, opposed to each other, with their fore parts meeting at the angle of the capital in one head; the upper part human, but the lower like a scallop-shell. Above these, range six plain arches, some of them apparently of the same age and style with those in the nave of St. Alban's abbey, in Hertfordshire. In several windows of this aisle are a few coats of arms on painted glass. The architecture of the south aisle is very dissimilar. Here we discover the ornamented niches and the pointed arch windows. The six arches which divide it from the nave are pointed: the two western arches are quite plain, and very sharp: the pillars that support them are round, massive, and clumsy: the four eastern are higher, and less pointed, having round capitals, ornamented with mouldings; the pillars sustaining them are more slender. The windows of this aisle are large and handsome: they are divided into compartments by stone mullions; but all are dissimilar in their tracery. In the south wall, near the middle of the aisle, is a niche ornamented with sculpture, which is supposed to have belonged to some ancient monument of an abbot; but no particulars relative to it are now extant. The table of the recess in the wall is covered with a stone seven feet six inches long, which appears to have had some figure let into it, but the form of the outline cannot be distinguished. The length of the church within the walls, is one hundred and four feet, six inches; its breadth, sixty-seven feet, six. In that part now employed as the chancel is a rude ancient seat, generally called the bishop's chair, but probably nothing more than a seat of one of the monks; several of the

same kind being yet preserved in the church at Bodmin. Its height is about three feet. Below the seat is carved the figure of a hunter, with game on his shoulder, and accompanied by dogs. The chair is now "placed on part of a tesselated pavement, found about fifty yards from the present east window. This pavement was about ten feet square. Nearly ten feet east of it was the foundation of a wall, which, from its thickness and materials, seems to have been the original extent of the building."* On the RAMHEAD, are the remains of a small chapel, built of the common slaty-stone of the neighbouring cliffs. Its walls and roof (which last is of the same materials laid horizontally, its apex crowned with a coping of moorstone) have hitherto withstood the effects of time and weather, notwithstanding the exposed situation of the promontory, upon which it is placed. It appears to have had a large window in the east end, and two smaller ones in the sides; one on the north, the other on the south; but their caseings are now quite demolished, and their openings east and south almost level with the ground. The arched door-case with its jambs, which was in the north side, near the north-west angle, remains entire. It is also evident, from the beam-holes remaining in the walls within, that there has been a gallery at the west end, with a staircase leading to a bell once suspended within an arched opening at the west end of the building, which serves at present for a land-mark. The point upon which this ruin stands, rises with a steep ascent on every side, into a perfect oblate cone: it is in general rocky, but partially covered with a fine turf

* *Grose's* Antiquities.----Leland, in his account of this fabric, observes, that, "besyde the hie altare, on the ryght hand ys a tumbe yn the walle, with an image of a bishop; and over the tumbe a xi bishops painted with their names and verses, as token of so many bishops buried ther, or that ther had beene so many bishops of Cornwall that had theyr seete ther." No vestiges of these paintings are now to be seen; but on the wall, behind the gallery, is this inscription. "In this church presided over the diocese of Cornwall these following bishops, styled bishops of St. Germans, who continued here till thirty years after William the Conqueror's time, when the see was removed to Exeter, and both dioceses of Devonshire and Cornwall united. St. Patroc, Athelstan, Conanus, Ruidocus, Udridus, Britivinus, Athelstan, Wolfi, Woronus, Wolocus, Stidio, Aldredus, Burwoldus." ----At Saltash was formerly a chapel dedicated to St. Faith. It is now a ruin.----"The church of Sheviock was founded and endowed by those knightly gentlemen lords of the barton and manor of Sheviock, surnamed Daunye or Dawnye; so called from the manor of Stanacomb Dawney, in Devon, whereof they were lords; heretofore privileged according to the name with the jurisdiction of life, and member. Carew tells us, that the funeral monuments of two of those knights are yet extant in this church: though the inscriptions about them are worn out by time, certes this was a very famous and flourishing family on the barton of Sheviock aforesaid, for several descents, till the time of king Richard the Second." *Walker's Hals, in Sheviock.*

sprinkled with tufts of short furze. It is separated, on the north side, from the adjoining hill of which it is an offset, by a narrow isthmus, the hill rising with an equal degree of acclivity to a much greater height, and uniformly covered with a turf of equal verdure and softness. The dimensions of the chapel within the walls, which are three feet thick, was above 20 feet long, by 10 wide.‡ "The abbey house and chapel of CAROC ST. PILL, in St. Veep, are quite dilapidated; the cemetery made a garden; and a new dwelling erected near with the stones thereof." East and West Looe must here be noticed, for their ancient chapels.§ On LOOE-island was formerly a chapel dedicated to St. George: Of this building, nothing remains but the foundation. The church of ST. MARTIN, near Looe, contains some small remains of Saxon architecture.‖ *St. Cuby's* well is situated somewhat more than a mile from DULO church, on the left side of the road which leads to Sandplace, and which probably derives its name of Kippiscombe *(St. Cuby's Combe)* lane from this little consecrated spring. The spring flows into a circular bason, or reservoir, of granite, two feet four inches at its extreme diameter at top, and about two feet high. It appears to have been neatly carved, and ornamented in the lower part with the

‡ "Not far from Ramhead is a chapel at the base of the clift. It is almost covered over with characters, which bear the marks of great antiquity; But they are to me unknown." *Letter from an ingenious correspondent.*

§ East and West Looe are situated at the mouth of the river which bears the same name, and are connected by a long, narrow, irregular bridge of fifteen arches. East Looe is a labyrinth of short, narrow, dirty alleys, above which rises the low embattled tower of a little chapel. It is mostly built on a small flat piece of ground, surrounded by the river on the west, and the sea on the south. West Looe lies in a bay on the opposite bank, which rising immediately from the water, presents a long street of mean irregular houses, creeping up the side of a hill, with a small town-hall, anciently a chapel, and a few other buildings on the brink of the river. The appearance of both towns, encircled with very steep, high hills, the sides of which are covered with gardens, hanging one over another, and trees through which are seen other straggling cottages, is remarkably picturesque. Neither of these boroughs give name to the parish of which it forms a part; West Looe being in that of Talland, and East Looe in that of St. Martin's.

‖ "Pelynt was of old the lands and church of the family surnamed de Cancellis, or Chanceaux, of Devon; of whom we read (in the pleas of the crown, and the inquisition of king John in the 12th year of his reign, roll 33, in Northampton) that Nicholas de Chanceaux, "tenet manerium de Upton in Comitatu predict. quod est antiq. domin. coronæ regis per servitium inveniendi unum hominem armatum, A. D. 1211." His son Sir Giles de Cancellis, or Chanceaux, lord of the manors of Lifton in Devon, and Plenint in Cornwall, gave this manor of Plenint and the advowson of this church of Plint, to the abbie of Newham in Devon, for the good of his soul, and lies therein interred. Whence I conclude that those Chanceauxs endowed this church." *Walker's Hals in Plint.*

figure of a griffin, and round the edge with dolphins, now much defaced. The water was formerly carried off by a drain, like those usually seen in fonts.---I cursorily mentioned the chapel¶ of our lady at LESKEARD. It was once famous for the frequent pilgrimages that were made to it. This, with two or three others were chapels of ease to Leskeard. Few of our churches, as they stand at present, can be referred to the period of the Saxons and Normans. But our chapels mostly in ruins, and our wells were, in general, prior to Edward the First. The church of ST. CLEER must be described hereafter: But its *well* presses for admittance. St. Cleer's well is situated about a quarter of a mile from the church. It appears to have been covered, and inclosed within four walls, having two windows or openings, one on each side, and in front an entrance under two very low round arches. The front, now covered with bushes and ivy, is all that remains of the building. The water which flows from the holy spring forms a large pool before it, and seems to have been likewise surrounded with a low wall. Like St. Nun's well described by Carew, it was probably used as what he calls a "Bowssening-pool;" and in the times "when devotion as much exceeded knowlege as devotion now commeth short of knowlege," it may have been considered, by our ignorant and superstitious ancestors, as a bath of sovereign virtue. Very near the well stands a stone cross ornamented at the top with some rude sculpture.* In one of the windows of St. Neot's church are delineated the principal events of the legendary life of St. Neot. But as neither the church nor the windows existed at this period, I shall reserve the description of the paintings for a future volume. The church of *St. Mary Magdalene*

¶ Near the castle is a large field, still called Castle park; but no fragments appear of the "Chapel of our Lady," mentioned by Brown Willis to have stood "therein," and "famous for the frequent pilgrimages made to it." There is, however, a house yet standing near the bottom of the town, which, from its windows, gateway, and sculptured ornaments, appears to have been connected with some religious establishment. Near this building issues the spring which supplies the town with water, and which by some of the credulous inhabitants is mistakenly supposed to possess extraordinary qualities. It divides into three streams; one of which, by a still further stretch of credulity, is imagined to have more potent virtues than the others.

* "In this parish is yet to be seen a famous chappel, dedicated to St. Clare, a work of great skill, labour, and cost, though now much decayed. It formerly pertained to some nunnery here or at Leskeard." *Hals*, p. 45.

at LAUNCESTON, (which will be hereafter described as rebuilt in the reign of Henry the Fourth) was originally a chauntry-chapel.* "BODMIN had formerly (says *Br. Willis)* several churches and chapels, all which are ruined, except one in present use, which heretofore belonged to the priory; the ruins of some of them are still visible, particularly of the parish-church dedicated to St. Petroc, which stood at the east end of the town, and was surrounded with several houses, of which nothing remains now but the foundations. The tower of this church is standing, whish shews it to have been a well-built fabric. Here was, besides this church, an house of grey friars, begun on the south part of the town, by John of London, a merchant, and augmented by Edmund earl of Cornwall.†" Most of the ancient buildings in this place consist of a black hard schistus. The conventual church is built of three sorts of stone, moorstone, black schist, and freestone. To the east of this church, a venerable ruin overgrown with ivy, was a chapel and charnel-house. The upper chamber is converted into a school-room. Mr. Pennington built his new house on the scite of the priory, and with the materials furnished by its dilapidated walls. The garden to this house occupies the ground where stood the old chapel, and the contiguous burial place. Thither we ascend by a

* In the conventual church at Launceston (as *Leland* notes) were fair tombs of some of its priors; of which were those of prior Horton, or Horestun, and prior Stephen. He, also, acquaints us, that one Mabilia, a countess, was buried in the chapter-house.

† This is a very confused account: Mr. Britton's is perspicuous. "Bodmin appears (says he) to have been the principal seat of religion in the western district, and contained a priory, a cathedral, and, according to Hals, thirteen churches, or free chapels; of which the foundations and scites of the following still remain, or are remembered by some of the inhabitants. The priory, with its chapel; St. Peter's church; St. Paul's on the north of the town, a solitary square tower of which remains; St. Nicholas, or the Friary, of which the town-hall and session-house occupy the refectory part; St. Anthony's chapel, near Chapel-Lane; and St. Leonard's church, near the western turnpike. The first of these religious establishments was removed from Padstow, where it had been too much exposed to the piracies of the Saxons and the Danes. The church, says an eminent writer, "is the largest, tallest, and fairest, of all the Cornish churches." This is very just with respect to the interior; but its external appearance will not justify the description; as it is irregular, badly built, and devoid of any architectural beauty. It consists of three aisles, measuring about 123 feet long from east to west, and 60 feet wide from north to south. These are divided by nine pointed arches, springing from clustered columns. On the outside, attached to the middle of the north aisle, is a square tower. The eastern end of the church appears the oldest." "A little to the east of the church is part of an old building, now converted into a school-room. This appears to have belonged to the priory, which was still further to the east; and whose scite is occupied by a neat, comfortable, modern building, the seat of W. Raleigh Gilbert, esq. who carefully preserves every relic of antiquity discovered on this consecrated spot." *Britton*, pp. 519, 520.

flight of stone-steps: There is a pillar of the chapel at the garden-gate; and several fragments of arches and images, and other sculptured stone in different parts of the garden. The fish-ponds below, remain nearly as in the days of old. The burying-place St. Petroc is at the east-window of the church. There was a subterraneous passage from the Priory to the Friary, for the secret communication of the religious of both houses. On the hill to the north of the town, stood St. Paul's church, no part of which remains. But its black solitary tower strikes us with a degree of awe, though naked and without a pinnacle. The enclosure containing little more than this tower and the scite of the church, is the whole of the present glebe. There is an old building at a short distance, of the same black schist. And its walls, as those of the tower, seem, from their strong cement, to defy the injuries of time.‡ - - - There are the remains of several chapels in the parish of ST. MINVER.§ The tower of *St. Bennet's* in LANIVET, is yet standing*---says *Tanner*. "The nunnery of Credis in the parish of Padstow, was built and endowed by the abbot of St. Benedict's, in Lanivet: And the nuns of this place were of that order."† At *Place* (near Padstow) just before we reach the gate, is one house, and were two houses, very old, and seemingly an appendage to the monastery - - - the abode of some families, probably, that lived upon the alms dispensed at the gate. The outer wall of the court at Place, appears, also, to be very old. A door is seen, closed up: And the gateway seems to be a part of the monastery.‖

‡ "Near Penpons, in St. Kew, is still extant Chapel-Amble; a free chapel." *Hals.*

§ St. Minver. "On *Trevilva* is a consecrated well, and an ancient free-chapel kept in good repair by the lord of this place." *Hals's MS.*

* The remains of St. Bennet's at Lanivet are situated in a narrow valley, on the banks of a rivulet, and are considerably mutilated; though a square tower, part of the chapel, and some stained glass in the windows, still serve to characterize the spot, and induce us to deplore the loss of some ornamental cloisters, that were removed about twenty years ago by the present proprietor. In Lanivet church-yard are two high stone crosses.

† *Hals's MS.* in Padstow.

‖ Little Pederick. "At Treviban in this parish, are the ruins of a chapel. And in a barrow on this place was found, some years since, a large moorstone trough, wherein, on removing the cover, appeared the body of some human creature at full length." *Hals's MSS.*----- "At Trembleth in St. Ervan, the Arundels had their domestic chapel and burying-place, now totally gone to decay, since those Arundels removed from hence to Lanherne. This barton was anciently held of the manor of Pawton, by the tenure of knight-service. In digging up the grounds of this old chapel and burying-place, not long since was found an urn, wherein were contained certain pieces of bones, ashes, and coals." *Hals*, p. 106.

Halls tells us, that the church of St. Columb was erected about the 12th century.* ----TREWARDRETH, is situated about five miles south of Lestwithiel, on the borders of St. Austel or Trewardreth bay. At this place a Benedictine monastery was founded about the middle of the twelfth century. There was a free chapel belonging to this priory at Menacuddle, in the parish of St. Austel. Here some ruins have been lately discovered at a place called the *Abbey-orchard.* These ruins consist of several pillars now erect; the foundation of which are yet unknown. They are still in sight: Where accident found them, curiosity has left them. Many antique hewn stones are scattered about in the common hedges of this parish; and unite in testifying a grandeur now no more.----In *Restormel* park, was a chapel of the TRINITY, long since defaced.‡ ----*St. Roche,* is the name of a village rendered curious to the observant traveller, by a singular mass of rocks, and the remains of an hermitage, or chapel, which occupy the highest part of them. These rocks consist of

* "The north and south aisles were built by the lords of Trenowth and Tresuran's-Lands. But who the same lords were is now past my ability to find out; though indeed Tresuran's-Lands have been all along charged with the payment of 13*s.* 4*d.* per ann. towards repairs of the said south aisle. The church hath three roofs. The south-east chancel thereof was built for a peculiar chapel for the Arundells of Trembleth or Lanherne, who endowed the church, and have ever since been patrons thereof. The like instance, I suppose, is not to be given of any other private family of gentlemen in Cornwall, perhaps not in England. And in testimony thereof here is yet extant on one of their grave-stones a brass inscription, recording that John Arundell is the true patron of this church, and that he built the said chapel. ..... *DS.* [Dominus] *John Arundell, Mill:CCCC.* [1400] *verus Patronus hujus Ecclesiæ, qui hanc Capellam fecit.....*" *Hals,* p. 59.----"Upon Bodeworgy or contiguous to it, are the ruins of a chapel wherein God was worshipped before St. Columb church was built. It is called *Bis-palv-an*---"prayer in the palm of the hand." *Hals.*----"At Treloyr in *St. Columb* minor, is still extant a famous *chapel and well dedicated* to St. Pedyr, perhaps of public use before the church of St. Columb was erected." *Hals,* p. 68.---*St. Wenn.* "In this parish, on the north downs, is still extant part of the walls, rubbish and cemetery of an ancient free chapel, and consecrated walled well, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen; of public use before the church of St. Wen was erected. From this well or fountain at the first gush issueth forth at all seasons of the year, the greatest *confluence* of pure christaline water, in one spout that ever mine eyes beheld. This chapel is also called, in respect of its guardian and patroness, Karensy-worthy chapel, *i. e.* worthy love or affection chapel; with regard to her extraordinary love and affection towards our Saviour. There is also in this parish another consecrated well of water dedicated to St. Wen, from whence formerly water was fetched to the font for baptizing infants." *Walker's Hals,* p. 199.----In the middle of *Callestock,* in PIRAN-SANDS, stood a chapel, of which the very ruins are scarcely visible: And, on Caerkief, near the highway to Michell, is a fair arched well called Fenton-Berran, i. e. St. Piran's well.----"In the village of Penwortha, is an old chapel, still standing, but profaned." *Hals's MS.*---Not far from Tywarnhaile house, is a small island; on which are the ruins of a chapel called *Chapel-Angarder.*----ST. AGNES. *Mythian.* On this manor, is an ancient free-chapel, now converted into a dwelling-house. *Hals.*----In *Mawla,* are the ruins of a chapel.

‡ See *Leland's Itin.* vol. 3. pp. 18, 19.

three immense piles of craggy ponderous stones, which seem to start out of a flat heathy plain; and on the brow of the central mass stand the ruins of the small building, partly formed by the natural rocks, and partly by stone walls, which inclosed two rooms, one above the other. The side and end walls still remain; but the floor and roof are destroyed: though it appears, from Norden's strange representation of these rocks, to have been roofed in his time. "In this ragged pyle," says this author, "may be observed five severall workes; the firste of nature, whoe as a mother begate this stonye substance; next of force, wherby the water at the generall floude depryved it of her earth-covering shelter, leavinge it naked; the therde of arte, which raysed a building vpon so cragged a foundation; fourth of industrye, in workinge a concavetye in so obdurate a subjecte; lastlye of devotion, wherein men, in their then well-weeninge zeale, woulde abandon, as it were, the societye of humane creatures, and vndergoe the tedious daylie ascent, and continuance of so colde and so abandoned a place. To this may be added a sixth worke, even of time, who, as she is the mother, and begetteth, so is she the destroyer of her begotten chyldren; and nothinge that she bringeth forth is permanent." These rocks, Dr. Maton remarks, "consist of a white sparry quartz, mixed with schoerl, which appears in innumerable needle-like crystals. Two or three varieties of this substance are observable; in one the schoerl being more sparingly interspersed, and in another more abundantly. A pile of rocks, starting abruptly out of a wide green surface, and covering some space with enormous fragments, on which there are only a few vestiges of incipient vegetation, form a singular scene, exhibiting a kind of wild sublimity, peculiar to itself." The walls of the building were plastered on the inside; the lower room measured about nine feet by twelve. The whole height of the rock and building may be estimated at about one hundred and twenty feet from the level ground.*-----The

* Roche signifies a rock of stone, not unsuitable to the natural circumstances of this place; where on a level piece of ground, stands the loftiest single ragged rock this country can shew, at least thirty feet high, and by it several other rocks, of less magnitude. "Upon the top of this rock, are still extant the moorstone walls, durns, and windows (the roof long since dilapidated or demolished by time of an ancient free-chapel dedicated to divine service, though now by reason of the old stone stairs ascending thereto pulled down by the tenants of the manor, and converted

church of ST. AUSTEL is, evidently, of two distinct orders of architecture. In one part, there is a date of One Thousand.* The church of TREGONEY dedicated to St. James, was a very ancient building.† ----- The church of ST. CUBY and St. Januarius lies high, at the very eastern end of the town of Tregoney. It is a heavy clumsy building; consisting of a nave, but not lofty, a north aisle beginning from the west, and a little more than half the length of the nave, and a south aisle extending to the whole length of the church, with a square thick low tower at the west end of the nave.

to common uses; the access thereto is very difficult and dangerous. The wall consisteth of about twenty feet in length, ten feet in height, and about twelve in breadth: one part of it is cut by art out of the natural rock, about thirty feet high from the ground under; the other part built of lime and stone, so strong and curious, that neither time, wind, nor weather, can yet disfigure it. In its garret over, as appears by the beam holes, there was formerly a lodge or planching; which long since with the roof is fallen to the ground. In this chapel wall, towards the east, is a large moorstone window, where the altar stood, with a moorstone door or durns on the south for entrance, and another door leading to the west, through which you are brought out into a little garden plot, and tye pit on the rock, that over-looks the country many miles round. Who built this chapel? whether the De Rupes, lords thereof, or others, its not recorded, nor at what time: But most certain it is, that from this stone-rock, or Roach, this chapel, church, and parish, hath its denomination Roach. The French St. Roache's festival is, celebrated by the calendar on the 16th day of August." *Walker's Hals in Roche.* "At Tremaderet, in the parish of Roche, are the ruins of a holy well, free chapel, and cemetery. This was the land of Bodrigan." *Hals in Roche.* "The chapel of St. Dennis is situate upon the top of a high mountain, surrounded with a direful strag of rocks, clooes, moorstone, and others, all visible above ground, of various and tremendous shapes and sizes; affording habitation and pasture for little else besides sheep, rabbits, hares, goats, and horses." *Hals*, p. 91.

* "The church of St. Austel is a large well built fabric; overlooked by a lofty tower." --- *Tonkin's* MSS. But I must not describe it, here; notwithstanding its date of One Thousand. Over the south porch is an inscription in relief on a stone, one foot nine inches long, by one foot two inches. The first line appears to to be the Cornish words *Ry Du*, and to signify, "*God is king.*" Respecting the other words, I will not hazard a conjecture. Mr. Hennah, rector of St. Austel, says, the inscription is Syro-Phenician, and means "dearly beloved Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews." In a valley about half a mile from St. Austel, is an ancient chapel, which is slightly noticed by Hals. There are also the ruins of an old chapel on the manor of Treverbyn-Courtenay, in the parish of St. Austel. At *Goran* haven, in the parish of GORAN, was a beautiful chapel now a carpenter's shop. *Port-East*, says Tonkin, commonly called Goran haven, is a small fisher-town, but seems to have been formerly a place of more consideration. At the western end, is a small pier for barks and boats built by one of the Bodrigans; a plat-form at the north-west end for the security of the town; and about the middle of it, a fair chapel with a small square tower, all standing entire, but unroofed. There was an ancient chapel at St. Mawes.

† "As we enter the parish of Cuby from the west, we pass over a stone bridge of arches, at the foot of which and in the meadows round stood the old town of Tregoney; part of the ruins of which are visible after great floods under the bridge. And there is still standing a little to the north of the bridge, part of the walls of the church dedicated to St. James minor." *Tonkin's* MSS.

The church of VERYAN consists of a very long nave, and a south aisle almost as long and almost as broad. The whole is too long for its height; otherwise well built. But the pillars have an horizontal inclination, as they had in St. Goran, before they were taken down and newly built; which is said to have been occasioned by digging graves near and under the bases of the pillars. What seems a peculiarity in Cornwall, there runs out by the pulpit and desk, a cross south aisle, at the end of which is a thick square tower, not very high.---Before the church of St. Anthony in Roseland was endowed, there stood on the western promontory of this parish, a chapel dedicated to St. Anne.---The church of RUAN-LANYHORNE is small, and has only a small area encircling it. But it is competent to the size and population of the parish. The parish consists only of about two thousand acres, Cornish measure, that is about one sixth larger than the statute; of which four hundred are occupied in the two woods of the lord and rector, and the furze-brakes of the rector and others; and one thousand six hundred are engaged in husbandry, by a regular rotation of two years in corn and three in grass. And the whole is managed by about sixty-five families only; or at a medium of four and a half to each, and in a round number by about three hundred persons. For these a small church would be sufficient, and a small cemetery about it. But the latter from its smallness, has gradually swelled up about the church, and risen to an incommodious height on every side. The principal advance to the church, is by a gravel walk of some breadth, lined with ash-trees, and banked up with the perishing relicks of mortality on each side. If a trench too had not been cut along two other sides of the church, the dead, shouldering the dead there, would have heaved up the surface of the soil, to the bottom of the windows. And, on the south-east and south-west of the church, this is actually the case. Yet the church was originally much smaller, than it is at present; has therefore encroached upon the church-yard; and is only encroached upon now, in return. It primarily consisted only of a nave, about twelve yards in length, and five and half in breadth; with a chancel of seven yards and half long, at the eastern end, and a square tower at the western; and with a side-aisle on the south. The tower was formerly (says a very recent tradition) of double the height. It has only two bells in it at present, had three till 1788, and then had two of them

melted into one of about one thousand weight. The nave must have been very narrow, for its length, only nineteen yards and half to five and half. But, just below the chancel, commences on the right a kind of side-aisle, that runs off at right angles from the nave, and, if continued equally on the left, would have formed the cross-aisle of our cathedrals. This was the chapel of the lord; that part of the church, in which the lord and his immediate family attended the public offices of religion. This has accordingly a large and arched opening from it, through the very body of the original wall, towards the altar. Such an opening appears in many churches of Cornwall. I discovered one, a few years ago in Veryan church, that had been walled up; but was exactly in the same position as this; and passed from the lord's chapel, now converted into a belfry, behind the pulpit, to the altar. Another is still remaining in the church of Philleigh. And a third yet appears in Truro church. These were obviously formed, coeval with the churches, and by the very founders of them. They were calculated to give them an actual view, and consequently a better hearing, of the clergyman officiating at the altar. All clergymen must have officiated there, before the introduction of desks soon after the reformation. And, without such a channel of communication, the lord and his relatives would have been in a worse position than any others of the congregation; and by the very distinction of a private chapel to themselves, have been secluded from half the benefit of liturgical offices, and thrown off into another church. The chapel appears to have been secluded from the church in the primary construction of both; the wall of the church being left at the west end of the broad interval between them, with a pier projecting forwards a couple of feet; a large beam now resting upon its top; and a partition wall being laid upon the beam, rising up from it to the roof, and so forming a part of the screen between them, which must have been of the same date with both, and was continued in the part below the beam, under the less solid form of rails. So constituted, the church must have been very small. Yet it was competent to the parish, no doubt, at its erection. It would otherwise have been built upon a larger scale. Much of the land in the parish was then uninclosed. A very large portion of it was denominated the *downs*. Much was necessarily given up to the cultivation of furze and firewood.

And grazing, the mode of husbandry then, I suppose, practised principally, requires much fewer hands than tillage. That this was the whole of the original church, is obvious to an examining eye. There is now an aisle to the church, which runs parallel with it for its whole length, and is about four yards and a quarter in breadth. At the eastern end of this and the church without, appears that sort of seam in the wall, which clearly shews any two walls not to be contemporary, therefore not incorporated one with the other, and one only attached or adjoined to the other. The same decisive signature of addition, appears also at the western end of both. There the seam equally shows itself without, between the aisle and the tower. The chancel of the church thus appears to have been built, prior to its accompanying part on the north. And the tower of the church appears to have reared its head, previous to the building that now presses so close upon its basis. When the church was built, I cannot say positively. I see no canons of criticism in the aspect of it, that can suggest even any conjectures. It is probably co-eval, however, with the base court of the castle. Only it was built before the castle, though perhaps only *just* before; as it lent *its own* appellation of Lanyhorne to the parish first, and, in consequence of that, to the castle afterwards. It was assuredly built, on the establishment of a Saxon and a Devonshire family within the parish; and on the intended erection of a castle with towers and a keep. This was about 936, I suppose, the grand æra of the reduction of Cornwall by Athelstan. I prefer this æra before that of the Norman Conquest, because the latter could hardly be called a conquest, when the Conqueror claimed a testamentary right to the crown; and because the proscription occasioned by it, for that very reason, perhaps, extended not to the estates of all the principal land-holders, extended only to the great barons themselves, and (I believe) extended in reality to such alone of these, as had been in arms against him. But the reduction of Cornwall by the Saxons, was a compleat conquest, and had all the essentials and all the forms of a conquest. And, as we find the invading Saxons to be Devonshire Saxons, so we see a Devonshire family actually settled in the castle here. The present church then, in the nave, the chapel, and the tower, was on this supposition built about A. D. 936. Nor let us startle at so early a date for it. I know not

how to reduce it to a later. Even an origin immediately after the Norman conquest, would take off little from its antiquity. There is indeed such a similarity in the aisle and in the nave of the church, as to the thickness of their walls and to the figure of their arches; that we naturally supposed little can be deduced, from a comparative view of the architecture. The wall at the northern door is even thicker by four or five inches, than that at the southern. The doors, the windows are not less round in the additional part of the church than in the original. The arches in both are round within, and slightly peaked without. But then this similarity arises from a laudable principle of imitation, and a wise desire to render the second part uniform with the first. We see the same principle pursued, in the higher court of the castle. The long wall of the garden is just as thick, as the wall at the two stone chimnies by the dungeon. The date of the nave, therefore, must rest upon its own countenance, uncollated with that of the aisle. And then the roundness of the arches within, with the slight peak without; the roundness of the grand arch between the nave and the belfry, so like that over the well in the base-court of the castle; unites with all, I apprehend, to carry the date of the base-court and of the church up into the Saxon æra, and to fix it at the Saxon reduction of Cornwall. But, when the lord added a second court to the first of the castle, he added also, I apprehend, the aisle to the nave of the church. The tillage of the parish, had now gained upon the grazing, I presume. The downs, which I have hinted at, were now inclosed probably. The population had encreased of course with both. And the small church of our Saxon predecessors in the parish, required to be enlarged at present. It was accordingly enlarged, by an addition nearly as broad as itself, and rather longer; the western end of the aisle reaching about four inches beyond the eastern end of the tower. The northern wall of the church was taken down, and arches thrown over on pillars; in order to open a proper communication between the new aisle and the old nave. But in doing this, I conceive, the architect made not a proper allowance, for the difference between a solid wall of stone, pierced here and there for windows, and arches resting on the legs of pillars. These legs he either made too slender for the combined

weight of arches and of roof, which was to be incumbent upon them; or sunk them not deep enough in the ground, to give them a proper stability in their base. He rested their base, perhaps, upon the same level that the ancient wall had taken. And the pillars are apparently light and slender. They appear particularly so, when compared at the eastern or western end with the thick wall within, a part of the ancient one, which still remains there. This was buttressed without, just as the tower is. At the north-western and south-western angles of the tower, is a buttress of stones on each side of each angle, carried up a little way, and then worked off into the wall. Just so, was the north-western and north-eastern angles of the church buttressed. The base of the buttress appears on the east within the foss. And the existence of one at either end of the church, has made the seam to be double at both ends. In consequence of this slenderness in the pillars, they have gone a little from their perpendicular, yielding to the pressure of the nave, but yielding throughout their whole length; overcoming the counterpoise of earth in the southern side of their base, and shewing their heads evidently inclined towards the aisle. But this addition to the church was attended with an inconvenience, that is actually felt. When the nave was all the church except the lord's chapel, the northern wall was principally relied upon, for throwing light into it. He who built his own chapel with two windows would take equal care to give a sufficiency of light to the church itself. Yet the very existence of his chapel, prevented a derivation of much light from the south. One window to the west of the door, and that a small one, could add little to the general illumination of the nave. To the east of the door could be no window because of the chapel. The northern wall of the chapel commences close by the door, and precludes every idea of a window there. The light also from the two windows of the chapel, must have been very faint and trifling in the nave, when it had been transmitted through the rails of the screen between them. How large and massy these rails were, we may see at once from some which I shall soon notice as still remaining. The main body of the light therefore, that was requisite to illuminate the nave, was originally intended to be conveyed through the window on the north. And, by the removal of these to the wall of the aisle, the nave has been rendered so dark, even when the screen of the chapel

was taken away, that a small square window has been long struck out in the wall beyond the pulpit and desk; that a sky-light was additionally struck out opposite to both, in the time of the late rector; and that, even now, the desk is so dark at times, in the gloomy afternoons of winter, as scarcely to permit the continuation of the service. Yet the aisle was not constructed for the use of the parish. It was constructed merely as a larger sort of lord's chapel. The former was given to the parish, and the latter was erected in its place. This the disposition of the aisle, and the erection of it by the lord, combine to suggest. Partitioned off from the church by rails, like the former chapel it has a door into it from the north, as the nave has from the south, and as this door appears from the holes in the wall to have been bolted within by a large bar of timber, must have had another door in the rails answering to both. It had also a chancel equally with that, as an appendage to it in the east. The chancel-rails indeed continue in the chapel, when they have been taken away in the church. They continue in the frame of a screen complete on both sides of the chancel entrance. The great beam too, to which this frame is fastened above, runs across the whole chapel there; a solid piece of oak, that may seem useful to support a little the reclining pillars; but certainly does not, being incompetent to the deed, and actually touching its own pillar only in a single point. At this screen begins the chancel platform of stone, on the same level formerly with the platform of the church. This was levelled in the church, within memory. And the screen was therefore taken away when the desk was made the officiating place for the clergyman. Yet the beam above remained. It remained within memory, nearly even with the head of the clergyman, who was standing to officiate in the desk. The whole screen extended along the present seat of the clerk, which was originally, I apprehend, in the half separated part of Mr. Luke's pew, that is immediately under the desk; and was certainly fixed where it now is by some rector, who took a square piece out of his own pew for the formation of it, the rest of the clerk's seat being still a part of the rector's pew till 1778. In that seat at present are three of the pillars, which rose up to the beams, and constituted the principal parts of the screen. Then came the chancel door, the beam going over the head of it. The entire screen began again in the

desk, and went along the front of it, two of its pillars still remaining there. Here, as just at the pulpit, ended the beam within memory. But originally it went on to the wall. And in the wall, just by the pulpit-door, is a stone projecting evidently from the wall, to form a lodgment or pediment for it. This, indeed, is not in the direct line. But then the variation from one shews this beam to have gone as that in the chapel goes at present, and as the remains in the desk and clerk's seat, still go with a curve bending inwards into the chancel. It thus went across the present door into the pulpit. But how then was the pulpit accessible? When the rector officiated at the altar, and there was no desk; the pulpit was little higher than the desk is now. This is apparent from the present pulpit, which ends, as usual, in a gradually contracing base, and then rests upon an extraneous and square cone of wood. Without this basis, the pulpit would be no higher than the desk; the top of the basis being only as high as the floor of the desk. The clergyman, therefore, who could stand in the desk, could enter the pulpit, notwithstanding the beam. And when the desk began to be raised, the pulpit was raised to preserve its dignity, and the beam and screen were cut away to keep up an access to it. From the platform of the chapel, was very lately an open door-way in the northern wall, and a flight of stone-steps began to mount upwards. After two or three steps, the passage was walled up. But about five or six years ago, the opening itself was walled up; yet is still discernible in the plaistering of the wall. This passage led, as the generality of ecclesiastical antiquaries (I suppose) would imagine, and I was induced at first to presume, into a rood-loft over head; where the image of the patron-saint would be exhibited to view, together with a rood or crucifix. But, whether such rood-lofts and such exhibitions did exist in other churches, I know not. I suppose they did in some, but only in some. In all, they certainly did not. They particularly did not, in this. No remains of such a loft, are traceable in the church. No signatures of such a loft, are discoverable in the chapel. Nor, if there had been such a loft in the latter, would the ascent to it have been so extensively and circuitously made, by a door in the wall, and by a winding staircase of stone within it. The gallery would have been reached in an easy and compendious manner at once, by a few stairs of wood within the chapel. And,

even if such a laborious process had been used for ascending the gallery, the door in the wall below must have been answered by another door above, as an admission into the gallery; when no marks of such a door above appear at all, though the door below was all open within these few years, and is so apparent in the wall at present. The door and the stair-case, no doubt, served only for a passage to the roof of the chapel, which was secured from the weather by a rounding head to it, and allowed a ready way for the workmen to mount and repair the roof. It accordingly went up within memory, beyond any gallery that could have been placed, even up to the rafters, and in the part that is now covered with the compass-roof. The boys of the school, that was kept about forty years ago within the church, used then to go up the stairs, and look out through the rafters into the church. And, what is still more decisive, the stone-stair-case now appears in a square projection on the outside of the wall, ascending up like a buttress, rising actually up to the roof, and slated over at the top like the roof itself. Beyond this door, and at the eastern end of the platform, beneath a large window, is another platform, and equally of stone; exactly as in the chancel of the church. Here, therefore, was an altar, as well as there. That was intended for what may be called the private and memorial offices of religion. They were performed by the mass-priest of the chapel, on a certain day in every month, and so called, exactly in the Cornish mode of using *mind* for *remembrance, month's mind.* In them he used one form of prayer (I believe) all over the kingdom; such, probably, as is now used on the commemoration-days of our colleges in the universities; thanking God for having sent them such a founder of one of his temples; but additionally praying for the salvation of his soul, for the souls of his ancestors and successors, and for the soul of the present representative of all. For these offices, the mass-priest had undoubtedly an allotted income, a portion of land secured to him, either with a rent-charge fixed upon it for him, or with the freehold of it vested in him. The land appropriated to this altar, was one which would be sure to be taken away at the reformation; and was that adjoining field of Trethella, probably, which is therefore denominated the *church-park.* Had this been denominated from the foot-path through it, by which the family at Trethella usually came to the village and to the church; it

would have taken the appellation of way-field, like another in Trelonk, or of church-way, as various others in the parish would have been named. Yet we have only one church-park in the whole parish. I therefore consider its name, as the witness of a nearer relation than ordinary to the church, even as the allotment of the priest officiating at this altar. And near this altar could the lord kneel, and receive the eucharist from the rector officiating at the other. This chancel does not go out on the south to the full width of the aisle. It terminates in a line with the present rails of the altar. A space was thus left for the fence of the chapel from the church, which as we may judge from the screen of the chancel, must have been large and massy. And the north end of the altar rails was brought forward within the fence of the chapel, to enable the lord to receive the eucharist from the clergyman there. At the altar of the church also, are apparent the remains of the two pediments in the eastern wall, one on each side of the window. These cannot have been, what I used to suppose them, till I began to think upon the subject, and what I apprehend the generality suppose them, who think as little as I did, a kind of projecting basons originally made for the reception of holy water. Such basons are placed only at the doors of churches or chapels; and could never have been placed any where else, from the design of enabling each comer to divine, to dip his finger in the water, and cross his forehead with it. This could much less be placed within the chancel, where people could not ordinarily come, and at the altar, where none but the priest could ever have come. Nor is there any appearance of a hollow in them, for the reception of water. They were indeed designed for another use. They were the pedestals of statues. The images of the patron-saints, no doubt, was set upon them. And they are very properly, therefore, placed one on each side of the altar. They were two, because the church has had two patrons. As Ruman did not die till about the year 1000, and could not be canonized before he was dead; the church must have had a patron prior to him for years. Who this was, we can only conjecture, and conjecture at random; perhaps St. Mary. For this saint, therefore, was one of the pedestals designed, as the other was for St. Ruman. But then this was let into the wall afterwards, when St. Ruman became patron in

conjunction with the other saint. It could not have been formed at the original construction of the church, and have received no image till the adoption of St. Ruman. The subsequent association of a second saint with the first could not have been foreseen, and therefore could not have been provided for.* ----It appears, that the college of PROBUS was at Mr. James Huddy's, *Trenithan-Chancellor*, so called to distinguish it from Trenithan-Bennet, about a quarter of a mile from the church. There were formerly eight chapels in the parish of PROBUS; one at *Golden*, lately taken down; another at *Hallnoweth*, long since destroyed, a cross only remaining where the chapel was; a third on the point of a high rock in *Trenowth*-wood, still called Chapel-rock, the foundations of which have been lately dug up; a fourth at *Helland*, now converted into a barn; a fifth at *Trelowthas*, some handsome cut stones having been lately dug up where the chapel formerly stood; a sixth at *Treworgey*, where part of the ruins are still remaining; a seventh in the church-yard, now converted into a school-room; the eighth at *Tregellas*. There were several very fine wells of water fronted with cut moor-stones, which about eighty years since the Rev. Mr. Smith, the then vicar, directed to be pulled down, in order to pave the church: This was done to all excepting one at Ventongledder, which still remains. "On the west side of the town of Truro was, of old, a Dominican chapel and friary, part of the house and consecrated well yet standing." ----In the center of the town, was a nunnery of Clares closed up; who had considerable revenues now in possession of Sir John Seyntaubyn and others. Their consecrated walled well, is at Edles; and their house called *Anhell*, i. e. "the hall," was fairly built of free-stone, though lately pulled down and converted to shops and dwellings. Here probably was a free chapel before the Norman conquest. In the glass windows of the church, on the north-side thereof are yet extant the arms of John earl of Cornwall.† The college of GLASNITH

* *W. T.* vol. 2. pp. 98, ...99.

† *Hals* in Truro, ---- At Tregavethan, the cemetery and free chapel have been already noticed.

was an edifice of great strength: It seemed‡ to unite in itself, the architecture of the castle and the monastery. In the parish of Sithney, at St. John's, formerly stood an hospital or preceptory dedicated to St. John Baptist, and distinguished by the name of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Jerusalem, for Christians that were sick or wounded in the Holy War; and for the entertainment of Christian pilgrims and travellers that came from that city. This hospital of St. John's in this parish was subject to the master of St. John's hospital in London, as were all others in England."§ At CARMINOW, in the parish of Mawgan, was a chapel‖ of very ancient date.-----There are still the remains of the hermitage

‡ "One Walter Brownscombe, a good bishop of Excestre made in a moore caullid *Glasnith*, in the bottom of a park of his at Penrine, a collegiate chirch with a provost, xii prebendaries, and other ministers. This college is strongly wallid and incastelid, having 3. strong towers, and gunnes at the but of the creke." *Itin.* v. 3. f. 11. "Bronscombe gave the collegiate church, and name of *Glasnith* from the bridge beneath the watch-tower of the said college yet standing. There were two neat towers, built, as they say, for the defence of the place, besides this here-mentioned. One of the towers was standing within these two years." *Hals.* "*Glasnith*, so called from the green estuaries of salt water under the bridge, where it meets the fresh." *Tonkin.* On a brass plate which I have, and which formerly was affixed to the college:---

"Domus Provost Collegii de
Glasoney in Perin dedicat
Sco THOME Apost. et Fundat per
Walterum Bronscombe Episco. Exon.
Septimo Edwardi primi Anno Domini 1288
Locat. hic pr. Jo: Robyns Gen: 1666
Et iterum removat. pr. eund. 1730.
C. P. Sculp:"

In Norden's Map of Kerrier, Magdalen chapel is set down in the neighbourhood of Gluvias. It was situated near the farm of Casawse, between the house and the wood, on a bold spot of ground adjoining to Magdalen ball, commanding a view of the valley towards Perranarwothal. A field near this spot, is called Chapel-close. Some pillars belonging to this chapel were standing about forty years ago; and a farmer of the name of Trevena, remembers his moving large flat stones, which he conceives formed a part of the pavement. The ground is now covered with brambles and bushes, and abounds in shafts; and no appearance of any stones worked by a tool could be discovered by me; but my guide Trevena found in an adjoining hedge some of the stones of a window. "The church or chapel of PIRANARWOTHAL was probably endowed by the canons regular of the college of Glasnith, or the prior of St. John's hospital at Sithney." *Hals's MSS.* In WENDRON is a decayed chapel called *Merther-uni*, or *Uni-Gwendron*. "At *Truthal*, in SITHNEY, before the Norman conquest, was a free chapel and cemetery, the ruins of which are yet to be seen." *Walker's Hals in Sithney.*

§ *Walker's Hals* in Sithney.

‖ "Since *Carminow* came to the Arundel family, the house by degrees fell into decay; though the ruins of a very fine chapel were lately to be seen there. The demesnes were set at lease, and sometimes to persons of good worth." *Tonkin's MSS.*

of St. Ruan at ST. RUAN. It was after the death of St. Ruan, changed into a *chapel*, and is now a dwelling-house. At no great distance from this hermitage-chapel, is a fountain of clear water, the hermit's own fountain, called St. Ruan's well. At *Tregonwell*, in MANACCAN, are the ruins of a small chapel.----There is said to have been a priory in the parish of St. Anthony Meneg.¶ The church of ST. ANTHONY-MENEG, is situated at the foot of the promontory called the Little Dinas, about one hundred and sixty feet from the sea, and nearly on a level with it, at high water. The church contains nothing remarkable: But the tower is a very handsome building; eighteen feet by sixteen at the base, and sixty-six feet high; built of large hewn stones (a very fine granite) a sort which this country is not known to produce, and said to have been brought from Normandy. Tradition says, that some persons of rank and fortune returning from Normandy to England, were overtaken by a violent storm, and in great danger of being shipwrecked. In their distress, they supplicated St. Anthony, making vows of erecting a church to his memory, on whatever spot they should land in safety. They were fortunate enough to get into Gillan harbour, and land on the spot where the church is now erected. The situation of the church* is such, as to give a degree of credit to this story. On ST.

¶ Llantinian surrounds the church and church-yard of St. Anthony. And whenever the field or orchards adjoining are ploughed or dug up, great plenty of human bones and lime are found. Tradition says, that many vaults and graves have been discovered here. It is now a part of the manor of Partha Prior, belonging to the duke of Cornwall, and was, most probably, the scite of the priory supposed to have once existed in this parish. But as this little priory cannot have required so much sepulchral ground, we may conclude that the garrison of the Dinas (which forms a part of this tenement) or those who attacked the fort, and fell in the conflict, were interred on the spot. The present population of St. Anthony bears no comparison. One wedding and three baptisms in a year, and one burial in two years, seems the present average. In the churchyard is a well, which from its peculiar construction, is supposed to have been originally intended for a bath.

* The persons whose fortune enabled them to erect a church and a stately tower, and to endow a religious house, had probably interest to separate that portion of land from the parish of Manaccan, which now constitutes the parish of St. Anthony. This accounts for its not occurring as a parish in very ancient records. Besides the church is situated in that part of St. Anthony which is called the island, from its being surrounded on the east, west and south, by the sea, and on the north by the parish of Manaccan: So that all those who inhabit the western side of the parish, must absolutely go through the parish, even near the church of Manaccan, to reach their own church, unless they cross Gillan harbour in boats, or at low water have recourse to the "*steppings*" or slippery stones, that are ranged there for the purpose of crossing.

MICHAEL'S MOUNT† the religious buildings have attracted the notice of our

† St. Michael's Mount is one of those rare and commanding objects which arrest and fix the attention the moment they are seen. Its peculiar situation, and the sublime character it assumes, from appearing to rise immediately from the waves, singularly interest the imagination of the observer; though, when viewed from the land, its real magnitude is apparently diminished, from the vast extent of the horizon, and the expanded tract of water which surrounds its base. "It is a scene (says Mr. Britton) singularly calculated to inflame the enthusiasm of the poet; and a mind of no common mould has thus poured the note of sublimity from the vocal shell, on contemplating the beauty of the prospect, and revolving the events which the traditionary lore of past ages represents to have occurred on this spot."....

.....Majestic Michael rises; he whose brow
Is crown'd with castles, and whose rocky sides
Are clad with dusky ivy; he whose base,
Beat by the storms of ages, stands unmov'd
Amidst the wreck of things---the change of time.
That base, encircled by the azure waves,
Was once with verdure clad: the towering oaks
Here wav'd their branches green: the sacred oaks,
Whose awful shades among, the Druids stray'd,
To cut the hallow'd misletoe, and hold
High converse with their Gods. *H. Davy's* "MOUNT'S-BAY"

Another poet of genius, has also characterized the Mount in the following terms:----

.....Mountain, the curious muse might love to gaze
On the dim record of thy early days;
Oft fancying that she heard, like the low blast,
The sounds of mighty generations past.
Here the Phœnician, as remote he sail'd
Along the unknown coast, exulting hail'd;
And when he saw thy rocky point aspire,
Thought on his native shores of Aradus or Tyre.---

Thou only, aged mountain, dost remain!
Stern monument amidst the delug'd plain:
And fruitless the big waves thy bulwarks beat;
The big waves slow retire, and murmur at thy feet. *Rev. W. L. Bowles.*

The first of these extracts has reference to the popular belief of St. Michael's Mount having, in the remote ages of antiquity, been situated in a wood, a circumstance to which its name in the Cornish language gives a considerable degree of plausibility. The tradition is partly confirmed by the testimony of Leland, who remarks that, "In the baye betwyxt the Mont and Pensants, be found neere the lowe water marke, rootes of trees yn dyvers places:" and Borlase, in a paper published in the fiftieth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, strengthens the evidence, by relating the discovery of roots and trunks of trees, some of them embedded in the natural soil, but covered with sand, and submerged by twelve feet of water every flowing tide. Ptolemy calls the Mount *Ocrinum*; but soon after the sixth century, it seems to have received its present name, from the apparition of St. Michael, whose appearance, according to the monkish legends, to some hermits on this mount, occasioned the foundation of the monastery. The place where the vision sat was a craggy spot, in a dangerous situation, near the upper part of the rock, which, in the time of Carew, still bore the name of *St. Michael's Chair*; but that appellation has since been trans-

first antiquaries. On the island north of ST. IVES‡ bay stand the ruins of an

ferred to a more accessible but equally dangerous spot, on the summit of one of the angles of the Chapel-Tower. Though little credit can be attached to this wild tale, yet it is certain that the Mount became hallowed at a very early period, that it was renowned for its sanctity, and was for a time an object of frequent pilgrimage. The superstitious veneration paid to it by the mistakenly devout, is alluded to by Spencer in his Shepherd's Calendar, and in terms sufficiently explicit to mark its fame.

In evil hour thou lenst in hond
Thus holy hills to blame,
For sacred unto saints they stond,
And of them have their name:
St. Michael's Mount who does not know,
That wardes the western coast?

When it was first consecrated to religious purposes is unknown: but the earliest time it appears on record as a place of devotion, is the fifth century; though it seems probable that it was then highly celebrated; as St. Keyna, a holy virgin of the British blood-royal, and daughter of Braganus, prince of Brecknockshire, is stated to have come hither on pilgrimage about the year 490. Here she was joined by her nephew Cadoc, who is reputed to have caused a fountain to spring up in a dry place, on which a church was erected to his honor. Upwards of five hundred years afterwards, Edward the Confessor founded on this spot a priory of Benedictine monks, on whom he bestowed the property of the Mount, together with several other places. On the seizure of England by the Normans, Robert, earl of Mortaigne, became the patron of this foundation, and gave the monks some additional lands; but, from a regard to his native country, made this monastery a cell to the abbey of St. Michael de Periculo-maris, which was situated on a mount, very similar to this, on the coast of Normandy. The ascent to the top of the Mount is by a steep and craggy passage fronting the north, defended about mid-way by a small battery, which also protects the entrance of the bay. The whole summit is occupied by the remains of the ancient monastic buildings. "The monks of St. Michael (says Borlase) were of the reformed order of the Benedictines, called Cistercians, and of the Gilbertine kind, a rule introduced into the Cistercian order by Gilbert of Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1148. By this rule, monks and nuns were placed in one house, and the nunnery was lately standing on the eastern end of this monastery, with a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as, in all Cistercian monasteries, these chapels were. The nunnery was 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. In Richard the First's time, one Pomeroy, a gentleman of great possessions in Devonshire and Cornwall, having committed murder, took refuge here, having a sister in this nunnery, and being (as Leland says, Itin. vol. vi. p. 54.) "at that tyme lord of the castelle of the mount of St. Michael," where, finding the hill on which the monastery stands, steep and rocky, he fortified it, though to little purpose; however, 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." *Borlase*, pp. 351, 352. "This notice, lets us into a part of the history of this mount, which has never been unfolded yet. There was plainly a *nunnery* here, as well as a monastery. Accordingly we find before, what this circumstance alone explains; that there were *two chapels* upon the mount. One is described as "a *little* chapel yet standing, and dedicated to the archangel St. Michael, *part whereof is now converted to a dwelling-house*." The other is described as "that which renders this place most famous, the *present* church *or* chapel, *yet extant*, and *kept in good repair with pews*; upon the tower of this church *or* chapel, *for it is bigger than many other Cornish parish-churches*, is that celebrated place called Kader Migell, that is, Michael's chair." So distinct are these chapels! The monastery I apprehend to have been, "where, towards the north-west, is a kind of level plain, about four or six landyards," with "a downright precipice of rocks towards the sea, at least twenty fathoms high;" and where, about the greater chapel, are "cells cut in the rocks for hermetical monks of the aforesaid

old chapel, where God was duly worshipped before the church of St. Ives was erected

order." And the nunnery I suppose to have been, where, "from this little square or plain, there is an *artificial* kind of ascent, going towards the *east*, which offers you a full sight of the outer walls of the castle, and brings you to Porth Horne or Hoarn; part of which is yet to be seen." Thus do we get a glimpse of a nunnery, that is invisible from every other point. Tanner, that witness for all other authors upon monastic notices, gives us no intimation from any of them concerning this nunnery. Yet Leland confirms what I have observed in Mr. Hals before, the existence of two churches or chapels upon the summit of the mount. "The way to the chyrch," he says concerning the ascent to the top, "enteryth at the north syd from half ebb to half fludde to the foote of the mont, and so ascendeth by steppes, and greces westward of the church" or mount. "Withyn the sayd ward is a cowrt strongly walled, wher yn on the *sowth* syde is *the chapel of St. Michael*, and yn the *east* syde *a chapel of our Lady*. The captayne and prestes lodgings be yn the sowth syde of St. Michael's chapel." (Itin. vii. 118.) When this captain was fixed there with a garrison, the nuns were obliged to relinquish their cells to him and them. For this reason, we have not a hint in all the ages afterwards of a nunnery here. Only the chapel was continued for the use of the garrison, while the church itself was still left to the monks. Such an union as this of a monastery and a nunnery, upon the summit of a pyramidal hill, and amid the sequestration of solitude, carries a strange appearance with it to our protestant suspiciousness. Yet it was not very uncommon, in the reign of popery. It seems to have been peculiarly calculated for that purpose, for which both monasteries and nunneries were generally calculated, to show the triumph of faith over the impulses of sense, and to show that triumph more conspicuously, by the association of monks and nuns in monastic vicinity to each other. "This little fortress," as Mr. Hals hath told us before, "comprehendeth sufficient rooms and lodgings for the captain or governour and his soldiers to reside in," which I have supposed above to have been the original habitations of the nuns and their abbess, "*to which adjoining* are several *other* houses or cells heretofore pertaining to the monks that dwelt here; *all* admirable for their strength, building, and contrivance," and all probably therefore cotemporary or nearly so." *W. H.* v. 1. pp. 42, 43. "In the early times of St. Keyne and St. Cadoc, it was probably little more than a hermitage or oratory, with necessary receptions for pilgrims. Edward the Confessor chusing to raise it to the rank of a priory, was obliged, no doubt, to enlarge the accommodations; and William, earl of Moreton and Cornwall, not only added a cell for a monk or two, who pretended that St. Michael had appeared in that Mount, but on the summit and centre of the rock is said to have built the church in the time of William the Second.* It is a nave divided (as described by Borlase about the year 1730) by the cancells or lettice-work of the rood-loft into an isle and a choir. The rood-loft was carved and painted with the history of the passion, and not inelegantly for former times. In the choir, there were three stalls on each side of the entrance; and at the altar two tall eastern windows, with a rose on one at the finishing of the top; and besides the three windows of tolerable Gothic fashion on each side of the nave, a handsome rose window at the western end. The isle or anti-chapel is forty-eight feet long, and twenty wide. The choir twenty-one feet long, and broad at the outward part. On the right of the altar there was a little door, which by twelve stairs let you down into a vault nine feet square, well arched with stone; which from a very small window or listening place in the south wall, appears to have been the confessionary. The church walls are thick, well built, and have no buttress, which shews their antiquity. On the top of the tower (which finishes with dignity, as has been said of the whole building) in one of the angles, are the moorstone remains of a lanthorn; in which, during the fishing season, and dark tempestuous nights, it may reasonably be supposed that the monks to whom the tythe of such fishery belonged, kept a proper light burning as a charitable guide to sailors, as well as a safe guard to their own property: it is now called St. Michael's Chair, because it will just admit of one person to sit down in it; but Carew tells us, with more probability, that St. Michael's Chair (i. e. the place which the archangel is supposed to have consecrated by his personal appearance) "was a little without the castle, in a craggy place, somewhat dangerous for access." However, the carcase of this lanthorn is now stiled St. Michael's Chair, and though very dangerous to attempt, as being on the angle of a high

* Carew, p. 155.

or endowed. ----At the bottom of the great street, at REDRUTH, near the river, was

tower, is sometimes sat in, out of a foolish conceit, that whoever sits therein, whether man or woman, if married, will thenceforth have the mastery in domestic affairs; which though scarce worthy to be mentioned, I look upon as a remnant of monkish fable. A supposed virtue, conferred by some saint. Whether it was a legacy of the before-mentioned St. Keyne, is not certain; but the same virtue is attributed to the water of St. Keyne's well, in Cornwall. This church and tower being placed on the summit of the rock, the nunnery and house for the monks are placed somewhat lower in point of height, and spread to the east, south, and west, at unequal distances for the most part, but at the south-western end contiguous to the church: The whole making together a kind of oblong square, consist of projecting and receding rectangles. These buildings have of late years received many modern improvements; but I shall describe them as they stood almost forty years since, before the alterations took place, and consequently when they approached more nearly to the ancient monastery. As you ascend to the outer gate fronting the west, you have a wall, or rather some part of one, on each hand of the steps. That on the right-hand has a stone door-case, and part of a large window standing, intimating that the buildings extended farther to the west than they do at present. At the top of the steps you enter the first gate, which is very low, and the portcullis with which it appears to have been guarded, needed not to have been more than five feet high. Five steps within the gate lead you into a passage or entry, about twelve feet wide; on the left of which, is the guard-room or dungeon, till you come to a large wooden gate, whence leaving the church door on the right, and a narrow embattled terras on the left, in about seventy feet eastward, you come to a grey coarse marble door-case, carved in a better gothic stile than the opening of the church, and therefore more modern. Over it is a window of the same stone and workmanship, exactly well placed. The door lets you into an apartment, distinct from the other parts of the monastery; about fifty feet long, and eighteen wide; consisting of one chamber or more (for the partitions were all down) to the west. A passage somewhat more than half (1) the length (*i. e.* twenty-five feet) lets you into a chapel, dedicated to St. Mary, with a little airy to the east of it. This was the nunnery; and in the aforesaid passage on the left-hand, there is a narrow stair-case, by which the nuns retired to their chambers over the passage. The planching of those chambers was fallen into the passage below, through which, over carved beams and rubbish, we got to the end of this building with difficulty. In the eastern end of the chapel we found a fair marble window, which gave light to the altar. One stone of the same grain marble projected from the south wall. It had two escutcheons embossed. The first had three castles, two and one garreted—the arms at present of the neighbouring town of Marazion, and formerly perhaps the arms of this priory. The second escutcheon had a chevron between three flower de luces.(2) This stone served, no doubt, to support the image of the Holy Virgin. The chapel was peculiar to the nunnery; and from the chamber, the whole of the chapel might be seen, and the ordinary duties of religion performed without descending or opening the gratings of the chambers. In the eastern wall, beside the altar, there was a small door of three feet and half high; which is the only entrance into a little open court or belvidere, of no more than six paces long, and three wide; with a little terrace or banquet, to look over the garreted wall to the east. By the carved fragments of stone, with some other marks of distinction and neatness, this apartment shews itself to have been erected with much cost. By the sequestered and secure avenues, and the recess of the chapel, it could be nothing but the nunnery; and I find the nuns here as early as Richard the First. Having now done with the first and northern court, we pass from it through a narrow entry which runs under the altar of the church into the southern court. Here stands the refectorium or common hall for the monks, detached about a dozen feet of the south of the church. It is a good room, well lighted by three narrow windows to the south, and two to the north, thirty-three feet long, sixteen wide, and eighteen high; the roof well timbered and carved in the old manner. East of the refectorium is a small room, (now a butler's office) with a chamber above it; and farther east still, a small parlour, which with a bed-chamber over it of the same dimen-

(1) The whole building being at this time ruinous, and the floor covered with heaps of rubbish, the measurement could not be exact.

(2) Perhaps the arms of St. Michael's Mount in Normandy.

the chapel.* Though once distinguished by a college of Augustine canons; yet ST. BERIAN consists at present of a few wretched cottages only.†----At INISCAW, one of the Sylleh Isles, the remains of the priory church are still to be seen: It is called the abbey. But the monastery is wholly destroyed.‖----The

sions, retained the name of king Charles's apartment; Charles the Second (when prince of Wales) having lodged there when he came into the west in his way to the Scilly Islands, about the conclusion of the civil war of Charles the First. In the little court before this apartment, some feet under the floor, was a small room with stairs to go down to it, probably a powder magazine. From the garretted parapet of this court, you are struck with a prodigious precipice, this southern side of the mountain shelving down almost perpendicularly towards the sea, which here perpetually washes the foot of it. The cells for the monks, their kitchen, &c. lay west of the church and refectorium. Two or three closets still retain the pristine dimensions of the cells; the rest are so mangled, that there is no discerning what or where they were; for besides others who have lived in it, the officers of the garrison had always lodgings there. The whole house has lately undergone a thorough repair, from the present and late worthy proprietors. The courts are enlarged and neatly laid with well-squared Bristol slate; the parlours and bed-chambers very elegantly furnished: Particularly in the niches of a handsome parlour lately erected, where the antichamber of the nunnery formerly stood, there are two large vases of oriental jasper, with an alto-relief of statuary marble in each, relating to hymeneal happiness, fit to adorn the largest and most magnificent saloon. The church has a handsome organ erected in it, is new seated and ornamented with plaister above, and with tile below. And when the old pavement was about to give place to the new, a fragment of an inscribed sepulchral stone of some prior here was taken up. There was also a grave stone, not inscribed, among the pavement; which has been guessed to have covered the remains of Sir John Arundell, of Trerice, knight, slain on the strand below, between the Mount and Marazion, in the wars of York and Lancaster, and buried in this church in the reign of Edward the Fourth; but this is conjecture. From the battlements of the northern court, you have a delicious prospect of land and water, villages and ports. The Lizard point (to the east) and the Land's-end are the head lands which form this bay. Near the centre stands this Mount, which gives it the name of Mount's Bay. Towards the west the land rises gently from the sea-shore, and rounding off forms Guavas Lake, (the most secure and usual anchorage) and makes a kind of theatre with its area full of sea, and its lower bench set off with four pleasant and well-inhabited towns, of which two, viz. Penzance and Newlyn are near the middle; the other two, Marazion and Mousehole, at the extremities of the semicircular part." *Pryce's MS. History of St. Michael's Mount*, pp. 17, 18.—20, ... 26.

‡ "Tradition says, that Ivo, a Persian bishop came to St. Ives from Ireland, and converted the inhabitants, and that from him the town derived its name; not from St. Iia.----The old key there was 240 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 5 fathoms high. At the north end, was a chapel called *St. Leonard's*; where formerly prayers were read by a friar to the fishermen every morning before they went to sea; for which they gave him fish. It now serves as a house for the men to look after their boats, and is repaired by the churchwardens.-----On the top of the hill called the Island is the beacon, where the townsmen watch in war-time. There is a chapel, dedicated to *St. Michael*, a sea-mark, and repaired by the mayor." From a MS. of *John Hicks*. gent. formerly alderman of St. Ives.

* "Here service was performed twice a week within the memory of some living. But now the chapel is unroofed; and the bells carried to Trefusis; as it is situated in Mr. Trefusis's land." *W. Tonkin's* MSS.

† In the parish of Sennan are the ruins of an old free chapel called *Chapel-idne*, i. e. narrow chapel. *Hals.*

‖ The abbey-church stood on a small rising: And though higher up on the hill towards the abbey 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, it is

church of ST. HELEN's is the most ancient Christian building in all the islands: It consists of a south-aisle thirty-one feet six inches long, by fourteen feet three inches wide, from which two arches, low, and clumsy, open into a north-aisle twelve feet wide by nineteen feet six inches long; two windows in each aisle. Near the eastern window in the north-aisle projects a flat stone to support, I conceive, the image of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. Ruins of several houses appear round the church.§

3. These, then, were a few of the sacred structures of our Christian ancestors. With the exception of cathedral, conventual or collegiate churches, the buildings of the Norman period, were in general small and clumsy chapels. But they were not the only places dedicated to religion. There were enclosures for rejoicing and for sorrow; for religious pastime, and religious mourning. And they were alike appendages to the churches. The Plananguare was consecrated ground: And so was the cemetery, or church-hay. With the Pagan-Cornish, festivity and religion were one and the same. It is not, therefore, to be wondered, that embracing Christianity, they should have blended their festal rites with their religious ceremonies. The *Plananguares* or rounds to which I allude, are generally found on low flats, from which there is little or no prospect of the country; and in the vicinity of churches. From the first circumstance, I infer, that they formed no part of our military system; and from the second, that they probably served the purposes of play or pastime, after the conclusion of the church service, on sundays or saint's-days. Circles of a similar construction, were originally designed, I think, for courts of judicature. But from the first æra of Christianity in Cornwall, they were amphitheatres, in which were acted our interludes or sacred dramas: And, the name of *Plan-an-guare* "the

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 church is for the most part carried off to patch up some poor cots, which stand below it, on the spot where I imagine the monastery stood; but the door, two handsome large arched openings, and several windows are still to be seen, eased with very good freestone, which, it is thought, the monks got from Normandy." *Isles of Scilly*, pp. 43, 44.

§ See *Borlase's* Isles of Scilly, p. 51.

plain for pastimes," at once indicated their use. There were many amphitheatres in Cornwall. A few miles eastward of St. Agnes is *Piran-round*. Its area is about one hundred and thirty feet in diameter; and was surrounded by benches of turf, seven in number, and rising about eight feet above the level of the area. To this area, there are two entrances facing each other, to the north and south.* One of these rounds was visible till very lately near *Redruth*. On the *Lizard* downs, there is an amphitheatre, about a quarter of a mile from the church of Landawednek. The diameter of its area is one hundred and seventeen feet. The enclosing bank is low and in a state of decay. The old way to the church passed close to the circle: But a new-made road runs nearly through the middle of it. In the parish of *Ruan-major*, about one hundred and twenty yards south from the church, is a perfect round. The area within the bank, which is of turf, is about sixty-six feet in diameter. The average height of the bank is at present, not more than three feet. It has two entrances, north and south. In *Ruan-Minor* is a round, upwards of a quarter of a mile from the church; about two hundred yards from Treleage farm, and in the road to Helston, which cuts off a part of it. Its diameter, within the mound, is about ninety-three feet. The area is a garden; and the mound is raised into a hedge.

* The references in a plan of this amphitheatre, are thus explained: "A, the area of the amphitheatre, perfectly level, about one hundred and thirty feet diameter; B, the benches, seven in number of turf, rising eight feet from the area; C, the top of the rampart, seven feet wide; D, the outer slope of the rampart: E, the foss; F, the slope of the foss; G, the level of the hill on which the work is formed; H, a circular pit, in diameter thirteen feet, deep three feet, the sides sloping, and half way down a bench of turf, so formed as to reduce the area of the bottom to an ellipsis; I, a shallow trench, running from the pit H, nearly east, four feet six inches wide, and one foot deep, till it reaches the undermost bench of the amphitheatre A, where it is terminated by a semi-oval cavity K, eleven feet from north to south, and nine feet from east to west, which makes a breach in the benches. This is a curious and regular work, and is formed with the exactness of a fortification; but the visible benches within, the pit, the trench, and cavity, and the foss having no esplanade beyond it, determine it in its present figure to the uses of an amphitheatre. The greatest difficulty is to account for the pit H, and the trench and cavity I K, which are appendixes to it. Now it must be observed, that the scenery part of these performances was much worse than the composition; that the subject being taken from scripture-history, the persons of the deity brought upon the stage from above, and the infernal spirits from below, they thought it necessary to appropriate peculiar places to actors of such different characters; accordingly, I find by their interludes, that they had a place in their *rounds* which they called heaven, and I infer from thence that they had another called hell; and from these two places the different beings were to proceed when they came to act, and withdraw to, when their parts were finished. I conjecture therefore, that as K might represent the upper regions, so the pit H might be allotted to the infernal. In the interlude of the resurrection also, the pit H might serve for the grave; the trench, and the cavity, might be designed to exhibit the ascension into heaven." *Borlase's Natural History*, p. 298.

Near the church of *St. Just*, is another round; used, not many years since, as a place for wrestling. It is an exact circle of one hundred and twenty-six feet in diameter. The perpendicular height of the bank from the bottom of the ditch without, was not many years since, ten feet, but originally more within the benches, which are of stone. At Kerris, in the parish of *Paul*, is an oval enclosure, called the *Roundago*, about fifty-two paces from north to south, and thirty-four from east to west. It is composed of stones, some standing erect, and others piled in a wall-like form, but without mortar. At the southern end, stood four rude pillars about eight feet high, at the foot of which lie some large long stones.*

4. With respect to the church-hay or the cemetery, it was introduced into England at a much earlier time than most of our antiquaries have stated. But spots on hills or plains entirely unconnected with houses of worship, were often used as places of interment long after the cemetery. It appears from Gough, that *barrows* continued in use, even till the twelfth century.† The barrows, as we

* In the parish of Senar is a circle of similar shape and character; and at Tredineck, another of the same kind. In the parish of Berian is a small circle of nineteen upright stones, called *Dance Maine* or the *Merry Maidens*, from the whimsical tradition that nineteen young women, or maidens, were thus transformed for dancing on the sabbath day. The stones are about four feet above the ground, and five feet distant from each other: the diameter of the circle is about twenty-five feet: and at some distance, north-west from it, are two taller upright stones, called the pipers. Another of these Druidical circles is named *Boscawen-Un*. This also consists of nineteen upright stones, and is about twenty-five feet in diameter, having a single leaning stone in the centre. Camden supposes, that the latter circle was erected as a trophy by the Romans; or by Athelstan in commemoration of his conquest of the Danmonii; but this is in the highest degree improbable. In the parish of Gulval is *Boskednan Circle*, consisting also of nineteen stones, but of smaller diameter than the two former. The most considerable of these structures is situated in the parish of St. Just, and known by the name of the *Botallack Circles*, which, according to Borlase's plan, was composed of four circles of upright stones intersecting each other; and at some distance was another circle, and several stones standing singly. These circles, originally Pagan, were probably used by the Christian Cornish for their plays and dances.

† See his "sepulchral monuments of Great Britain."---John Brompton calls a raised place of interment, a *low*. Speaking of Hubba the Dane, who was slain 878, he has these words: "Dani vero cadaver Hubbæ inter occisos invenientes, illud cum clamore maximo sepelierunt, *cumulum* apponentes, quem *Hubbelow* vocaverunt: unde sic usque in hodiernum diem locus ille appellatus est, et est in comitatu Devoniæ." Without any conjecture about the etymology of the word, it is enough to say, that, in the peak of Derbyshire, they appropriate the termination *low* to those tumuli, which, in other parts of England, are called *barrows*, and suppose them to be places of sepulture. In an old MS. chronicle, the *low* of Hubba is called a *logge*. "And when the Danes fond Hunger and Hubba deid thei bare theym to a mouutayn ther besyde, and made upon hym a *logge*, and lete call it Hubbslugh."

have seen already, are numerous in Cornwall: But the greater part of them, I believe, were Pagan-Cornish.‡ That pillars, with crosses, and often inscribed with Roman or Saxon characters, were sepulchral, though not attached to temples or churches, will admit of no reasonable doubt. In the midst of *Carraton*-down, is a single upright stone, about ten feet high, having a disk, with the figure of a cross in relief, cut on the west front. This pillar hath no inscription.§ The stone near Camelford, generally ascribed to king Arthur, (nine feet nine inches long, and two feet three inches wide) was formerly a foot bridge near Lord Falmouth's seat of Worthyvale, about a mile and

‡ On the downs, between *Porthmear* and *St. Austel*, are nearly twenty round *barrows*, several of which are in a line, and not far distant from each other. These are probably of British origin, as, in making the new road between the above places, some of them were cut through, and several of the British instruments found that are now preserved at Menabilly. Near them is a huge unhewn stone, standing upright, and almost fourteen feet in height.------" There is a most remarkable *barrow* in the parish of Veryan, which was called *Karne* originally; has therefore given name to two estates, Kearne and Kerne, now united into one; and, having been used for a mount to a beacon, is now denominated *Karne-beacon*. This is what its name imports, Karn (W. I. and C.) a heap of stones, and what Carn and Carnedd idiomatically signify in Wales, a sepulchral heap, or in other words a barrow. This is, I believe, the largest barrow in Cornwall, and one of the largest in England. And, from its magnitude, I take it to be the sepulchre of one of our old British kings. The manor of Elerky, and in it these very tenements of Kearne and Kerne, were in the hands of William the Conqueror, and were given by him to the Norman earl of Cornwall. I suppose this and the other possessions of the earldom, to have been the original demesnes of the crown. The court of our king therefore, which was undoubtedly as ambulatory in Cornwall, as it remained in Wales, must occasionally have been held here. I have already pointed out Trelonk upon one side, to have been the temporary palace of our Cornish kings at a later period. We have also on the other, *Bodrigan*; a barton in the adjoining parish of Goran, eminent for the greatness of its extent, for the park and chapel which it once had, and for the distinguished family which inhabited it (*Leland's* Itin. vol. iii. p. 31.): And a name importing it to be the Bod (C.) dwelling or abode, of Rhi (W.) Ruy (C.) Riog (A.) Righ (I.) a king. And, as the Britons appear not to have made such large barrows, after the Romans came among them; some king probably, who lived before the Romans, and resided when he died at Elerky, ordered himself to be buried here, upon the bold shores of the sea." *W. T.* v. 4. pp. 235, 236. On the high downs, on the confines between the parish of Kenwyn and manor of Trigavethan, *St. Agnes* and *Piran Sands*, are three great barrows, called *the three burrows*; and about a mile to the east of these, on very high ground, one half belonging to Trigavethan and the other two to Lanbourn in St. Piran, are four very large barrows commonly called the four burrows; the great road from London to the Land's-end passing between them, and dividing the two parishes and hundreds of Powder and Pider. These were doubtless, the burying places of some men of eminence. From the four barrows, we have a fair prospect of the north and south sea, and a large part of Cornwall. On the top of a high mountain in the parish of Gwenap, stands *Carn-marhe*; so called I presume, from its being a tumulus, wherein some earl of Cornwall was interred.

§ I might enumerate various uninscribed pillars, sometimes single, sometimes two or more together, often set up triangularly, often circularly: But they were in general anterior to the period before us. I have already mentioned the *Nine Maids* of St. Columb. In " Wendron also, by the highway, are set up, perpendicularly, in a line, about ten feet asunder, nine long moor-stones, commonly called the Nine Maids or virgin sisters, in memory of so many sister nuns, heretofore interred here," *Hals*,

half from Camelford. It was called Slaughter Bridge; as tradition says, from a bloody battle fought on this ground, fatal to king Arthur. About sixty or seventy years ago, Lady Falmouth, shaping a rough kind of hill, about one hundred yards off, into spiral walks, removed this stone from the place where it served as a bridge, and building a low piece of masonry for its support, placed it at the foot of her improvements, where it still lies in one of the natural grots of the hill. This stone is thus noticed by Carew: "For testimony of the last battle in which Arthur was killed, the old folkes about Camelford shew you a stone bearing Arthur's name, though now depraved to Atry." All this about king Arthur takes its rise from the last five letters of this inscription, which, are by some read Mag-uri, *(quasi Magni Arthuri)* and thence others will have it, that a son of Arthur was buried here. But, though history as well as tradition, affirms, that Arthur fought his last battle, in which he was mortally wounded, near this place, yet, that this inscription retains any thing of his name, is a mistake. The letters are Roman, and as follows: *Catin hic jacet—filius Magari*—From the I in *hic* being joined to the H; the H wanting its cross link; the bad line of the writing; and the distorted leaning of the letters, I conclude that this monument cannot be so ancient as the time of Arthur. Possibly the inscription may signify: "Here lies *Catinus*, the son of *Magarius*, or *St. Macharius*." It should not be forgotten, that the church of Maker is dedicated to *St. Machar*.* In the parish of *St. Clere*, about 200 paces to the eastward of Redgate, are two monumental stones which seem parts of two different crosses: They have no such relation to each other as to warrant the conclusion, that they ever contributed to form one monument. One is inscribed: the other, without an inscription is called "*the other half-stone*," seems to have been the shaft of a cross, and originally stood upright, but has latterly been thrown down, from an idle curiosity to ascertain whether any concealed treasures were beneath its base. On one of its sides are some ornamental asterisks, but no letters of any kind. Its

* "At the edge of the Goss-moor in St. Columb, there is a large stone, wherein is deeply imprinted a mark, as if it had been the impression of four horse-shoes, and is to this day called *King Arthur's Stone*. Yea, tradition tells us, they were made by king Arthur's horse's feet, when he resided at Castle-Denis, and hunted in the Goss-moor. But this stone is now overturned by some seekers for money." *Hals*, p. 64.

present length is almost eight feet; yet it seems to have been once longer, as the upper part is broken, and displays part of a mortice. The inscribed stone, nearly square, appears to have been the plinth of a monumental cross, having the words *Doniert rogavit pro anima,* inscribed on it, in similar characters to those used about the ninth century. *Doniert* is supposed to mean *Dungerth,* who was king of Cornwall, and accidentally drowned about the year 872.* Between Lestwithiel and Fowey, is the *Longstone*; an inscribed monument, in

* "Of the person here named (says Borlase) there can be no reasonable dispute, but the meaning of the inscription is doubtful. Some think, it may signify that Doniert gave those lands to some religious purpose. Cressy had the same information, and calls this "a monument very ancient," with this imperfect inscription, "Doniert gave for the benefit of his soul, namely, certain lands:" "this sollicitude," says the same author, "he had in the time of his health, for at his death he could not shew it being unfortunately drowned;" but Cressy was misinformed, for he says this monument is at Neotstow, or St. Neot's, whereas it is three miles and half distant in the parish of St. Clere. Secondly, the registring such gifts upon stone is unusual, and, I believe, in that age among the Britons without precedent; besides, the make of this stone evidently shews, that it was part of a cross, and why should the grant of lands be inscribed on a cross? Others have thought that this was a place of devotion, and that Doniert usually prayed here for the good of his soul, and erected this cross himself, being willing that his name and piety should descend together, in order, by such an illustrious example, to raise the emulation of posterity. But it was very uncommon, not to say vain, and unbecoming a sincerely religious man, to record his own acts of piety in such a manner: besides the word *Rogo,* cannot properly signify to pray to God. I rather think that Doniert desired in his life time, that a cross might be erected in the place where he should be interred, in order to put people in mind to pray for his soul. So that this is, in my opinion, a sepulchral monument; and if we take it in this sense, the word *rogavit* is proper, and the whole inscription intelligible, and according to the usage of ancient times. Christians generally placed a cross (about this time) at the beginning of inscriptions, and, I think, part of one (the corner of the stone being here broken off) may be seen in this, before the D. When praying for the dead came into use, it was a general custom, (as in the Catholic countries it is at present) to intreat all comers to pray for the soul of persons buried there; and that they might after death have (as they thought) the benefit of frequent prayers, sometimes a church or oratory was erected, at other times it was only an altar; sometimes it was a tomb-stone, that desired the prayers of the reader; and sometimes a real cross of stone; and all these memorials were said to be erected *pro anima,* for the good of their souls, because their intent was to excite the devotion of persons that passed by, in favour of the dead. When these memorials were erected by persons in their life-time, there was generally inscribed *posuit,* or *Poni curavit*; but most commonly they were erected either by the command, or at the desire of the person departed. When by the command, the word *Jussit,* was made use of; when at the desire, *Rogavit.* That the ancients erected crosses in the middle ages of Christianity, we have an instance in the inscription near Neath in Glamorganshire, in the church-yard of Lan Iltud vawr, where there are two stones as here, one inscribed, and one not. That not inscribed, is about the height of our *other half-stone*; the other stone was part of a cross, very likely the pedestal, and on one of its sides has this inscription, *Samson posuit hanc crucem pro anima ejus.* Now the meaning of this inscription is, that one Samson erected this cross for his soul, that is, that prayers might be said at this cross for the good of his soul. That people desired the erection of such monuments for their souls, and that *Rogavit* was the word used upon such occasions; we find an instance in Godwyn's catalogue of the bishops of Landaff, where, speaking of Theodorick, king of Glamorganshire's last battle against the Saxons, in which he was mortally wounded, he has these words: "Having received a wound in the head which he knew to be mortal, he hastened back into his own country, that he might expire among his friends and relations, first desiring his son, *(Rogato prius filio)* to build a church on that spot

height above eight feet. "A mile from Castledor, is a broken cross (says *Leland*†) thus inscribed: *Cunomor & filius cum Domina Clusilla.*" But Lhuyd, who was better acquainted with the old character, reads the inscription:* *Cirusius*‡ *hic jacit---Cunowori filius.* And he justly thinks the W an M reversed; as the W was not introduced till about the year 1200. This stone is incorrectly published in Camden, and also in Moyle.§ Nor do I think Borlase's representation of it perfectly characteristic. On the top of this stone there is a little trough. On the side, opposite to that inscribed, there is a cross embossed.

where he should breathe his last, (in case hes hould die on the road) and bury him also there." Here we see the dying Theodoric only *desired* the monumental church, and therefore it was not *jusso*, but *rogato filio*; and, in the case before us, I conjecture, that Doniert requested, and did not command, that this cross should be erected, and prayers said there for the good of his soul, and therefore it is *rogavit*, and not *jussit*. Whether the long-stone was placed at one end of the grave, and the inscribed pedestal with the pillar of the cross at the other end, or whether there was an oratory here, (as was erected for Theodoric) and the long-stone erected for some other person who desired to be interred near Doniert, is all uncertain. That "*hanc crucem*" should be omitted in this monument, will not seem at all strange to those who are acquainted with ancient monuments, which (contrary to the modern ones) had as few words as possible on them." *Borlase*, pp. 361, 362, 363.----"In the latter end of the reign of king Charles the Second, I, with some gentlemen, went to view this (at that time thought) barbarous inscription. Which the tinners of the contiguous country taking notice of, they presently apprehended we went thither in quest of some hidden treasure; whereupon some of them, wiser than the rest, laid their heads together, and resolved in council to be beforehand with us; and accordingly went with pickaxes and shovels, and opened the earth round about the monument to the depth of about six feet, when they discovered a spacious vault, walled about and arched over with stones, having on the sides thereof two stone seats, not unlike those in churches for auricular confession. The sight of all which struck them with consternation, or a kind of horror, that they incontinently gave over search, and with the utmost hurry and dread throwing earth and turf, to fill up the pit they made, they departed; having neither of them the courage to enter, or even to inspect into the further circumstances of the place. Which account I had from the mouths of some of the very fellows themselves. Some short while after, the loose earth by reason of some heavy rains which fell, sunk away into the vault, which occasioning also a sort of *terræ-motus* and concussion of the other earth adjoining, the said monument was at length so undermined thereby, that it fell to the ground, where it still remains. Would some gentlemen of ability and curiosity be at the charge of again opening and cleansing this under-ground chapel, or whatever else it may be denominated, it might probably afford matter of pleasing amusement, if not grand speculation, to the learned searchers into matters of antiquity. Not far from king Doniert's stone monument aforesaid, is another perpendicular moor-stone, on which is still apparent the figure of a cross; and on another not far from that is one insculped with the figure of a cross, *Tau*, or T. Which stones were without doubt sepulchral, and erected in memory of some Christians there interred before the sixth century. Without doubt, I think, this our king Doniert lived and died in his town and castle of Leskeard; where it was not lawful to bury the bodies of men until the year 700. It is moreover to be noted, with regard to the inscription on his monumental stone, that about his time it was customary to pray for departed souls." *Hals*, p. 48. For the other Half-stone, the Hurlers, and the Cheese-wring, see *Carew*, f. 128, b. 122.

† *Itin.* vol. iii. p. 26.

* As published in *Camden* from his papers, p. 18.

‡ In the idea of the neighbourhood, Cirusius is Cyrus; and the inscription relates to Cyrus or some one of his descendants in Cornwall.

§ See his Posthumous Works.

It was removed about fifty or sixty years ago from the four cross-ways a mile and half north of Fawey, and lies now in a ditch, about two "bow-shots"* farther to the north, in the way from Fawey to Castledor. Lhuyd, in a letter to Tonkin, dated at Falmouth, Nov. 29, 1700, says, that this inscription is probably of the fifth or sixth century. And Moyle† in his letter on this inscription, says, "the letters resemble the common inscriptions of the fourth or fifth century." Who this Cirusius was, I do not pretend to say; perhaps, the same who gave name to a little creek, not far from this place called Polkerys, as Lhuyd conjectures; but we have the name of Kerys in other parts of Cornwall. With respect to *Cunomorus*, I find in Rowland,‡ that Kinwarwy, son to Awy, a Lord of Cornwall, gave name to a church in Anglesea, which was built A. D. 630.‖ This seems to be the same name as Cunomorus, which, Lhuyd rightly observes, in Welsh, and so in Cornish, was written Kynvor:§ and the termination Wy was assumed, as denoting the father Awy, from whom he was descended.¶ If the Kynvor, of Rowland, were the same as Cunomorus, this monument must belong to the seventh century.** The stone which I mentioned in *St. Blazey*, as marking the limits of the Saxon conquests in Cornwall, is evidently sepulchral. It is a slender stone, seven feet six inches high, one foot six inches wide, and eight inches thick. The characters are defaced, but were legible not many years ago. "It is a singular monument, inscribed on both sides. The inscription is not to be read from the top downwards, but horizontally. There is such a mixture of the Saxon writing in the letters, a, r, s, but especially the first, that I think it must be more modern than the year 900. It is the only one of these ancient monuments that has the Saxon a; so that it can scarcely be less than 50 years below Doniert.

* If I may use a Cornish expression.

† See *Moyle*, pp. 176, ... 189. ‡ *Mon. Illust.* p. 154 ‖ Ibid. p. 189.

§ Moyle thinks it only a slip of Lhuyd's pen, when he says, it should be written in Welsh ap Kynvor, and that it should be Kynmor; but this is a mistake, the m, in composition, changing usually into a V.

¶ According to the custom of the Britons, as ap Rice, ap Howel, now Price, and Powel.

** "Gwallon Downes, heathy mountaynes nere Trewardrayth-bay, wherin as it' appeareth ther haue bene skirmishes and deadly blowes giuen, wherof ther remayne some monuments and burialls. Ther is a uerie loftie stone erected vpon a hill, for some especiall note." *Norden*, p. 56.

The inscription on the south side contains the name of the person interred, ALRORON, in three lines, with a cross before the first letter. Above the inscription there is a little compartment of net-work (consisting of diagonal transverse sulcus's) and over that a plain rectangle, shaped out by a sulcus (parallel to the edges of the stone;) which descends so far as to become footed on the astragal, that projects from the body of the stone about one inch, and goes round the whole. On the north side is net-work; above which there is a compartment that has the name of the father of Alroron in one line, VILICI, or ULLICI. The next line has a cross, and, most certainly, *filius*. The characters are much worn, and must have been at first very barbarously written. Above this inscription, the rectangle, which is plain in the south front, is here ornamented with transverse channels; so that the ornaments of this stone were purposely counterchanged. I find Eururon among the names of the Welsh nobility.* But there is reason to conjecture, that Alroron was the same name as Aldroen, (or Auldran) of which name I find a king of Armorica of British descent, the fourth from Conan-Merodac: And possibly this monument might have been erected to the memory of some one called Aldroen, but in a rough and ignorant age pronounced Alrorn, and as ignorantly written Alroron. In a little meadow adjoining to the place where this stone now stands, many human bones have been found, and I suspect that this cross may have been removed from thence."† ----- On an inscribed monument about four miles east of Michel, the letters are much worn. Read it: *Ruani hic jacet.* In

* See Powel, p. 183.

† *Antiq.* pp. 363, 364. This monument is published in Camden very erroneously, in Moyle's works better, but incorrectly. Borlase's is an accurate Icon. ----- With respect to the monumental remains in the neighbourhood of St. Austel, a very ingenious correspondent says: "In one of the mounds of earth on our downs which was lately levelled, a kind of urn was discovered, which evidently contained human ashes; many of the bones were entire, but appear to have been calcined. I am well acquainted with the man who dug this up. There is also now erect a huge stone, which we call Long-stone. It seems as though it once had some characters upon it, but they are now past recovery. There was also about half a mile from it a flat stone, with a cavity on the top; something like what it has been denominated---*a giant's hat*. But in 1798 the soldiers at camp threw it over cliff. The question with me is how came this stone in this situation? The strata, of which it was formed, evidently belong a considerable distance from that place. I have heard a long tradition about it, but too long and worthless to repeat. In the higher part of this parish there is a curious rock, known by the name of *Carne Grey Rock*. In viewing it, the mind is suspended between the attributing of it to art or nature. Does not the name of *Carne* suggest an idea worthy of pursuing? In the south of this parish *tradition* says that there is an hole which enters into the clift to the extremity of which no man ever passed; and that it passes through the county, and ends in an hole which the northern cliffs furnish. I once made an effort to discover the certainty of this report; but fatigue overcame my fortitude, and I gave it up. In the parish of St. Ewe there is a stone, which was erected perpendicularly in the

Cornwall, we have three parishes called Ruan. This name also occurs among the princes. One prince of this name was son of Maglocunus, who reigned in the latter end of the sixth century. I find three princes more of the name of Ruan, from the year 808, to 1020; and Rouan among the Britons, signifies royal, not improbably derived from the name by which the Cornish distinguished the Roman people. In the highway leading to Helston, near the parish church of *Mawgan*, stands, what is generally called Mawgan Cross. The inscription, according to Borlase, is "*Cnegumi fil-Enans.*" It is very erroneously published both in Camden and Moyle. Moyle, in a letter to Sir Richard Vyvyan, (May 12, 1715) says: "By the characters this must be above 1200 years standing, but by the first E being joined to the first N, and by the shape of the G in *Gumi*, I should take it to be two, if not three centuries later; the G being the same as we have on the monument of Doniert, evidently of the ninth century." Enans, Lhuyd tells us, is "still a common name in Wales, where this inscription would run thus, Knegwm ap Ennian." The son of Malgo, fourth king of Britany, was so called.§ In *Barlowena* bottom, as we pass from the church of Gulval to that of Maderne, there is a stone, one foot eight inches wide, one foot thick, seven feet nine inches long, lying across the brook, as a foot bridge. It is called the *Blue-bridge*, and is thus inscribed:---

Quenatau ≡ Ic-
dinui filius.

In words at length it would run---
Quenatavus Icdinui filius.

In this inscription are two sorts of the letter N, the first true Roman, the other as

midst of another square stone evidently placed there to receive it. It stands on a little bank contiguous to a common road; and has many characters engraven on it. But on the stone erect I fear they are too much obliterated to be decyphered. The horizontal stone has many characters, which are quite legible, but unknown to me. The whole of these stones are evidently different from those common crosses and ancient obelisks which are to be met with in almost every lane. The stone which stood erect has lately either by accident or design, been broken in two, near the ground; and now lies near the hedge. There is a stone in St. Blazey, which traditionally marks the limits of the Saxon conquests. About two miles farther is another stone, which has a much more modern appearance. There are characters on it in *relief*; but they are totally unknown to me. I never heard any tradition respecting it; nor know any person that ever noticed it except myself."

§ *Geff. M.* p. 97.---See *Moyle*, vol. 1. p. 250.---"An antiquary once visited Cornwall, and was introduced to Mr. Basset, then residing in Meneage, who accompanied him to the stone commonly called Mawgan Cross. On clearing the stone from the moss, the inscription was found to be *Nagui ye ena*---which Mr. Basset, who was well informed in the old Cornish language, translated: "What lieth here, is not the soul." I had this anecdote from Mr. Grose, of St, Anthony, great grandson to Mr. Basset." *Peard's MS.*

used in the sixth century; that is, as the Roman H. There are three dashes at the end of the name, ⁼, instead of one; the second I, in *filius* is linked to the L, and the S is inverted. The cross stroke in the A is not straight, but indented. These are arguments, that the alphabet, then in use, was farther departing from the Roman exactness, and consequently more distant from the Roman times. Lhuyd, in a letter to Mr. Paynter of Boskenna, thinks the person here interred, would have been called in Wales Kynadhav ap Ichdinow, and places the age of this monument near the end of the sixth century. "Not far from St. Berian, in a place called Biscauwoune, are nineteen stones set in a circle about twelve feet distant one from another: And in the centre, stands one much larger than any of the rest. One may, probably, conjecture this to have been some trophy of the Romans under the later emperors; or of Athelstan after he had subdued Cornwall." Thus Camden.* But, as bishop Gibson remarks, it is not a military trophy, but a sepulchral monument; not Roman or Saxon, but Cornish. Of cemeteries around our churches, Kennet, Spelman, and others, ascribe the origin to Cuthbert.† But among the kingdoms of the heptarchy, the churchyard was coeval with the parish-church. In this inclosure, the rites of Pagan sepulture were intermixed with christian ceremonies: And the custom of periodically decorating the graves with flowers, was still observed.‡ In Cornwall this custom is lost. But it is retained by the Welsh to this very day. In churches, also, graves were soon opened, and burying-vaults constructed; though originally confined to a few. Urn-burial was now abolished:§ And the dead body was deposited in a stone or wooden coffin. At first, the solid stone or marble coffin was most in use:

* See *Gibson's Camden*, pp. 5, 21.

† Archbishop of Canterbury; who is said to have introduced them about the year 753. *Kennet's* Par. Antiq. p. 592. *Spelman's* Concil. tom. i. p. 2.

‡ *Bede*, lib. i. cap. 33. lib. ii. c. 3.

§ "I have received information, from one auerring eye-witnes, that about fourscore yeres since, there was digged vp in the parish chauncell of St. Stephen's, a leaden coffin, which being opened, shewed the proportion of a verie bigge man, but when the hands went about to ascertaine themselues, as well as their eyes, the body verified, that *Omnis caro puluis*. The partie farder told me, how, a writing graued in the lead, expressed the same to bee the burial of a duke, whose heire was maried to the prince. But who it shold bee, I cannot deuise, albeit my best pleasing coniecture, lighteth vpon Orgerius, because his daughter was married to Edgar." *Carew*, f. 111. b.

And it was, often, curiously wrought. In St. Neot's church, is a stone-casket eighteen inches by fourteen, said to contain such remains of St. Neot as were not carried into Huntingdonshire. This casket was, possibly, reserved from the ruins of the ancient church. Mr. Whitaker gives us a curious account of a stone coffin at Ruan-Lanyhorne.‖ Of the wooden coffin, perhaps, the oldest instance on record, was that of

‖ "In 1778, when Mr. Whitaker came to reside in the parish, by the greater church-style lay a stone-coffin, which had lain there immemorially, and had formerly contained (I believe) the body of the founder. It was of moorstone, with a slight hollow near the top for the head to lie in, with an enlargement at the shoulders, with a piece lost at the feet, and without any cover to the whole. A coffin of stone at once marks the dignity of the person buried, and the antiquity of the burial. The stone coffin appears to have been the only kind of coffin, used for people of consequence among the Saxons. This appears very plain upon a remarkable passage in Bede's history. Ædilthryd, the daughter of Cuna king of the East-Angles and wife of Egfrid king of Northumbria, became abbess of Ely nunnery, and died. "Rapta est autem ad Dominum," says Bede, "in medio suorum, post annos septem ex quo abbatissæ gradum susceperat; et æque *ut ipsa jusserat*, non alibi quam in medio eorum, juxta ordinem quo transierat, *ligneo* in locello sepulta." She ordered the wooden coffin, in the same strain of humility, in which she had in her lifetime, "nunquam lineis, sed solum laneis, vestimentis uti voluerit; raroque calidis balneis—uti voluerit, et tunc *novissima omnium*, lotis prius, *suo* suarumque ministrarum *obsequio*, cæteris quæ ibi essent famulis Christi." But, sixteen years afterwards, the new abbess determined in honor of her, "levari ossa ejus, et in *locello novo* posita in ecclesiam transferri." But what was the new coffin, intended for her? It was to be of *stone*. "Jussit—quosdam [de] fratribus quærere *lapidem*, de quo locellum in hoc facere possent." A coffin of stone alone, one that would be durable and permanent, was thought of in this act of honourable justice to the remains of Ædilthryd. This alone would be competent in the ideas of the age, to a person of such consequence from her birth, her rank, and her sanctity; even when the country for many miles around, afforded not a single quarry. The brethren commissioned by the abbess, were to *seek* for such a stone, as could be shaped into a coffin for her, by *the labour of their own hands*. They knew there was none to be found, in the isle of Ely. They therefore took boat, and crossed over to the main land (as it were) of Cambridgeshire. "Ascensa nave, ista enim regio Elge undique est aquis ac paludibus circumdata, neque lapides majores habet; venerunt ad civitatulam quandam desolatam, non procul inde sitam, quæ lingua Anglorum Grantacaestir vocatur," Grantchester near Cambridge, about eighteen miles from Ely. So far did they go in quest of a proper stone for her coffin! So necessary in their opinion was a coffin of stone, for the royal saints. "Mox invenerunt juxta muros civitatis, *locellum de marmore albo* pulcherrime factum, *operculo* quoque similis lapidis aptissime tectum." They carried this to the abbess. Her body was put into it. The whole was found just fit for her: And the place for the head exactly suited her head. "Mirum vero in modum ita aptum corpori virginis sarcophagum inventum est ac si ei specialiter preparatum fuisset, et locus quoque *capitis scorsum fabrefactus*, ad mensuram capitis illius aptissime figuratus apparuit." This passage shews us the Saxon practice very livelily, of repositing their principal personages in coffins of stone, and of making a hollow in the coffin like ours, for the reception of the head. The founder of our church, therefore, would be sure to be inclosed in such a coffin; and to be interred within it in the chapel, which he had built equally for his devotions and his sepulture. There he was unwittingly disturbed, I apprehend, at the interment of Richard Trestean. The old coffin was taken up, to make way for the new one; was broken in digging it up, I suppose; and the original contents were mixed with the common earth. The coffin was then laid on the outside of the churchyard. A blacksmith drove a staple into it, and by the staple fastened his horses to the coffin while he shod them. And it now lies a few yards from the churchyard, turned upon its face, and supporting the side of the narrow road to the mill." *W. T.* pp. 100, 101. "March, 1761. As some of our tinners were employed in a new mine near Tregoney, one of them accidentally struck his pickaxe on a stone: The earth being removed, they imagined from its size that it was a rock, but some characters being perceived on a more close inspection together with its shape and hollow sound when struck, made them conclude it to be (what

king Arthur. It was an entire trunk of oak, hollowed out: The monk of Glastonbury calls it, *Sarcophagus ligneus.*¶ To distinguish the graves, and commemorate the dead, stones were placed perpendicularly or horizontally, with appropriate inscriptions: And the altar-tomb was raised, with various devices. There seems to have been a tomb of this sort, at *Camborne.* In this parish, a little without the churchyard, lies a flat stone, three feet five inches long, by two feet nine inches wide. It was either in the church, I conceive, or in some oratory or chauntry more ancient than the church, and now demolished. And there it must have served, as a covering to an altar, at which prayers were said for the good of the soul of the man whose name it bears. The inscription, surrounded with a fillet of wreath-work, is as follows: *Leuiut jusit hec Altare pro anima sua.* From the character being mixed with the Saxon, I judge it to be nearly coeval with Alroron; the writing being equally bad, the letter r, exactly the same, and the latin barbarous. *Leuiut* is a Cornish name, and signifies pilot, or sailor.----Of the famous *Bolleit* monument* in St. Berian church, Mr. Moyle informs Dr. Musgrave that he knows not the age; inclosing to the Doctor a copy of a letter from Dr. Conant to Dr. Paynter, of Exeter college, on this curious

on opening it proved) a coffin. On the removal of the lid they discovered a skeleton, a man of gigantic size, which on admission of the air mouldered into dust. One entire tooth remained whole, which was two inches and half long and thick in proportion: the length of the coffin was eleven feet three inches, and depth, three feet nine." *Ann. Reg.* vol. 4, p. 88.

¶ "Arthur, the valorous vpholder of the ruinous state of Britaine against the Saxons about the yeare 500. was buried secretly at Glastenberie, lest the enemy should offer indignity to the dead body, and about 700. yeres after when a graue was to be made in the churchyard there, a stone was found betweene two pyramides deepe in the ground with a crosse of lead infixed into the lower part thereof, and inscribed in the inner side of the crosse in rude characters, which the Italians now call Gotish letters. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLYTVS REX ARTVRIUS IN INSVLA AVALONIA. Vnder which in a trough of oke were found his bones, which the monkes translated into the church, and honored them with a tombe, but dishonoured him with these hornpipe verses.

Hic iacet Arturus flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem morum probitas commendat laude perenni." *Camden's Remains*, p. 950.

* "About twenty years ago (says *Hals)* the sexton of this parish, sinking a grave four feet deep in the ground, met with a large flat marble or other stone; which he lifted up out of the earth; and thereon was cut, or engraved, a long plain cross, surmounted on four grieces or steps. On the border of which stone was an inscription, in an antient character, and difficult to be read, which the curious have found to be Norman-French, running thus in English:---

subject.‡ In St. Berian there is a place called *Bolleit*, to which the inscription evidently refers.

5. Such were our *civil* and *military*, and our *religious* structures. And, wherever these edifices were of considerable importance; there were other subordinate houses built around them, or in their vicinity. Among the ancient Britons, the mansion of the chief was encircled by the cottages of a vassal-peasantry. And, in the times before and after the conquest, our palaces and castles looked down, in proud magnificence, on circumjacent buildings; the number or size of which was determined by the dignity of the manerial lord or earl or prince. In the same manner, the cathedral, or the convent, drew to its centre, various people, whose habitations were seen rising around it, in proportion to its celebrity. Even the parish-church had its

Jane the Wife of Geffery de Bolait lies
here. Whosoever shall pray for her Soul shall
have Five Days Pardon. M. LX: IX." † *Hals*, p. 42.

* The monument at Berian (says *Lhuyd* in a letter to Tonkin) in the last edition of Camden, is somewhat erroneous, as you will find by the draught I here send you. The true reading is----' *Clarice la Femme Cheffrei De Bolleit Git icy: Deu de L'alme eit mercy*; *E ke pur le alme punt, di ior de pardun averund.* Clarice the wife of Geffrey de Bolleit lies here; God on her soul have mercy: And whoever shall pray for her soul, shall have ten days pardon."

‡ "*A Copy of Dr.* CONANT's *Letter to Dr.* PAYNTER, *Rector of Exeter College.*

" Good Sir, *Kidlington*, May 29, 1698.

' In Dr. Savage's Balliofergus, p. 72. I read, " There's one marble grave-stone in the church of St. Burien, near the Land's-End in Cornwal; which having a cross on it, the people take it to be some Dean's grave-stone, (for the parson is now called dean of Burien, and it had once prebendaries too, as Mr. Camden writes;) but that it is no such matter that which is engraven in the border thereof doth sufficiently testify. The true reading thereof may be this

Clarie la femme Geffrei
De * Bolleit gist icy
Dieu de l' ame ayez mercie
Qui prient pour l'ame auront
Dix Jours de Pardon en ce mond."

I showing my transcription to a gentleman, a Roman Catholick, and an antiquary, asked him, ' Who promised those ten day's pardon to whomsoever should pray for her soul?' He answered, ' That it was a traditional thing, and *ad*

† " A learned gentleman has observed to me, that this tomb was set up soon after the conquest, when they used not to put the date; and that the inscription runs thus in English:---

The Wife of Henry de Bollen lies here.
God of her Soul have Mercy.
They that pray for her soul shall have
..... Days Pardon." Brice upon Hals, p. 42.

* " Bolleit is a place in this parish I had occasion to know, accompanying some friends that have estates in the parish." Dr. Savage.

attractions: And in Cornwall, the buildings near the church, whether mean huts or spacious houses, whether a little hamlet, or a large village, are, emphatically, called the *church-town*. Here, then, we recognize the origin of our *towns*. The greater part of our towns were the offspring of castles, or fortresses. These fortresses were raised on natural or artificial hills: And the hills had, long before, been *burrows*, or else resembled burrows. Hence our *burrow*-towns.* For the architecture of our towns, the houses were, in general, low and small; consisting in some parts of Cornwall of earth or cob, thatched with reed; in others, of stone, such as the country afforded; particularly slate, in the district of the slate quarries.§ We know not, that the town of STRATTON owed its birth to any fortress; but it sprung up from the military works of the Romans. For the most part, one long *street*, and a great thoroughfare; it was the *Stratum* of the Romans, and the *Stratone* of Domesday: And standing at the head of a hundred, it hath thus secured its dignity, through ages.---CAMELFORD was a part of the possessions of the earls and dukes of Cornwall: Its rank, therefore, as a borough, may be ascribed to their munificence or caprice: And its architectural honours have, doubtless, kept pace with its parliamentary .---Under the shadow of its castle, also, was erected the town of LAUNCESTON; where or when precisely, may be a fair topic for conjecture.†----From the castle of *Trematon*, SALTASH derives

placitum sculptoris, who might have put an hundred days as well as ten, if he had pleased. Looking into Mr. Gibson's additions to Camden, I find the grave-stone with the cross, and the very words above, I verily think, round the border thereof, in their antient letters, and written with the usual contractions of those times. I wonder he takes notice of no other legible word but Bolleit, since the two next words git icy are as plain, and many others. The letters there printed are not so truly shaped as in the draft of that grave-stone which your kinsman of Pensance was pleased to give me, when we were upon the place. I remember we all could read Bolleit, and it may be some other words; but could not go through with it as Dr. Savage hath done.' *Moyle's* Works, pp. 244, 247.

* Otherwise, *Burrow*, or *Burg*, may come from Πυργος, a tower, or castle.

§ Even in London all the houses of mechanics were built of wood and covered with straw, towards the end of the twelfth century: So that the Norman architecture reached not private houses in general, conspicuous as it was in churches and other public buildings.

† "The town of Launceston (says *Borlase*) was first built by Edulphus, brother to Alpsius, Duke of Devon and Cornwall, about the year 900, but the castle must be much more ancient, for the town was evidently built for the sake of the castle, to be near the residence of the prince, not the castle to guard the town. Of this there are several proofs; the high hill on which the keep stands is a certain evidence that it was shap'd in the manner we see it, before the town could be form'd, for where there are houses so thick, it would be madness to think of erecting a work of this kind. The hill for the keep must be certainly the first thing considered in all such works, for to make

its origin. This town I have already described as situated on the side of a steep hill, near the banks of the Tamar, from which the principal street runs at right angles.

such a hill after other fortifications, and after a town was built would be tearing every thing to pieces. The garretted walls which went round the town, are manifestly nothing more than a continuation of the walls of the castle. In the church of the town, there is not the least mark of antiquity, the church being no older than Henry VII. as by the date 1511 on the church-porch appears. The only thing favouring of antiquity in all the town is a door-case, carved according to the manner of the Saxons, and this was likely removed from the buildings of the castle, or from the collegiate church of St. Stephen's, for where it stands at present, it has no building near it to which it has any correspondence, or can bear the least relation. So that the town is modern in comparison of the castle, and was built for it to enjoy the benefit of the prince's court, and to accommodate the persons resorting to it. This court was in the castle, which has large and royal jurisdiction still, entirely separate and distinct from the corporation of the town, having its own hereditary constable who had a house in the bass-court, (temp. Eliz. Carew 117) and lived there." *Antiq.* p. 328. "The ancient town of *Dunheved*, (says *Tonkin)* stood at the distance of about half a mile to the S. S. W. of the present town of Launceston, in a moorish piece of ground, facing the west at the bottom of the hill on which Mr. Samuel Line has built his pleasure-house, and enclosed a bowling-green, where is a very pretty prospect of the vale below to the east and the course of the river Tamar. It is parcel of the commons belonging to the freemen of Launceston. I went purposely to view the ruins of this town, in 1731. On the spot where the ruins appear, are three wells, which I suppose are from the same spring, being pretty close together; and are, as I take it, the head of that small river that runs by Tresmarow, Lanleke, Landew, &c. below which it hath a handsome stone bridge, and soon after falls into the Tamar. So that the old town had in this respect, the advantage of the new one, as being well supplied with water, which is much wanted in the latter. By the ruins, it does not appear to have been of any considerable size; though indeed all the stones of any value have probably been carried off, from time to time, to build the present town, and the rest employed in the many small inclosures of meadows, there." *Tonkin's* MS. "Launceston is a respectable and populous town, pleasantly situated on an eminence and steep declivity, near the central part of the eastern side of the county. Its ancient name was *Dunheved*, the *Swelling Hill*; but its present appellation, according to Borlase, signifies, in mixed British, the *Church of the Castle*. The latter structure is the most important object in the town, to which, in all probability, it gave origin. Its mouldering walls surround a considerable extent of ground, and prove it to have been a very strong and important fortress. The principal entrance was from the south-west, through a fortified passage upwards of 100 feet in length. At the end of this stood the great gate, the arch of which was pointed, but is now somewhat imperfect. This led to a smaller gate, with a round arch, opening into the base-court, which is partly covered with modern buildings. In the area of the base-court is a lofty hill, of a conical form, which appears to be partly artificial, and partly natural. On the summit of this hill stands the ruined walls of the keep, or citadel. The ascent originally commenced at a semi-circular tower near the south-west angle of the base court, and continued through a covered way, seven feet wide, now in ruins. The keep consists of three wards, each surrounded with a circular wall. The thickness of the outer wall, or parapet, is not more than three feet. The second wall is about six feet from the former, near four times as thick, and also considerably higher. From this wall, a stair-case, with a round arch at the entrance, leads to the top of the ramparts. The inner wall is ten feet in thickness, and thirty-two feet high from the floor of the inclosed area, the diameter of which is about eighteen feet. This space was divided into two rooms, above which was another floor, where two large openings to the east and west served, apparently, both as windows, and as passages to the innermost rampart, to which also a winding stair-case leads, that commences near the entrance to the centrical ward. The whole diameter of the keep is ninety-three feet, and the height of the parapet above the base-court one hundred and four. The diameter of the base of the hill is upwards of three hundred feet. The county gaol, a spacious assize hall, a chapel, and other buildings, formerly stood within the area of the base-court, but these have all been taken down, except the gaol, which retains its situation on the south-west side, near the bottom of the hill. At the southern angle is a round tower, generally denominated the witches' tower. The building of this castle has been attributed to William earl of Moreton and Cornwall, the son and heir of Robert, earl of Moreton, to whom two hundred and eighty-eight manors in this county were given by

The foundation of the town is a solid rock, and the buildings are composed of the native stone. The houses rise one above another, in a quick ascent, to the summit of the hill, on which stands the chapel and the *mayoralty-hall. On the brow of the hill is an old conduit, or covered spring. The streets are narrow, and but indifferently built.----ST. GERMAN'S, though now an inconsiderable borough-town (the inhabitants of which derive their chief support from fishing) was in the days of which I am treating, the seat of episcopal grandeur. Whilst we trace some towns from castles, we deduce St. German's from its cathedral. It is pleasantly situated near a branch of the Lynher creek, on the ascent of a hill, which rises to a considerable height on the south side. The houses, which do not exceed sixty, are disposed in one street, which, from the nature of the ground, runs nearly parallel with the roof of the church.----LESKEARD (whose origin I suppose was in its castle) is partly situated on rocky hills, and partly in a bottom: and through this inequality of the ground, the streets have the appearance of studied irregularity. The basement stories of the houses are as much diversified as the

William the Conqueror. But this opinion is most probably erroneous, as the style of workmanship exhibited in several parts of the remains, is apparently of a much earlier date. The walls of the keep, in particular, have every appearance of being considerably more ancient; and, from a retrospective view of the events that have happened in this county, the conjecture appears to be fully warranted, that its foundation is as remote as the sime of the Britons, who would undoubtedly endeavour to defend their territory both from Roman and Saxon usurpation, by fortifying the more advanced and important situations. The most, therefore, that can with certainty be attributed to the above earl, is the repairing and extending the fortifications. *Carew*, in his Survey of Cornwall, published in 1602, mentions the finding, about sixty years before, "of certain leather coins in the castle walls, whose fair stamp and strong substance till then resisted the assaults of time." These singular coins, if they had either been preserved, or their impressions had been copied, might have thrown some light on the age of the building, as money of similar *substance* was employed by Edward the First in erecting Caernarvon castle in Wales, "to spare better bullion." Some Roman coins have likewise, according to Borlase, been found in this neighbourhood; so that it is not unlikely that the Romans had possession of this fortress, which, from its situation near the ford of the river Tamar, was a fort of great importance. The æra in which the town was founded, or, at least, began to assume a regular form, is better determined. This was about the year 900. Its foundation is ascribed to Edulphus, brother to Alpsius, duke of Devon and Cornwall. No remains of its antiquity are, however, extant; but a Saxon arch, or door-case, which now forms the entrance to the White-Hart inn, and displays some neat ornamental carving. This is supposed to have been removed from the castle; or else to have been part of an ancient priory of the order of St. Augustine, originally established here by Warlewast, bishop of Exeter, but afterwards removed to the opposite side of the river, which flows under the hill. The town was formerly surrounded by a wall; and two Gothic gates are yet standing at the south and north entrances." *Britton*, pp. 358 .....362.

* The mayoralty-hall was erected about thirty years ago, and is supported on several pillars: The market is held in the space beneath.

streets, the foundations of some buildings being on a level with the chimnies of others.---FAWEY, in the time of the Conqueror, was the property of Robert, earl of Mortaigne; but in the reign of Richard the First, was possessed by Robert Cardinan, or Cardinham, who bestowed it on the priory of Trewardreth, of which he is the the reputed founder. It was then but "a small *fischar*-town."----LESTWITHIEL owes its existence to the castle of Restormel.§----Perhaps BODMIN (the house or houses of stone) was so called from having been one of the first towns in Cornwall, built with stone. It chiefly consists of one long street, running east and west; some part of which is unevenly paved; and the eastern end of it dangerously narrow. This place has for many centuries been falling into decay. It was one of the largest towns in Cornwall in the time of Henry the Eighth. And if we ascend to the Norman and Saxon period, we shall acknowlege its superiority to most places in Cornwall, from its churches, chapels, priories, and hospitals.‖ Contiguous to the black tower, was, in the Saxon times, a populous street.----TREGONEY is an ancient town, situated on the river Fal, and was, probably, the first settlement on this branch of the harbour. Its situation and name correspond with the Itinerary of Richard. Though some small traces of Roman workmanship may still be found, yet the more prominent characters of a military station are obliterated. The old town

§ "The *Uzella* of Ptolemy, says *Britton*, is reputed to have been on the site, or in the vicinity, of this town; and both Camden and Borlase have expressed themselves in favor of this opinion; but neither Roman remains, nor the discovery of antiquities, have been adduced by either to support their arguments. Camden supposes the ancient town to have stood on the high hill now occupied by the very strong fortress of Restormel, and the voice of tradition is correspondent: yet no remnants of walls, nor foundations of buildings, can be found to confirm the conjecture; and whether Lostwithiel was a Roman station, or originally seated at a distance from the place now bearing its name, is equally uncertain. The present town is situated in a narrow valley, on the western banks of the river Fawy, which receives the tide, and is navigable at a short distance above the town. The houses are principally disposed in two streets, running parallel from the river to the bottom of a steep hill, which rises to a great height on the west. All the buildings are of stone, and mostly covered with slate, which is obtained in great abundance, and large slabs, in the neighbourhood. At a little distance south of the church are the external walls of an old building called the Palace, which was anciently a residence of the dukes of Cornwall, but is now converted into the stannary prison. This fabric was once very extensive; but great part of its former site is now occupied by timber-yards. The walls are extremely thick, and, like many ancient castles, seem to have been constructed with small stones, fixed by a liquid cement, which is now become harder than the stone itself. The principal building is supported on a wide stone arch; and the whole is strengthened by large buttresses." *Britton*, pp. 407, 408.

‖ "The town of Bodmyn takith king Ethelstane for the chief erector and gyver of privileges to it." *Itin.* vol. 3, f. 77.

was seated on the low ground, at the bottom of the hill on which the present one was built: but even this exhibits strong symptoms of depopulation, as many of the houses are in ruins. This town was formerly a place of some consequence, but fell to decay when Truro began to flourish, and attract its trade and population.*----The church-town of RUAN appears to have been once, more considerable than it now is. The

* "*Tregoney castle* was in existence, when Norden wrote. "It is a verie poore towne, graced sometymes with *Pomery castle*, the *ruynes whereof yet speake*, as *they* lie *altogether rent* on *the topp* of a mounte." P. 64. "Tregoney, wher yn *is an old castel* and *a paroch chyrch of St. James* standing yn a *more* by the castel; also a [chapel] standing yn the myddes of the towne, and at the est end of the town a paroch chyrche." *Itin.* v. vii. p. 120. "Tregony. Alien priory. The advowson of the priory of Tregony, as belonging to the abbey De Valle, in Normandy, is mentioned *fin. div. com.* 52. *Henry* 3. n. 18. This priory, with the advowson of the churches of Tregony and Biry, were made over A. D. 1267, by the abbot and convent De Valle in dioec. Bajoc. to the prior and convent of Merton," in Surry. *Tanner*. This priory remains in a small doorway of stone with a peaked arch, fronting the street, on the left side of the street as you enter the town from the west, almost opposite to the castle-mount. Thus the church of Tregoney came into the patronage of the priory of Merton, and continued under it to the last. It therefore went not over, as Hals says it did go, into the jurisdiction of Bodmin priory. At the dissolution, it was still impropriated to the priory of Merton and thus became the property of the Prideauxs." *W.T.* v. 4. p. 196. "Tregoney must have had, originally, a superiority over all the harbour of Falmouth. This was the *very first* town, upon an arm of the harbour. This was upon the *main* arm, and upon the *denominating* river. *It* was called *Cenia*, as the *harbour* was called *Cenionis Ostium*. The *southern* road of the Romans in this county, accordingly terminates at Cenia, now Tre-geney or Tre-goney; more properly *that* than *this*, as it is popularly denominated *Tregney*, the castle upon the Cenia, the present Fal. The *northern* and *middle* road range united, as our great road ran within these very few years, through *Camelford* to *Wadebridge* (a certain station of the Romans, if we may judge from the road, the distance, and the river); to *St. Columb*, (the station being, as I now begin to think, Castell-an-Danis, from the course of the road, the length of the distance, and the way of approach to and from it) to *White-street*, near the Four Burrows (a name that indicates in the strongest manner the existence of a Roman road here, and a place that I pitch upon for a station, as being at a proper interval), and to *Bossens*, the Roman fort at St. Erth, which was discovered by Dr. Borlase. And Truro is equally neglected by both roads, as not yet in existence. Tregoney thus existed at a time, when Truro was not yet in contemplation; was in possession of the river Fal and its harbour of Falmouth, when it could have no rival; and was the natural, the original proprietor of all. It took its very name from the river, and held the very name of the river in communion with the harbour. The relation of all the three to each other, was proclaimed in the relativeness of the names of all. And the town of Cenia, the first upon the river Cenia, and the only one for ages, enjoyed the sovereignty of the river all down its current to its mouth, without a rival or the possibility of a rival for all those ages. That Tregoney, though now deserted (as it were) by the waters of its river and the tide of its harbour, was once in the full enjoyment of both; is evident from a train of concurrent evidences. Its river is much more considerable in itself, than either of the currents of Truro; therefore carries its own name over all the three, as they mingle together; and continues it even down to their common exit into the sea. But then, as ranging over a larger extent of ground, and as particularly traversing the heaths and moors of St. Stephen's, St. Dennis, and St. Roche; it lay much nearer to the stream-works, and was much more exposed to injuries from them. Such it must have received very early, stream-works being very naturally the original mines of the county for tin; as they were formerly of gold amid the sands of the Pactolus and the Tagus, and as they are still of the same metal on the coast of Africa. Accordingly, a stream-work of tin was found about three years ago, to have been anciently prosecuted in St. James's moor near Tregoney, close to the current of the Fal, and *under the very walls of the ancient churchyard there*. But the Fal is still receiving these injuries, even now; the law that passed about two hundred and

tradition, which speaks of Trelonk being a city, speaks also at times of Ruan being so. It extends its dimensions equally with those of Trelonk, up to Reskivers. There is

sixty years ago, against the practice of stream-works, only serving to show the practice prevailing then, and to check it for a season; Leland repeatedly shewing it, about the same period; and the present times beholding the practice renewed, without any attempt to stop it, and feeling the injuries occasioned by it, in a patient sort of serenity that is hopeless of a remedy. And the mischief produced by these continued injuries of ages, is strongly marked in the successive recesses of the sea from Tregoney. "The maine streame" from Falmouth harbour, says *Leland*, iii. 28. "goith up---*ebbing and flowing*, and *a quarter of a mile above* is the towne of Tregony. Here is a bridge of stone aliquot [arcuum] upon Fala river." "From Tregony," he adds, "to passe downe *by the body of the haven of Falamuth*, to the *mouth* of *Lanyhorne* creeke or hille on *the south-est side* of *the haven*, is a two miles." Leland here shews the spring-tide in his time, to have reached up within one quarter of those miles from Tregoney, of which two measure the distance along the river from Tregoney to Lanyhorne creek. Now this distance is about *three* miles in reality. And the spring-tide at present flows about *a mile and a half* above the creek, even about the middle point of Lanyhorne wood; and so comes not within *a mile and a half* of Tregoney bridge. In the period therefore that has elapsed since Leland wrote, about two hundred and fifty years, the tide has receded about *two thousand* and *fifty-four* yards; from about Porter's Gate, the boundary of Ruan Lanyhorne parish to the east, to or about Woodhouse, the house at Lanyhorne wood in that parish. This forms a retreat of about *eight* yards in a year, by taking the whole period in one view; overleaping all the long intermission of stream-works, that commenced immediately after the law above; and throwing the very great retreat of late years, in an equal proportion over the past. But we can trace this retreat, to a higher period than Leland's. "Tregoney," he says in another place (v. vii. p 129.) "is *at* the *olde* ful *se marke*." A recent tradition, the tradition of knowledge, and the tradition of memory, being mediately or immediately communicated to Leland, and so sure as to leave no doubt upon his mind, and no diffidence upon his pen; told him that the sea had come much higher than the boundary of Ruan parish, and had even reached up to the very bridge of Tregoney. And this was so loud and so distinct, that it actually engaged the notice of a passing traveller, and even fixed itself among his travelling notices in his Itinerary. But we can advance still higher, in chace of the flowing tide. "Formerly," says Hals, "the sea ebbed and flowed *above* Tregoney bridge, and St. James's chapel, *as the shells and sand there still to be seen*, and *tradition*, inform us." (Parochial History, p. 80.) The tradition, which had sounded so much in the ears of Leland, was faintly echoed back to Hals, we see. But his own eyes saw the truth of it. He marked the shells of the sea, lying in the current of the river, and accompanied with the sand of the sea to bed them. And he very properly deduced from the sight of both, this important information; that "formerly the sea ebbed and flowed *above* Tregoney bridge." Yet the tide will float us still higher up the channel. "One of these tenements is called Halbott," says Tonkin, "which is an abbreviation of Hale-boat. '"Below Probus churche,'" saith Norden, but it is in St. Cuby parish, '"is a rock called Hayle-boate-rocke, wherein to this day are many great iron rynges, whereunto boates have been tyed; now noe show of a *haven*, but a little brooke,'" this is however the river Fale, which surely deserves a better name than that of a little brook, '"runneth in the valley'" (Descript. of Cornwall, p. 61.) It is a great rock of a sort of dun stone, (meaning, I suppose, a down or moor-stone, which it actually is) at the head of a pretty large level, full of stream-works, which (probably) together with them higher up in the river, have choaked up the passage of the sea. There are no rings of iron at present, nor the signs or places of any. One may however judge by the situation and face of the country, that *the sea came up here*, and *much higher*, according to the *common tradition*." This rock, so memorable from its name, its tradition, and the history accompanying both, I visited on January the 29th, 1789, upon account of all. I found it a double rock, a higher and a lower. In the lower are two or three round holes still existing, notwithstanding what Mr. Tonkin has asserted, in which the rings probably were placed; and one of them consisting of two holes together, for the two fangs of a forked ring. The ground below is all a marsh, up to the river Fal, which is about two hundred yards off; and along both sides of a brook that here parts the two parishes of Cuby and Creed, and then ends in the Fal. The rock is on the Cuby side, standing at the very extremity of the parish, and facing to the brook.

much confusion, no doubt, in all this; but there is some truth. It particularly describes the buildings of Ruan, to have stretched on along the high road up

At this rock, said "the common tradition" in the days of Mr. Tonkin, and so says still, were the boats fastened, which plied upon the tide of this river, when the tide came up it to this place. This was so notorious an occurrence, and the rock was so much the mooringe station for boats, that the rock even took the appellation of Hal-bot-rock, or the rock to which boats were hauled. Nor was this name confined to the rock. It was a place of so much celebrity, that it lent its name to an adjoining house, and a tenement near it was denominated Halbott, equally with itself. Nor is this all. We have even ocular testimony in favour of the whole. Norden wrote about half a century after Leland. And in the rock, he tells us expressly, "to *this* day *are many great* iron rynges, whereunto boates have bene tyed." This is so clear, express, and peremptory, that there is no *logical* possibility of doubting it. But let me subjoin to this, that, as Mr. Tonkin informs us, "the sea came up here, *and much higher*, according to the common tradition." The voice of tradition is so indistinct and faint, in *this* particular; by speaking with a vague generality of expression only, and not specifying any one point higher, to which the tide went; that I should not have rested a moment upon it. But there is a fact, that comes in as an useful auxiliary to the feeble tradition. Charles Trevanion, esq. of Crega, in Cuby parish, procured an act of parliament in the 19th of Charles the Second, for executing a plan, that he had formed in consequence of the tradition probably at first, and upon a survey of the river assuredly afterwards; to make the Fal navigable up to Tregoney, up to Haleboat rock, and even "much higher," even "as far as *Crowe-hill* in *St. Stephen's*." His "first summer's work seemed to favour his design, bringing the *salt* water by *two or three* sluices *above* Tregny bridge." But the winter-floods swept away his sluices, the walls being built upon oozy ground. He began again, and again had the same fate. He thus went on, "for about the space of *twenty* years." And at last with compassion and sorrow we find, that he "*hath* spent the greatest part of his fine estate, and given over his undertaking, as too difficult and unprofitable an enterprize." (Hals, p. 81.) This consummates the evidence on the point. All the testimonies unite together, and form an authoritative kind of testimony, that fastens in a full conviction on the mind. The Fal *was* what Leland therefore calls it, "the body of the haven of Falamuth," from Tregony down "to the mouth of Lanyhorne creek, or hill, on the south-east side of the *haven*." This, and the whole stream, was the haven to the seaport town of Tregoney. The vessels that went to sea, lay along this reach of the river, and lay securely moored in their haven. The tall banks on each side of that hollow, in which the river now runs, show us the natural boundaries of the rising tide originally, the breadth of its current, and the depth of its waters. But Tregoney had also another haven above the bridge, like London at present; and, like it, for boats only. These were employed, I suppose, in bringing up the cargoes from the vessels below, to the warehouses on the quay; and in transporting them up the stream, for sale. Those employed in the former work, would naturally be moored along the quay; and only such, as were engaged in the latter, be moored at the rock above. These however must have been very numerous, to give so significant a name to the rock, and to extend it even to the house and land adjoining. The house indeed stood assuredly in a near relation, as well as near proximity, to the rock; was what we now call in our idle affectation of French terms, a great *depot*, or station for the landing of wares; and was latterly perhaps the highest, that the merchants of Tregoney had up the river. It is, says Mr. Tonkin, "at the *head* of a pretty large levell." And the numerous boats that belonged to this *depot*, were hauled up the brook at high water, were moored fast to the rock, and so lay out of the course of the navigation and the current of the tide. In this state was Tregoney, I believe, from the time of the Romans; exercising its natural sovereignty over all the haven of Falmouth; over the whole length of its own river, from the full sea-mark above, to the mouth of it below. It thus grew up to be, what tradition loves fondly to tell it was, a very considerable town. The best part of the town then ranged along St. James's Moor, and upon the low banks of the river. The quay formed an embankment to the river there. The church which has given name to the whole moor, was the sole church of the borough. A street of houses, says tradition, ran down northward from the high ground of the present town to it. And the whole town, as tradition adds, reached from the western foot of its own hill, and beyond its own brook there, up the steep hill on the south, and quite to the present village of Reskivers; about a mile in length, of mere

to Tregoney. The circumstantiality of this notice, is remarkable. Though tradition has exaggerated the point, by intermixing the history of Tregoney with its

suburbs. From this dignity has Tregoney been thrown down, merely by the loss of its navigation. This was effected by the continual operation of the ruinous stream-works. Beginning in the earliest period of our inquisitions after tin, they were pursued with increasing industry, I believe, till a law was obliged to be made, in order to terminate them for ever. In this long flight of ages, we may judge of the accumulated injuries sustained by the river; from what we see it receiving at present, when the operations have been resumed again in spite of the law, and all the navigation of the Fal for miles below Tregoney, is threatened with an instant destruction. As the advance of the tide to and beyond Tregoney, was checked by the descent of sand from the stream-works; the flow of it was gradually diminished. The tide could no longer push up to Halboat-rock. The *depot* was ruined; and the boats were sent lower down the stream. But the contraction of the tide still attended them. The cause was actively at work, and the effects were mournfully felt. As the tide grew feebler and feebler in its inroads into the land, it grew shallower and shallower in the depth of its waters. The vessels could no longer ply up to the bridge. The boats above it were now all engaged below. In time even these could not come up to the quay. The salt water did not reach it. It even came so little near it, that the head of fresh water which its efforts kept up in the channel above, was not sufficient for them. Tregoney thus ceased, to be a seaport town any longer. It was excluded from its own harbour. Its quay was deserted as useless. Its warehouses, its street, and its church, were left to crumble into ruins. An angular fragment of this was existing within these three or four years, when some miners, in their searches for tin, threw down the last remains of it, ransacked the ground below it, found only a few remains of sepultures, and found but *one appearance of a coffin* among them. So long does it seem to have been deserted! The extended suburbs of the town all gradually sunk away. The town shrunk up its hill again. There it was content to use for a church, the chapel which Leland notices. This had been erected assuredly for the use of the high town, when the church served for the low. It was afterwards converted itself into a cloth-hall, when the adjoining church of St. Cuby was found sufficient, for its own parish and the borough together. It was even suffered in 1777, when a cloth-hall became no more necessary than a chapel, to sink into ruins, and to disappear entirely. And the town retains scarcely a single feature of its former pre-eminence. When all this happened, it is difficult to say precisely. But let us try to fix some general period. With this view the calculation before from the standard in Leland, may be thus enlarged. If it has required two centuries and a half, for the tide to recede a mile and a half, between the eastern boundary of Ruan Lanyhorne parish, and the middle point of Lanyhorne-wood within it; at a time, when the stream-works were intermitted for much more than half the interval; it would take the same time probably, to recede a mile and a half higher up, from Haleboat-rock to the boundary of Ruan parish. The higher we mount up the channel of the river, the quicker will be the retreat of the tide; from that gradual rise in the ground, which is requisite to give a fall to the current. This increase in the rapidity of recess, may be put in the balance against the intermission of the stream-works. And the estimate will carry us about five hundred years in antiquity, for the sea coming up to Haleboat-rock; about three hundred, for its reaching to Tregoney bridge; and (as we know the fact to have actually been) about two hundred and fifty, for its flowing up as far as the boundary of Ruan. Such a calculation as this, is of course vague and dubious. But let us now collate it, with some intimations of history. "In the Domesday tax," says Hals, "this district passed under the names of Trigoni, Tregny, and Tregony Medan. That Tregny burrough was invested with the jurisdiction of a manor and court-leet before the Norman conquest," or, in other and properer words, that it was a borough invested with judicial authority over its own inmates, "Domesday roll informs us. How long before by prescription, no man living can tell." It had the power undoubtedly from the earliest period of the Romans; from the time, that the natives of the country collected together by the side of the Roman station here, and formed themselves into a civil society under its protection. Such a society must have laws and magistrates. "Ralph de Pomeroye or Pomeraye, who came into England with William the Conqueror, was such a favourite of his, as Dugdale saith in his Baronage; that he conferred upon him fifty-eight lordships, whereof *this Tregny*, and Wech, (now Mary-Wike) in Cornwall were two----perhaps such lands as fell to the crown, by virtue of their lords or owners re-

own, just as it has done concerning Trelonk; yet it plainly distinguishes its own history from that of Trelonk, by carrying the latter city across the country, it knows

belling against the Conqueror, in that insurrection at Exon in the second year of his reign." This is a very judicious conjecture. The lands which William gave to his Norman barons, he must have previously taken away from the Saxon or the Cornish. One of these held Tregoney. From one of these it is denominated in Domesday book, "Tregony *Medan*;" as from its Norman one it was afterwards called, Tregony *Pomeroy*. And the "insurrection at Exon," was in 1067, not 1068, and is thus described by Florence of Worcester. "Hieme imminente," he says, "rex Gulielmus de Normania Angliam rediit, dein in Domnaniam hostiliter profectus, civitatem Execestram, quam cives et nonnulli Anglici ministri contra illum retinebant, obsedit et cito infregit. Githa vero Comitissa, scilicet mater Haraldi regis Anglorum, ac soror Suani regis Danorum, cum multis de civitate fugiens evasit, et Flandriam petiit. Cives autem, dextris acceptis, regi se dedebant." (P. 432.) In this insurrection, the Cornish probably were deeply involved; and so gave such scope by their forfeitures, to William's *private* liberality in Cornwall. "This Ralph de Pomeray had issue Joel, who married one of the natural daughters of king Henry the First, by Corbet's daughter, mother also by him of Reginald Fitz-Harry, earl of Cornwall." Joel therefore, by his wife, was brother-in-law to that Reginald earl of Cornwall, who confirmed the charter of Lucy to the men of Truro, and gave them the first charter that they now have. And Reginald, we may be sure, was not the person who would take away from Joel's town its supremacy over the Fal, and transfer it to Truro. Nor could it have been transferred before, as Lucy was the person who first made Truro a borough, and as Reginald was the first who confirmed it one. "Joel had issue by her Henry;" and "Henry—had issue Sir Henry de Pomeraye, lord of this place, and Biry-Pomeraye in Devon, who sided with John earl of Moreton and Cornwall against king Richard I. then beyond the seas." Nor is there any appearance of diminution in the dignity of Tregoney, under these three lords. There is much indeed of the contrary, of that honour which follows greatness, and of that consequence which results from opulence. "King Henry I. (the earldom of Cornwall being then vested in the crown) gave it the freedom of sending two burgesses, citizens, or townsmen, to sit in parliament as its representatives; to be chosen by the majority of the townsmen, that were housekeepers." This "favour was obtained upon the humble petition of Henry de Pomeray, lord of this manor," and the son to this very king's natural daughter. "The castle of Tregony, as tradition saith, was built by the said Pomeray, on behalf of John earl of Cornwall, in opposition to king Richard I. his elder brother, then beyond the seas in the Holy War." The castle must have been originally erected by the earliest Romans; and have been afterwards turned into a modern castle, either by the later Romans, or their immediate successors the Britons. It could therefore be only repaired or rebuilt by Henry de Pomeraye. It was most probably rebuilt but in part by him. He was the son of king Henry the First's daughter, and old enough to ask favours from king Henry himself, for his town of Tregoney, could never have been active enough, if he could have been alive, to take up arms for king John against king Richard, and to erect or rebuild a castle at Tregoney in his favour. Henry the First died in 1135; and Richard succeeded him, after Henry the Second and Stephen, in 1189. And accordingly Hals tells us in another place, more truly, though without any perception of his own contradictoriness; that it was the son of this Henry de Pomeroy, and "Sir Henry de Pomeroy, lord of this place and Bury-Pomeroye in Devon, who sided with John earl of Moreton and Cornwall, against king Richard I. then beyond the seas." These are both of them signatures of growing importance, in the town of Tregony. But they are reinforced and corroborated, by a third incident in the history of it. "King John, by virtue of his manor of Tibesta (vide Creed) granted the liberty of fishing, *or the royalty of the river Vale* [Fal, or Fala] to one of the Pomeroyes lord of this manor." It was granted to him as lord, and it has accordingly descended with the lordship to the successors of the Pomeroyes. "The royalty of this manor" of Tregarrick in Roche parish, says Mr. Tonkin, of which he adds 'that the lord viscount Falmouth is the present lord;' "extends from *Falehead* to *Falemouth*." This intelligence is plainly a mistake. That a manor in Roche, on a hill near the spring of the river, should have 'the royalty of the river,' from 'Falehead to Falemouth,' when it could make no use of it; appears very ridiculous. But the ridiculousness is done away by Hals, without his knowlege of it. The royalty now appears to have been given, to the town of Tregoney; to a town that could use it, for still better pur-

not where, from Trelonk to Reskivers, and by carrying the other expressly along the lane of Ruan to it. And, what is a grand corroboration of it, there is a piece of vacant ground near the top of Ruan hill, forming a deep recess in the road on the east, which is denominated *The Cross*. There is no stone there, to mark any roads diverting thence. There never was any within memory. Nor do any roads divert thence at all, as two do at what is equally denominated The Cross, near the house of Trethella. The ground indeed has all the appearance of a market-place, that had its cross upon one side, that had its marketers under it, and that continued to have its cross and its market, while Ruan continued to have a street of houses up to it and beyond. While the baronial family resided in their castle below, and nearly all the rents of the parish were expended in it; the parish must have been much more opulent, than it is at present. While the rents of all the baronial possessions in Devonshire and other parts, were transmitted to the lord at Ruan; the parish must have been much more

poses than fishing; to a town that must have been actually using it at the time, for the grand purposes of navigation and commerce. The late Lord Falmouth indeed exercised this royalty over the river, by endeavouring to excuse the heirs of Dr. Grant, from paying to Mr. Henchman dilapidations, for the boat-house pulled down upon the Glebe, because it was built upon the margin of the river, and by authority from Lord Falmouth as lord of the river; and by taking within my memory the one best fish, from every net stretched across the river for fishing, by his *parker*, (or park-keeper) being always apprized of the *hooking* beforehand, and always attending to receive this dole of royalty from it. But then my lord exercised it, purely in virtue of his lordship of Tregoney. To that it was attached at the first grant from king John, in the person of a Pomeroy; and of Sir Henry de Pomeroy, no doubt, who had sided with John on the death of Henry the Second, and who was therefore rewarded by John nine years afterwards, on John's accession to the throne. This very Pomeroy we see, giving his own name to Tregoney; as he directs one of his writs thus, "Henricus Pomeray seneschallo et Ballivo manerii sui de *Tregoni Pomeraye* in Comitatu Cornubiæ salutem." These Pomeroyes ended in a female under the reign of Elizabeth, when Tregoney went to the Penkivells of Resurra, in the parish of St. Michael *Penkevill* probably; and by sale from the Penkivells, to their neighbours the Boscawens of Tregothnan, in the reign of Charles the First. And thus we find Tregony actually invested by record with that very royalty over the river, and from the rise to the conclusion of the river; which we have inferred it from historical reasonings to have enjoyed, as far as Halboat-rock upwards, and as low as the entrance of the harbour downwards. At this period of king John, and under the patronage of its lord Sir Henry, when in all probability the town also took the *pomegranate*, which it now bears for its arms, in allusion to the much-loved name of *Pomeroy*; Tregoney was probably at its summit of grandeur. This was about the year 1200, king John coming to the throne in 1199. And this year* coincides very surprisingly, with the year set down before upon a vague calculation, for the commencing retreat of the tide from it. This retreat I supposed to have been going on now, about five hundred years. Both calculations united bring us to the beginning of the present century. In ninety years probably from Sir Henry de Pomeroye and king John, the wasting *tabes* began in the town. The disease proceeded. Nothing could administer relief. The body was gradually drained of all its vital juices. And the skeleton only was left, still actuated with life, but appearing like the ghost of its former self, and only cherishing the faint remains of life, by the general remembrance of what it was formerly. The navigation of the river had belonged

* Hals, pp. 79, 80, 81.

opulent still. This collective opulence of the baron, centered in it. And houses were built, and a market was set up, under the felt influence of all. But, when the family ended in females about 1450, and the castle was left for the daws to inhabit; a sad reverse took place in the fortune of Ruan. The rents of the foreign estates, were no longer introduced into it. Even those of its own lands, were remitted out of it. The fountain being thus dried up, the stream ceased. The houses were deserted, with the castle. They fell into ruins, like it. Their remains being less durable, and more insignificant, sooner vanished away. And, as little is left of the castle, but some ruins, some traditions, and the name; so nothing is preserved of the town, its cross, and its market, but some traditions of its existence as a city, and the name of cross or market-place still attached to the site. This site is always the ground, on which the boys light their bonfires on St. John's eve, just as the Welsh do at present, in a druidical compliment to midsummer day, and in order, as the boys say here, to draw down a blessing on the apples.*----"TRURO is situated in the hundred of Powder, and is surrounded to the south, west, and north, by Kenwin, and to the east by St. Clement's. It is washed on each side by two rivulets, which, uniting together at the bottom of the town, fall into an arm of Falmouth harbour, and form a beautiful bason and key there. The town (adds Tonkin) takes its name from the three principal streets, of which it consists; *Tri* three, and *Ru* a street, turned to Truro Euphoniæ gratia." This etymon, which is adopted from Camden, is obviously absurd; 'as the town must have had a name (says Mr. Whitaker) long before it forked out into three streets, and indeed from the first moment of its existence as a town, as a parish, or as a manor'. Truro takes its name from its

to it, ages before king John. He had enlarged this royalty over it, by conceding what the kings and earls of Cornwall had hitherto reserved to themselves, the only remainder of the royalty in the liberty of fishing; and by extending this much farther than the other could have been extended, up to the beginning of the river one way, as well as down to the end of it another. The original branch of this royalty, about the year 1300 probably, Tregoney could no longer exercise. It was therefore consigned to Truro, by a grant from the earl of Cornwall." *W. T.* pp. 209, ... 217.

* *W. T.* v. 3, pp. 127, 128.----These fires are called in Cornish *Tantat St. Jan*, or St. John's fires; not as Borlase imagines from *tantat*, good or holy fires; but from Tandawd (W.) a bonfire, a great fire, Da (W.) was formerly Dad good, and is now Davedd goods; Da (C.) is also good; both are the same with Mad (W.) Mat (C.) good; and all are referred to their true origin in Tadder (C.) goodness. Hence Tantat in Cornwall, being Tan (W. A. C.) a fire, and Tad, Tat (C.) good: and signifying just what *bon*fire does in English, a *good* fire, a fire made upon *good* news, or a fire made for a *good* thing.

castle. This, in Leland's time, belonged to the prince of Wales as earl of Cornwall, and was therefore one of the castellated palaces of the Cornish earls. It was only a small one, however. This the ground of it shews, when the walls are gone. Even in Leland's time, it was "clene down;" and the area was used as a place of exercise for shooting with bows and arrows, and for other diversions. It "is now," says Mr. Tonkin, "more like an old Danish camp, or a round, than a place that had been once inhabited." What ideas Mr. Tonkin had of "an old Danish camp," I cannot say. But the castle carries no appearance of a camp at all, either Danish, Saxon, or Roman. Nor is it more like a round, if by "a round" Mr. Tonkin means a Cornish one, like the amphitheatrical round of Piran. The only remains of the castle indeed, are the name, a waste area, and the old mount or keep, the earth of which is nearly gone, and is daily vanishing, by application of it to other purposes. This artificial mount marks the centre of the castle, had the main tower upon it, and constituted the principal part of the whole. And a small ward must have gone round it, standing on the natural ground, and forming the offices to this petty palace. This was plainly the *origin* of the town. Where an ancient earl's house was, however small in its extent and however occasional in its use, it naturally drew the traders of the country to it. The wants of such a lord's household, and the accompanying treasury of a kingdom in a county, created such a call for wares, and produced such a currency of wealth, as made it for its season the little centre of trade to all the adjoining country. And a town grew up in time, the weakly child of the castle at first, but able to subsist without the castle at last. Such undoubtedly was the origin of Truro. This lay upon the most westerly of the two currents. The westerly side of the town, therefore, would be the primitive and original part of it. Accordingly, we see the White-Friar's house constructed within it. From this current it extended, as it enlarged, to the easterly one. The erection of a church on that side, when a district was taken out of Kenwyn parish, and the peninsulated ground between the currents was formed into a parish of itself; drew it easterly with great power. The town consisted at first, probably, of the street running from the foot of the hill on a part of which the castle stood, and extending backwards with its yards and gardens to the western current. And this

part, of course, adopted the previous appellation of the castle, and was called with it *Tre-ve-reu* Tre-ureu, or Truru, Treuro or Truro, the house or castle upon the Uro or Uru, the same denomination of a river with that of the *Vere* in Hertfordshire, the *Veru*-lamium of the Itineraries, the *Uro*-lamium of Ptolemy, and with that of the *Eure* in Yorkshire, the *Ebur*-alum and the Is-*ur*-ium of the Geography and the Itineraries. The castle is not mentioned in Domesday: It was, therefore, later than the conquest. It was built by some of the Norman earls of Cornwall; and was one of the *rural* palaces, as it were, which they had in the county, subordinate to their grand capitals at Launceston, Trematon, and Restormel. The town must be still later than the castle. Yet it is noticed within a century after the conquest. So nearly coeval was it with its cause the castle! It is said to have been in the possession of Richard de Lucy. It was incorporated (says Brady on Boroughs,*) "as appeareth by record, by Richard Lucy alias Lacam." "Truro, Truru, or Trivereu," (adds that best investigator of our constitutional antiquities, because the most grounded on the evidence of records, Dr. Brady) "was sometime the possession of Richard de Lucy, a person of great note in the reigns of king Stephen, and Henry the Second; in the eighth of whose [Henry's] reign," or A. D. 1162, "he was made justice of England." This Richard had got possession of this part of the old estates of the earldom, either by one of those half-alienations which were only sub-infeodations in reality, or by being earl of Cornwall himself. He actually resided in the castle, as he is stiled in an instrument of Henry the Second, "Richard. de Lucy *de Trivereu.*" And he encouraged the little town of the earl's by *incorporating* it; and so giving it a legal dignity, in granting it an internal jurisdiction. He even proceeded to allow it, that last and highest privilege of a borough, a freedom of exemption from toll. Nor was this confined to the borough itself. It extended beyond it. It extended to all the country round. It was commensurate with the whole county. And Richard must, therefore, have acted with a power, not merely of the lord of the borough, but of the earl of the county; as no one less than an earl, could have given such an ample sweep of exemption. The proof of all this lies in the original charter of the town, not now

* P. 42.

in existence, but referred to in a succeeding charter, and particularized so as to be equal to the very charter itself. The town thus began about the year 1100, was incorporated about 1130 perhaps, and was made a free borough (as we shall instantly see) before 1140. In the reign of king Stephen, who came to the throne in 1135, and in the fifth year of it, or 1140, Lucy resigned up the possessions of the earldom; as then "Reginald Fitz-roy, who was one of the illegitimate sons of king Henry the First, was created earl of Cornwall." Reginald was therefore invested with all that Lucy had possessed. This he retained till his death, which happened in the 21st of Henry the Second; or the year 1175. We accordingly find him extending his more than half-royal graces, to his borough of Truro; by granting it a charter confirmatory of the privileges, which Lucy had conceded to it before. "The town and borough of Truro," says the visitation, "was incorporated by the name of major and burgesses, by Reginald earl of Cornwall, natural son to Henry the First, (which as appeareth by record, was done by Richard Lucy alias Lacam), testibus Rogero de Valletort, Roberto de Edune Anvilla, Ricardo de Raddona, Aldredo de St. Martino; sealed with an ancient seal, with a man on horseback." This description shews the charter to have been actually inspected by the visitors. Yet Dr. Brady knows it only from the recital of a subsequent charter: The original is lost in the Tower, I suppose, while its counterpart is preserved at Truro. And it runs thus in the Inspeximus 13. Edw. I. "Reginaldus regis filius," (not as in descriptive terms, the son of the king, but merely as a personal and family appellative, Fitz-Roy,) "Comes de Cornubiæ: omnibus baronibus Cornubiæ, et omnibus militibus, et omnibus libere tenentibus, et omnibus tam Anglicis quam Cornubiensibus, salutem. Sciatis, quod concessi," (a word that shews even confirmatory charters to do, what our legal antiquaries are naturally unaware that they do, to use the language of *granting* just as if they were original charters, and so leave us to decide from other circumstances which are original and which confirmatory,) "Liberis burgensibus meis de Trivereu," (where the note of *previous* freedom in the burgesses, proves them to have been already freed from toll,) "habere omnes *liberas* consuetudines et *urbanas*," (the same exemption from toll that all *cities* which were in the king's demesne had,) "et *easdem in omnibus* quas

habuerunt in tempore Ricardi de Lucy; (a plain evidence that they had "free customs," and that they themselves were therefore "free burgesses," in the time of Richard de Lucy;)" scilicet, sacham, et socham, et tholl, et them, et itinfangenethuf [infangthief]" (that is, all those rights of judicature over themselves and over others who came among them, that then belonged to all the manerial courts, and that were necessarily given to the burgesses of Truro, when they were incorporated, and by incorporation were enabled to exercise a jurisdiction independent of the common officers of justice) "et concessi eis, quod non placitent in hundredis, nec comitatibus, nec pro aliqua summonitione eant ad placitandum alicubi extra villam de Trivereu," (a privilege consequent upon the grant of internal jurisdiction, and necessary to its completion) "et quod *quieti sint de tholneo dando* per *totam Cornubiam*, in feriis et in foris, et ubicunque emerint et vendiderint," (a privilege, which must have been a very valuable one to a society of traders, and the more valuable from its long reach over all the fairs and markets of the county) "et quod, de pecunia eorum accredita et non reddita, namum capiant in villa sua de debitoribus suis," by distraining the cattle and arresting the persons of their creditors, that came into the town though they did not belong to it. This charter is without a date; with so many and such witnesses, no date being necessary. And as it must have been prior to the earl's death, it was before the year 1175. Henry the Second confirmed Reginald's charter, as Reginald confirmed Lucy's; and all were re-confirmed by Edward the First, in 1284. But, in all those charters, we have no intimation of that grand privilege, which we are sure Truro to have possessed, and which is alluded to in the visitation already mentioned. "We find also," says the visitation, "that the mayor of Truro hath always been, and still is, mayor of Falmouth; as by an ancient grant, now in the custody of the said mayor and burgesses, doth appear." The superiority of Truro over all the harbour of Falmouth, we see, is here attested by a record of 1622; and "an ancient *grant*, now in the custody of the mayor and burgesses," is appealed to by the record. This distinguishing privilege had been ceded to Truro, by a grant of a particular nature. But, from the manner in which the visitation refers to it, the grant must have been so early as to be without a date, and so be like Reginald's and Lucy's charters before. And it was probably, therefore, about the same age with them. But the privilege must have been

originally transferred, from another town to Truro; and has been latterly transferred, from Truro again to another."* Such, it seems, was the origin of Truro.†---St. Michel was a town "of special consideration in the Saxon times."‡----Of St.

* *W. T.* v. 4. pp. 206, 207, 208, 209.

† My readers must have observed, that I have ventured to number Truro among our Roman towns: and derived it from Tre-vorou, "the town on the ways." But Mr. Whitaker is probably right: I will not presume to oppose my wavering opinion to his decided judgment. I shall only remark on his etymology, that we have no such river as the Uro or Eure in any part of Cornwall, and that Uro or Eure is not Cornish. In the mean time, an ingenious conjecture (suggested to Hals, I suppose, by one of his learned friends) seems to claim a moment's attention. "*Truro*, or *Truru*, (says *Hals)* is not found in any ancient chronologic record, or deed whatsoeuer, to be the proper name of this place, unless that port in the south part of Britaine (of which it is the most southerley) mentioned by Cornelius Tacitus, be concerned therein, called by him Trutulensis, or Trurulensis i. e. Truro lake, creeks, or bason of water, now Falmouth, from whence the Roman navy set forth by Julius Agricola, the emperour Domitian's general, in Britaine, A. D. 90, vnder his admirall Suetonius first sayled in order to discouer whether this land were an island or part of the insular continent, which after six months sayle (from the south coast round the Land's-end of Cornwall, North Wales, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Hebrides, Orcades, Scotland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall) they found to be an island, and safely returned thither againe. The royalty of the now harbour of Falmouth was anciently held of this burrow. But this Trutulensis of Tacitus, the classicks will haue to be Richburrow, neer Sandwich, a poor haven to contayne such a navy of shipps, as in all probabilitie the Roman fleet then consisted of, and where is not the least memory of any such name or place to be found, in those parts, (as Trutulensis) which if it be a corruption of Truru-Lens-is, it signifies now a port, or place that is called Truro, or Truru coue, creeks, lakes, or basons of waters, the now harbour of Falmouth, capable for the reception and safe anchorage of any number of shipps, which place Truro then was, and still is the principal towne on that hauen." *Hals's MSS.* (No. 8.) *in Truro.* So far Hals. And Tacitus, in his Life of Agricola, undoubtedly speaks of the port of *Trutu.* The passage is as follows. "*Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanniæ tecto redierat.*" But where the port of *Trutu* or the *Trutulentian* harbour is to be found, not one of his commentators can tell us. The critics, however, determined to make something of the passage, extract sense from it by a pretty harsh process. They read, it seems, *Rutupensem* for *Trutulensem*, because they conceive *Rutupiæ* to have been well known to the Romans, but cannot discover the situation of *Trutu.* This is, indeed, a bold correction. Hear what Burton says on the subject. "Vespasian, being sent hither by Claudius to make all quiet, *Cum ad Rutupi portum applicare incœpisset*, was hindered from landing here, and so forced to wheel about as far as Totnes, in Cornwall: In an unquestionable writer, Cornelius Tacitus, we find this place called Portus Rutupensis: For not onely all learned men in generall beyond the seas approve this correction of that place by B. Rhenanus, but Sir Henry Savile also, his most accurate interpreter: whereas indeed before it was read *Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanniæ tecto redierat.*----And withall, the navy with prosperous wind and success arrived at the port Trutulensis, from whence it had departed, coasting along the nearest side of Britanny, and so returned thither again. By which it is plain, that here was the usual harbour where the Roman navy rode at anchor, and consequently that this was the ordinary landing-place from Gessoriacum, or Bononia, in those times, as it was in after ages also. As for this place of Tacitus, if it be not so to be mended, Trutulensis will sound nothing, and be no where to be found."----See *Burton's Commentary* on Antoninus, p. 21. Still the change from *Trutulensis* to *Rutupensis* strikes me as much too violent. By a more trivial alteration, the substitution of an *r* for a *t*, we enter at once the port of *Truru.* The jurisdiction of Truru over Falmouth, existed from time immemorial. The harbour of Truro and of Falmouth may, therefore, be deemed synonymous: And the harbour of Falmouth was familiar to the Romans.----On this hypothesis, after all, I lay no stress. Had not *Trutulensis* been a very doubtful word, I should have thrown out my conjectures in their proper place.

‡ *Magna Britann.* p. 312.

MAWES, I have exprest an opinion, that its first buildings were more ancient than the days of christianity. But the origin of this place is, in general, ascribed to its saint.§ ---- PENRYN "consists of one principal street, indifferently well built for this county" --- says *B. Willis*, with his usual sneer.‖ This town, from its collegiate church was, once, perhaps, more venerable. --- Modern HELSTON may be described as built in the form of a cross; having four chief streets, which meet in a centre, at the market-house. But originally there was a town below the castle; if we may give credit to traditionary story: it extended all along the banks of the Cober, to where stood the priory of St. John's: And the Cober, now dwindled to a little serpentizing stream, was then a fine navigable river.* ---- MARAZION, or *Market Jew*,

§ "St. Mawes is a small hamlet, containing about the same number of houses as Mitchel, and has neither church nor chapel, but parishes to a village called St. Just, from a person of that name, bishop of Lions in France, who left his bishoprick, and turned hermit. His festival is September 2. As to St. Mawes, it receives its denomination from an Irish saint of that name, who lived abstemiously in this place; whence sprung up a fisher-town, and a chapel consecrated to his memory, in the cemetery of which, as Leland informs us, was his chair of stone, and a little without, his well; and that, as some report, he was a bishop in Britain, and painted as a schoolmaster." *B. Willis*, p. 166.

‖ P. 106.

* "*Hel-les-ton*, or *Hel-lase-ton*, is situate in the hundred of Kerryer, and hath upon the north and east Gwendron, west Sythney and the Loo-pool, south Mawgan and Gunwallo. As for the first name, it signifies a broad hall or college town, or a town that had a large hall, a palace, court, or manour, where cases were heard between party and party, and judgments given. The second name signifies the green hall or college town, referring perhaps to the coynage-hall, and bowling-green beneath the same, or possibly to the college, church, hall, and church-yard" [Helles-ton or Hellaston are one and the same name, signifying one and the same thing. This signification has no reference to the coinage-hall or its bowling-green, as the name existed, we shall soon find, *before* the right of coinage was given. Nor does it allude to the priory here, which was "dedicated to St. John the baptist," says Willis, (Notit. Parl. 11. 69.) which Willis therefore conjectures to be the same with Leland's "hospital of St. John," (ibid.) and which is plainly the same, as Leland speaks of the hospital and takes no notice of the priory; because this priory or hospital appears to have been only of a late erection, being described by Leland as "an hospital of St. John yet standing at the west-south-west end of the town," by the turnpike-gate there, "*of the foundation of one Kylligrin*" (Itin. iii. 23.) Nor is the name of "Hellas from the salt-water thereabouts," as Willis himself asserts; there being no salt-water nearer to it than the mouth of the Loo-pool, about two miles from it. Nor is the name "Hal-las-ton," as Pryce avers, or "the hill by a green moor;" a derivation, that refutes its own propriety, by characterizing a *hill* from its vicinity to a *moor*. The name is expressive of a castle, that has been here, and proved undoubtedly the cause of the town. "There hath bene a castelle" at this place, says Leland. It was not in existence when Leland wrote. Even then it only *had been*. It was therefore erected at a very early period. The *town* is noticed in Domesday book, after Foy, Leskard, and Stratton, thus: "Ipse comes tenebat Henliston. Algar tenebat T. R. E." &c. The castle therefore was built by the Saxons, I suppose, on their reduction of the country, and called from the constructor or commandant of it *Ella's* or *Ella's-ton*, Britonized by the Cornish into *Hellas* and *Hellas-ton*. And we shall accordingly find a castle, still remaining in its ground-form, still built apparently as a defence to the town, and still displayed in the arms of the town. The castle alone existed at the conquest, but the town rose soon after it; as on the 15th of April, second of king John, A. D. 1200, it is called in a charter from the

derived, according to some authors, its principal support, if not its origin, from the resort of pilgrims, and other religious devotees, to the neighbouring sacred edifice on St. Michael's Mount. But its name indisputably came from the *Jews*, who are reported to have traded here several centuries ago, and to have held an annual *market*† for selling various commodities, and purchasing tin and other merchandize in return. Marazion is built on the side and at the bottom of a hill, which rises towards the north, and shelters the town from the cold winds.‡---

king " Burgus noster de Helleston," as the inhabitants are denominated " Burgenses nostri de eadem villa," and as the town was then created a " Liber Burgus" by the king, empowered to hold " Gildam Mercatoriam" in the town (Brady on boroughs, app. 15). Yet, even in this state of its dignity, it had no church, no chapel within it. Nor had it either, when the first valor was made in 1291. Nor have we any appearance of a church afterwards, till the making of the second valor." " Not far from this town stand the ruins of an old camp or intrenchment, called Castle Were, *i. e.* the " castle of war," an old fort or citadel to defend the town from its enemies' invasion. This name strikingly coincides with the Saxon construction of the castle; Ware-ham and War-wick being Saxon names for castles; the transposition of the two parts of the Saxon name being made by the Cornish, in accommodation to their own modes of speaking, and the Wær castle of the Saxons formed into Kastel Were, as we have Castle Dore, Castle Horneck, with others, in Cornwall. The remains of this castle still retain the name of Castle, I think, are close to the very end of the town, and at the very angle of a square eminence there, having a brook (I believe) under one of the sides.] " The arms of which town are a castle, or house garreted; on the top thereof, between two watch-towers, the archangel St. Michael fighting with a dragon or the devil. However, the townsmen will tell you, that it is St. George fighting with the dragon. But this cannot be; for I have seen the arms of this town, of great antiquity, cut in a stone, viz. the shape of a man with two cherubims' wings, fighting with a dragon between two watch-towers or castles. Which person, cut after that shape with wings, could not be St. George of Cappadocia, but St. Michael the archangel fighting with the devil or dragon, who in scripture is called *the dragon*, and *the great red dragon* also. So that the arms of this town must be blazoned as aforesaid, the archangel St. Michael fighting with the devil; and so the two watch-towers or castles may refer to St. Michael's Mount and castle." [The chapel of Helston appears from Liber Regis to be dedicated to St. Michael, and a fair is held at Helston, I apprehend, on Michaelmas-day, the original fair of the town, therefore unnoticed in the grant by Willis, and overlooked by Hals. This circumstance explains the appearance of St. Michael in the arms of the Town at once.] *W. H.* vol. 1. pp. 28.---30.

† This market is stated to have been held on a spot of ground about five hundred yards west of the *Chapel Rock*: but if it was ever calculated for the site of a market, it must have been materially altered by the sea, as it is now only a mass of rugged rocks, jutting out into the bay; occasionally environed with water, and always submerged at spring and neap tides. They still bear the name of *August Rocks*, from the month, it is said, in which the Jews resorted to this coast, and held their yearly market.

‡ " On the confines of this parish is situate the ancient manour and borough of *Maras-zey-an*, that is, the Jew-market in Cornish-English; alias Marhas-dyow, that is, Thursday market; alias Marhas-jew or gew, that is to say, the spear market; otherwise after the English-Cornish the Jew's market, though Ethewon is a Jew in Cornish." [The name is Mara-zion or Zion on the sea, I believe; and Market-Jew is merely a similar appellation in English. A Jew in the Cornish language is Ethow, and Edheuon, Ethohan, are Jews.] "To which purpose Hollingshed, in his Chronicle, 1570, saith, that near this place, or Mousehole opposite to it, not many years before that time, certain tinners, as they were working under ground, found spear-heads, battle-axes, and swords, of copper, wrapped up in linen clouts, but little impaired through their long lying." [It was obviously this fact, the discovery of *spear-heads*

ST. IVES is a populous sea-port town, situated at the north-west angle of a very fine bay, " bounded by bold rocks of black killas." Its antiquity appears to be considerable, as its proper and original name is *St. Iie's*, derived from Iia, a woman of great sanctity, who " came hither from Ireland about the year 460." --- On the manor of CONARTON in Gwithian, was once a great town. § ---- That the original town of REDRUTH is ascribable to religion, has been the conjecture of no mean writers. And assenting to this opinion, I have imagined such a town originating in Druidism. Mr. Whitaker, however, gives it to christianity; and ingeniously deduces the town from the old chapel or church. ‖

under ground, which can have no possible connection with the name of Marazion, that made Mr. Hals, in his " servility to every skyey influence," change Marhas Jew, the Jew market, into Marhas Gew, the spear market.] "In Domesday roll 20. William I. 1087, this place was taxed by the name of Tre-maras-toll, that is to say, the cell, chapel, or hole market-town." [This impertinence is founded only on the middle part of the name, Maras, actually Marus in the original."] *W. H.* v. 1. pp. 34, 35.

§ " *Kenor, (Leland* says) two miles from *Ryvier*, sum tyme a great town, now gone. Two paroche chirchis yet seene, a good deal severed on from the other. Sum tyme in the towne." V. iii. f. 5. Leland notices also the vestiges of " *Combe-castelle*; and Pencombe, a little foreland, about a mile upper than *Kenor* on Severn."

‖ " This chapel (says Whitaker on *Tonkin)* as it is called, I consider as the original church of the parish, and the original cause of the town. The church was fixed here. Its parsonage-house accompanied it. And the latter, I suppose, was called Redruth, or (as the real name of the town appears to be from some writings in the hands of the lord, Sir F. Basset) *Dredruith*. This name, however, was not given it or the town, we may be sure, as Dr. Pryce fondly imagines, from Dre-Druith, the Druid's town; though this (he alledges) it " undoubtedly signifies from its vicinity to Carn Brea, that celebrated station of Druidical superstition." How such a station *could* give name to a town two miles off, the limping faith of un-initiated antiquaries will find it difficult to say. Nor does the word Druid, though once the most respectable in all the British vocabulary, retain any marks of honour in any dialect of the British at present. Christianity has swept away all the heathen ideas of the name. And the word now is stampt only with the impressions of magic and of whoredom; *that* referring to the *knowlege* of the Druids, and *this* to the *matrimonial clubs* of them and their votaries. Thus Dryi, Dryithe (I.) is rendered by Mr. Lhuyd a sorcerer; Draoi (I.) is properly a Druid, but now an augur, a charmer or magician; Draoi, Dheacd, or Draoidheacta (I.) is properly the Druidish form of worship, but now magic or sorcery; Droidhe-achd (I.) is sorcery, divination, magic, and Druadh (I.) is a charmer or magician. All these involuntary acknowlegements of knowlege in the Druids, however, are confined to the Irish. The Welsh and the Cornish are not so ingenious. They know of nothing, but the lasciviousness of the Druids and their followers. Druathaim (I.) is to commit fornication; Drioth (I.) a harlot or other unchaste person, Drutharnutog (I.) a bawd, Druthlanu (I) a bawdy-house; and Drutiir (I.) a fornicator; Drythyll (W.) lacivious, wanton, lecherous, Drythyllwoh (W.) wantonness, laciviousness, lechery, lust; Druov (C.) a Druid, Druth (C.) a harlot, and Drythyll (C.) bucksome, gamesome. In this view of the word Druid; Dre-druith, as meaning Druid's town, must either have been so called before christianity was settled here, or have been so denominated in an abusive sense. But, as it is no Roman-British town, it could not have been one before christianity. And the town will not allow itself to be considered, as a town of magicians or a town of harlots. If indeed it was not, as it certainly was not, a town before christianity; it could have no relation to the Druids, either in an abusive or a complimentary sense. And it must have been called Dre-druth, from the channel on which it stood; Dre-trot (C.) signifying the house on the bed or channel of the river. " This name is so very ancient," says Dr. Pryce, " as

III. In the course of the present research, we have seen some matters of a doubtful aspect. It is by no means easy to ascertain the date of buildings from their architectural appearance. For, though they fall in with the style of architecture that obtained at a particular period, we cannot assert, with any degree of confidence, that they were then erected. Hereafter, we shall seldom take refuge in conjecture; but shall point out, with little hesitation, the mansion-house, the church, or the town, just rising into existence; attend its progress towards perfection, or trace its lapse into decay.

to be given to the situation of the town" and consequently to some house upon or near it, " before this kingdom was divided into parishes," and therefore in the time of the Druids, if it means the Druid's town; " as old writings express thus:" "in the parish of Uny (St. Uny) juxta Dredruith." The town is not Roman-British, and must therefore be of the middle ages. The parish is older than the town, because the town was not made the centre of it. But the *parish* itself could never be denominated as " juxta Dredruith;" because Redruth was a *part* of it. Nothing can possibly be described, as situate near itself. But the small church which from its smallness, Mr. Tonkin has called a chapel, and which became so on the erection of a larger for the town and parish, might and would be so described. And the parish is called in old writings that " of Uny [St. Uny] juxta Dredruith," the parish of the church of *St. Uny near Redruth*; in contradistinction from Uny-Lelant, of which (as Leland says) " the toune of Lannant is praty, the church thereof is of St. Unine" (v. iii. p. 21.); just as we have the parish and church of Lanteglos juxta Fowey, and the parish and church of Lanteglos juxta Camelford. " Though the parish is now," Dr. Pryce himself tells us, " and has been immemorially denominated Redruth; its *real* dedicatory name is St. Uny." The original church, therefore, was so dedicated. This shows itself decisively to have been the chapel of Mr. Tonkin, because *the* chapel stood " at the bottom of the great street near the river," because the church is described in old writings as *near* Redruth; and because the name of Redruth has been almost invariably referred, and is now found clearly to refer, to the position of all upon the river. And so at last Dr. Pryce's dream, of this town claiming " an evident antiquity prior to any other in the county," is all dissolved into air. The town was no Roman one. The town was not considerable enough on the erection of parishes, to be made the centre of one. It was not even in being then. The church and parsonage-house were erected *near* the present site of it. They gave occasion to it. If I am not mistaken, the church was on the west side of the brook, and perhaps the parsonage-house on the east. Both drew houses near them. Yet all was only a village, that took the name of the parsonage-house, the house on the channel. And all remained a village, nearly to the days of Mr. Tonkin." *W. T.* vol. 2. p. 59.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Flindell, Printer, Falmouth.

THE

HISTORY

OF

CORNWALL:

CIVIL, MILITARY, RELIGIOUS, ARCHITECTURAL, AGRICULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

BY THE REVEREND R. POLWHELE,

Of Polwhele, and Vicar of Manaccan.

" Jam nunc cogita, quæ potissimum tempora aggrediamur. Vetera et scripta aliis? Parata inquisitio; sed onerosa collatio. Intacta et nova? Graves offensæ; levis gratia. Si laudaveris, parcus: Si culpaveris, nimius fuisse dicaris; quamvis illud plenissime, hoc restrictissime feceris. Sed hæc me non retardant."

" Ad quæ noscenda iter ingredi, transmittere mare solemus; ea sub oculis posita negligimus: Seu quia ita natura comparatum, ut proximorum incuriosi, longinqua sectemur; seu quod omnium rerum cupido languescit, quum facilis occasio est: seu quod differimus, tanquam sæpe visuri quod datur videre, quoties velis cernere. Quacunque de causa, permulta in provincia nostra, non oculis modo, sed ne auribus quidem novimus; quæ si tulisset Achaia, Egyptus, aliave quælibet miraculorum ferax commendatrixque terra, audita, perlecta, lustrataque haberemus." *Plin. Epist.*

VOL. III.

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1803.

CORNWALL ERRATA.

Page 4, FOR unproductive, READ unproductive *in wheat*
7, FOR we have many, READ we have *not* many
15, FOR charters to which I have already referred, there is, READ charters, there is
15, FOR privilege that Truro, READ privilege *which* Truro
36, FOR the, READ they
50, FOR this county, READ Cornwall
60, FOR to empty it, READ to empty *the pool*

THE

HISTORY OF CORNWALL.

BOOK THE SECOND.

FROM VORTIGERN TO EDWARD I.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

PASTURAGE, AGRICULTURE, GARDENS, PARKS.

I.—1. AGRICULTURE had been long declining for more than a century in this country; when the Saxons, having fixed themselves in their respective principalities, began to turn their attention to the arts of cultivation. That they much improved the uninclosed country, is by no means probable. It was sufficient to restore to its former fertility, the land which had run to waste amidst the disorder of repeated hostilities. Our extensive commons were again covered with flocks and herds: And many of our stone circles, were converted into sheep-folds, to protect the sheep from wolves and other beasts of prey. The Saxon chief is said to have divided his estate into two parts, the inlands and the outlands. The inlands lying contiguous to the mansion-house of the chieftain, were cultivated by his slaves for the provision of his family: The outlands at a distance from the house, were let to the ceorls or farmers at a certain rent, which was generally paid in kind. The rates of these rents were ascertained by law, according to the number of hides or ploughlands of which a farm consisted. By

the laws of Ina our West-Saxon king, a farm containing ten hides (for instance) was to pay, ten casks of honey - - - three hundred loaves of bread - - - twelve casks of strong ale - - - thirty casks of small ale - - - two oxen - - - ten wethers - - - ten geese - - - twenty hens - - - ten cheeses - - - one cask of butter - - - twenty pounds of forage - - - five salmon - - - and one hundred eels. In some situations, we find other articles substituted for several of those which I have recounted: This depended on the nature of the farm, or custom of the country. Yet money-rents for farms were not altogether unknown at this time. During the Normans, there was a continual fluctuation between plenty and scarcity: But still agriculture was not neglected or discouraged. Among the legantine canons made at London by the bishop of Winchester, in the reign of Stephen, there is one which says, "that the plough and husbandman in the fields, should enjoy the same peace as if they were in the churchyard." This sanctuary given to the tillers of land in their own grounds, would have been of great benefit to the public, if duly regarded. But the civil war paid little respect either to spiritual or temporal laws.

2. To speak more particularly of the Pasturage and Agriculture of this county. - - - The "town of trees,"* still indicated the "barton." Here, on the coarser grounds the sheep and kine were depastured; in the meadows were kept the cows; and on the arable land were produced the bread-corn and other provisions for the family. The sheep of Cornwall were from "*auncientie*," very small; and their fleeces so coarse that the wool was called Cornish hair; under which name, the cloth manufactured from that wool was allowed to be exported without being subject to the customary duty paid for woollen-cloth. This privilege was confirmed to the Cornish, by Edward the Black Prince, as a privilege derived from their ancestors.† The goat,‡ which requires little assistance from human cultivation, was familiar to the

* "To this day in Cornwall, we call a grove near a dwelling-house, a town of trees. Mine has been called so, ever since my remembrance; and the place where it grows, the town-place or town. This looks like the remains of the old British custom mentioned by Cæsar and Strabo." *Moyle's* Works, v. i. p. 257.

† *Carew*, f. 24.

‡ The Rev. Jer. *Trist*, of Behan Park, and vicar of the parish of Veryan, lately shewed me a skull, I think of some non-descript animal. He found it on the beach at no great distance from his house. From its size it might be judged the skull of a kid: Its apparent horns were of one and the same substance with the skull.

Cornish: And our black cattle that live on heath and furze, where exist no better pastures, are some of the aboriginal race. The process of the dairy in Cornwall, is peculiar to this county, and a part of Devon: It was British; not Saxon or Norman.§ We have various names which indicate the places where the little horses of Cornwall were bred, or ran wild.‖ As to the arable part of the farm¶ nothing is more erroneous, than the idea, that the Cornish were, during this period, inattentive to tillage.* Our arish-mows† were indisputably British: but whether the appellation *arish* came from *aridus*, or from the Saxon *eddish*, appears doubtful. If we may believe Hals, *potatoes* were cultivated here even as early as the Normans.‡

3. There are parts of Cornwall, and particular spots, that have been remarkable from the earliest times for fruitfulness or sterility. I shall mention some of the most

§ Our scald-cream-butter will hereafter be described.

‖ "Karn-margh beacon, or Carn-marigh, signifyinge rocke wher horses shelter them; It is a heade beacon in Gwynop parish." *Norden*, p. 46.

¶ "The word *Barton*, used in Cornwall and Devon only, is probably derived from *Bara Bread*---the place which affords the lord, bread. I prefer this to the Saxon *Bere hordeum Barley*, whence comes our *beer*." *Tonkin's MSS.*

* "Richard, king of the Romans and earl of Cornwall, made a grant to the Cornishmen to take sand freely out of the sea, and carry it through the whole county, to manure their ground withal; which was confirmed by Henry 8d.* By which it appears (says *Gibson* in his "Additions to Camden") that, ever since Henry the Third, at least, this hath been the chief way of improving their ground.† And no doubt long before; or there had been no occasion to apply for that grant; which was certainly occasioned by the exactions of owners of lands on the sea-coast. The same author mentions one of Saltash, in the next reign, demanding twelve shillings a year for each barge that carried sand up the Tamar. Such exactions now daily occur. There is an ingenious "Discourse on Sea-sand," by Dr. Dan. Cox, in the Phil. Trans. No. 118. p. 293. Abridg. v. 2. p. 729.

† See book I. chap. 5.---The Cornish names of the twelve months, have some reference to agriculture:---Mis-Genver, *(January)* i. e. Tenaer, *cold air month*.---Mis-Huevral, *(February)* i. e. Hu evral, *the whirling month*.---Mis-Merh, *(March)* i. e. *the horse month, when the Gauls began to set forth with horses to war*.---Mis-Ebrali, *(April)* i. e. Ebrilly, *the primrose month*; or, A brilly, *the mackarel month, when the Gauls and Normans set out to go to sea for catching mackarel*.---Miz-Me, *(May)* i. e. *the flowery month*.---Miz-Ephan, *(June)* i. e. *the Summer month*; or, *head of Summer*.---Miz-Gorephan, *(July)* i. e. *the chief head of the Summer month*.---Miz-East, *(August)* i. e. Eausti, *the month to get in harvest*.---Miz-Guedn-Gala, *(September)* i. e. *the white straw month*.---Miz-Hedra, *(October) the watry month*; or, *month of courage*.---I prefer the first.---Miz-Diu, *(November)* i. e. *the black month*.---Miz-Kevardhin, *(December)* i. e. *the month following the black month*; or, *the black month*.—*In Armoric*, Mis-Querdu, *the month also black*.

‡ *Hals's MSS.*

* R. Chart. de An. 45, Hen. III.

† "They still continue the same method (says Gibson) carrying the sand ten miles up into the country; and for a great part of the way, too, upon horses backs."

fertile. - - - The hundred of § Pider has been for ages, famous for its corn; Roseland, for rich enclosures, abundantly productive of all the fruits of the earth; and the district of ‖ Meneg for barley. On the Sylleh Isles, the soil is at present unproductive; good as it is said to be for other sorts of grain. Yet wheat was usually sown on these islands, and seems to have repaid the labour of the husbandman, before the time of Henry the III.¶ As to particular spots, some may be noticed for their *wood; some for their † pastures; others for their corn. A part of that ground between Marazion and Penzance, which had lain a waste for ages, has been recently brought back to a state of cultivation.‡

§ "This hundred lieth stretched out on the north sea, very narrow at the western end, but broader and broader towards the eastern, in the shape of a wedge. It is very fruitful for the most part (especially on the sea coast) in all sorts of grain, and chiefly wheat. The western part at the beginning of it, being barren and open downs, as is also much of the middle of it. But then that defect is made up in the western part by very rich mines of tin, lead, and copper; of which there are some likewise, but not so good, scattered up and down in other parts of it. Some parts of it too being much exposed to the N. W. winds, are covered with sand on the sea shore, and most of it destitute of wood, though not quite so in well-sheltered places, and the most eastern parishes off from the sea in the inland part; which in requital, are much of a coarser soil, with large wastrels and downs intermixed, and abound in sheep." *Walker's MSS.*

‖ Mawgan, in the hundred of Kerrier, may be called the isthmus over which we pass to go to the chersonesus of *Meneg* - - - this chersonesus containing (with Mawgan) twelve parishes.

¶ "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." *Borlase's* Scilly, p. 68. note.

* *Calstock*, on the Tamar, is plentiful in oaks; whether its name indicate that circumstance or not. - - - *Glynn* hath been for ages well wooded: It signifies, indeed, a woody dale or *glen*. All the banks of the Fawey were once covered with trees. - - - *Skewys* (the name of a manor) in Cury, is so called from the *shade* of the many trees originally growing there. - - - If, as Leland tells us, there were anciently wild boars, in St. Nicholas or the isle of Trescaw, the isles of Sylleh (or this island at least) could not have been deficient in wood." *Leland*, v. vii. p. 108.

† *Boyton* in Stratton, seems to have taken its name from the quality of its soil; as being adapted for pasture; the Cornish word *byuh*, which is pronounced *boy*, signifying a cow, or ox: - - - or perhaps it may have been so denominated from the French word *bois*, which signifies a wood, this part of the country abounding in woods. - - - - The manor of *Trevenen*, or *Tremenen*, in St. Goran, derives its name from the fruitfulness of its capital place; signifying the *butter-town*." - - - - The manor of *Trigavethan* in Kea, signifies "the dwellers in the meadows:" And whoever sees the place, will be convinced of the truth of the etymology.

‡ The road from Marazion to Penzance is conducted over a bank of sand, which separates the bay from a large tract of marsh-land. The greater part of the latter is a steril, unprofitable bog: but the laudable exertions of an individual* has rescued and preserved thirty-six acres from the inundations of the tide; and, by skilful management

* Dr. Richard Moyle of Marazion, who has received the gold medal of the "Society for the promotion of arts, manufactures, and commerce;" and also a handsome premium from the Board of Agriculture; as rewards for his successful scheme. The whole quantity of ground under improvement is seventy-five acres.

II. With respect to gardens; I can descend to few particulars. 1. The vine was much cultivated by the Saxons. Vineyards are mentioned by Bede, as early as the commencement of the eighth century.* And there were many vineyards about a thousand years ago, throughout England. The Domesday-book expressly says, that before the Norman conquest, wine was made in the county of Essex. But our gardening was much improved by the Normans, who coming from a country

and perseverance, has obtained several crops of corn and potatoes from the renovated land. The singular process by which this was effected, we are induced to particularize, from a persuasion, that it may be equally serviceable to other persons in similar situations. The whole of this district was occasionally covered with water, and always immersed by the sea at spring-tides. To carry off this superfluity, and secure the land from future inundations, were the objects of consideration. This was effected by introducing an aqueduct, or wooden pipe, of nine inches in diameter, through one hundred and seventy-four yards of sand, and thus opening a communication between the sea and a reservoir at the lower part of the marsh. The pipe is in some places twenty-four feet beneath the surface of the bank, and is fixed (on that part of the sand called *Half Ebb)* to a large rock, to preserve it from removal by the turbulent waves. Its mouth towards the sea is secured by a valve, to prevent the intrusion of salt-water, and is always closed by the pressure of the swelling tide. At the opposite end of the pipe is another valve, opening into the reservoir, which is eighteen feet square, by eight feet deep, and properly situated to receive the drainage water from all parts of the inclosed marsh. Several open canals, or trenches, cut at right angles, convey the water from all parts of the inclosure to the reservoir; and on the retiring of the tide, the collected water rushes through the aqueduct with great velocity. The land having been so long saturated with sea water, was unproductive for the first four years; but its present appearance promises to reward the adventurer for his expence and perseverance.* The labourers, when cutting the open drains, discovered an earthen pot, containing nearly one thousand Roman copper coins. They were very much corroded by the salt-water; but many of the impressions were sufficiently legible to identify the emperors, who lived between the years 260 and 350. The urn in question was found erect, just, we may presume, as it was originally placed. This, in the opinion of some people, discredits the traditionary tales of the great change here supposed to have happened: But the ground might have sunk to any supposeable depth, and the urn along with it, still preserving its erect position. A vast number of hazel-boughs with perfect nuts adhering to them, have been found between Marazion and Penzance, below the natural bed of the soil. This (with other facts already stated) must prove a subsidence of the earth, or some change in the strata.---Hazel-nuts have thus been found in the Sithney stream-works, and many other places; particularly near Newbridge; of which a correspondent thus writes:---"A very singular curiosity hath been brought to me---a hazel-nut upwards of four thousand years old, an antediluvian nut, which indisputably grew and was in being before Noah's flood, by which it was buried, and hath lain close upon the stratum of firm slate-shelf, covered by upwards of twelve feet deep of black mud, which hath never been disturbed or moved from that time to this. It was discovered this week, with some scores of others, in sinking a shaft near a mine called Huel Tamer, just below Newbridge, on the turnpike road leading to Callington. The nut is a very dark brown, but quite perfect. Whether Noah and his predecessors were or were not stouter as well as longer lived, than the present race of mortals, certain it is that this antique vegetable production is not larger nor differently shaped from a common hazel nut of the last year." *Letter from the late Mr. Gullet.*

* *Bede's Eccles. Hist.* l. i. c. 1. The name of vineyard yet affixed to the ruinous scites of our castles and and monasteries, proves, beyond a doubt, the great frequency of vineyards.-----There are many such in Cornwall. See *Richard*, p. 13.

* See the 14th vol. of the Transactions of the Society for the Promotion of Arts, &c, and the 2d vol. of Communications to the Board of Agriculture, for further particulars.

abounding with vineyards and orchards, naturally wished to introduce the same accommodations into their new settlements. The vineyard, however, was soon neglected; from no other cause, perhaps, than the cheapness with which wine was imported, before it was burdened with high duties. There are some of opinion, that orchards were introduced into this county, by the Normans: But *cyder (sicera)* is British. †---

2. That the kitchen garden was not disregarded, is probable, as Stratton produced abundance of ‡ garlick: And garlick, was scarcely left a solitary plant.

III. Of the seats of gentlemen, uniting in one elegant whole the farm and the garden, and thus blending ornament with utility, I can say little, at this early period. Yet, in the neighbourhood of our castles and monasteries, there were plantations, parks, and fishponds. The parks of the earls and dukes of Cornwall are mentioned, as ancient in the time of Henry the Eighth. In these parks (said to have been nine) were a great number of forest trees, and much luxuriant coppice.§

† Says *Wolridge*, see his *Vinetum Britannicum*. p. 18.-----The orchards on the glebe at Ruan-lanyhorne, suggest some curious observations. "One is *park-apple*. This is a field of more than twenty statute-acres, including the moor. The name bespeaks its application. When that was imposed, the ground was an orchard. Park is a word continually occurring, in the names of our Cornish fields; and is Pairc (I.) a park or field, Parc (C.) a field. Afal also (W.) Avall, Avell (C.), and Abhal, Ubhal (I.) is an apple; and must have been pronounced, as it is now written. Parc-aval, or park-apple, then, signifies exactly the same that apple-garth does in Yorkshire, an inclosure for apples, or in other words an orchard. The rectorial orchard it could never have been. It is too large for that. That too was originally the lower-part of the front-court garden. Mr. Grant was the first, I believe, who enlarged this contracted orchard of the parsonage. He fenced in a hollow and warm part of Culver-close and Great Meadow, and turned it into a second orchard. But what is either of these to the extent of Park-apple? They are as nothing. It could be only the magnificence of a castellated mansion and a baronial houshold, that will account for an orchard of such vast dimensions. As an orchard indeed to such a household and such a mansion, it is in character. It is upon the same scale of greatness, as the rest. And I have always considered, therefore, Park-apple field, to have been the original orchard of the lord, conceded generously by him as a field to the rector." *W. T.* v. 2. p. 117.

‡ Margery, wife of William Whitestan, gives and grants to John Ermyce and Alice and John two gardens, &c. in Stratton, to have and to hold, on certain conditions; two of which are, that they shall dye annually four ells of cloth of a red colour; and shall render yearly at the feast of Easter, a *hundred of* GARLICK, for all services. The deed, in which this passage occurs, bears date 42, Edw. III. But it seems to shew, that long before this point of time, garlick was plentiful in Stratton.

§ They were disparked by Henry the Eighth.---*Pencarrow* is commonly derived from its deer. *Tonkin* deduces the word from its quarries. "Pencarrow, in Egleshayle, (says he) for wood, water, and stone, may vie with any other part of the kingdom: Nor are the lands inferior to any in the neighbourhood for fruitfulness. *Pencarrow* is *Pencarrig* so softened, "the head quarry of stone." It is of much more ancient date, than the introduction of deer into this county." *Tonkin*. But I take *Carrow (Caer-row)* to mean *Castrum Romanum*,

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

MINING.

I. FROM the Saxons to the time of Edward the First, we have many documents respecting the Cornish mines. The Saxons* are said to have neglected the mines of Cornwall. In this county, indeed, they had no authority, till it was conquered by Athelstan. Whether the Normans derived any great emolument from the Cornish mines is doubtful; as in the reign of king John, their product was so inconsiderable, that the tin-farm amounted to no more than one hundred marks.† The Jews were now the sole managers of the mines: And memorials of the Jews are still disco-

* The Saxons, says Camden, seem to have employed the Saracens. "That the ancient Britains wrought those tinn-mines, is plain from Diodorus Siculus who lived under Augustus; to omit Timæus the historian in Pliny, who tells us, that the Britains fetched tinn out of the isle Icta,‖ in their little wicker-boats covered with leather. For Diodorus affirms, that the Britains who lived in those parts, digging tinn out of a rocky sort of ground, carried it in carts at low-tide to some of the neighbouring islands; that thence the merchants transported it into Gaule, and then on horse-back in thirty days to the springs of Eridanus, or the city Narbona, as to a common mart. Æthicus too, whoever he was, that unworthily goes under the name of being translated by St. Jerom, intimates the same thing, and adds that he gave directions to those workmen. The Saxons seem not to have medled with them, or at most to have only employed the Saracens: for the inhabitants to this day call a mine that is given over, Attal-Sarisin, that is, the leavings of the Saracens." *Gibson's Camden*, pp. 2, 3.

† "According to which valuation the bishop of Exeter received then in lieu of his tenth part, and still receives from the duke of Cornwall annually the sum of six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence; so low were the tin-profits then in Cornwall, whereas in Devonshire the tin was then set to farm for one hundred pounds yearly. King John, sensible of the languishing state of this manufacture, granted the county of Cornwall some marks of his favour, disforested what part of it was then subject to the arbitrary forest-law, allowing it equal title to the laws of the kingdom with the other parts of England, and is said to have granted a charter to the tinners (Carew, p. 17), but what it was does not appear." *Borlase*, p. 190.

‖ This hint seems to favour a conjecture, that Bolen (Cæsar's Iccius Portus) might take its name from this island Icta. For Stephen's edition of the Commentaries reads it Ictius, and the Greek version calls it Ἰκτὸς λιμήν, as in another place Ὀκτὸς. And why might not that haven be as well called Ictius from the place with which it had the most considerable trade, as Britannicus, from its being the chief port to and from Britain.

verable in the names of different places in Cornwall.* In the time of Richard, king of the Romans, and earl of Cornwall, the produce of tin-mines is represented as immense: And the Jews were farmed out to the prince by his brother Henry the Third; insomuch that the interest which they possest was at his disposal. The working of tin-mines in Spain was at this time, also, obstructed by the Moors: And none were as yet discovered in Germany, Malabar, or the East-Indies: The earl of Cornwall, therefore, engrossed nearly the whole tin-trade of Europe.‡

* "It is supposed that the Jewes firste endeuored to dyue into theis rocks for this commodious minerall, thowgh they then wanted theys preuayling instruments, which latter times doe afforde. Their pick-axes were of weake mater to comaunde the obdurate rockes; as of holme, which some call holee or huluer, of boxe, hartes horne, and suche like; which kinde of tooles modern tynnmen finde in olde forsaken workes, which to this daye retayn the name of *Attall Sarazin*: the Jewes cast-off workes, in their Hebrew speache." *Norden*, p. 11, 12.---"The Jews are still mentioned in the "*Attal Sarazin*," the offcasts of the *Saracens*; old works supposed to have been wrought by the Saracens, or Jews. "The Cornish tradition is, that the Saxons inhabiting these parts, were the chief workers and searchers for tin, who in those antient days wrought not with spades, and working tools, made with iron, as they now do, but all made of oak; they, as they got their tin, had their blowing-houses, now called smelting-houses, near their works; for proof whereof, divers workers of tin have often found their shovels, spades, and mattocks, made all of oak and holly: but whether those workers were Saxons, or Danes, or any other nation, is not certain; the tinners call the antient works by the name of the working of the Jews; it is most manifest, that there were Jews inhabiting here until the year of our Lord 1291, and this they prove by the names yet enduring, viz. *Attall Sarazin*, in English, The Jews Feast. But whether they had liberty to work and search for tin, does not appear, because they had their dwellings chiefly in great towns and cities; and being great usurers, were in that year banished out of England, to the number of 15,060, by the most noble prince Edward I. It appeareth by some antient records, relating to the customs of the stannaries, that the tinners, before the charter of Edward I. wrought and searched for tin in wastrell ground, and in the prince's several lands only, where any tin might be found, and had liberty to dig, search, and make shafts, and pitch bounds, paying only to the prince, or lord of the soil, the fifteenth boll, to and for toll of their tin, and to work for tin in places of the most advantage, excepting only sanctuary ground, churches, mills, houses, and gardens; provided always, that if the said tinners, in their working, chanced to subvert or work up any man's house, or high way, the tinners so subverting, should, at their own proper cost and charges, make, or cause to be made up, the said houses, or highway, so subverted or undermined." *Pearce's* Pref. pp. 2, 3.

‡ "Olde Robert of Glocester in the time of king Henry III. honoured his countrey with these his best English rimes, which I doubt not but some (although most now are of the new cut) will giue the reading.

England is a well good land, in the stead best
Set in the one end of the world, and reigneth west.
The sea goeth him all about, he stint as an yle,
Of foes it need the lesse doubt: but it be through gile
Of folke of the selfe land, as me hath I sey while
From south to north it is long, eight hundred mile,
And two hundred mile broad from east to west to wende
Amid the land as it might be: and not as in the one ende,
Plentie men may in England: of all good see
But folke it agult, other yeares the worse and worse be,
For England is full enough of fruite and of treene
Of woods and of parkes that ioy it is to seene.

II. With respect to the mode of working for minerals, the ancient *streaming* was still continued. In the mean time, the *shammel-works* must, I think, have been almost superseded by *shafts*.‖ And that shafts were sunk to a considerable depth before the close of this period, is plain from the immense riches of the tin-mines, and

Haue patience also to reade that which followeth in him of some cities in this realme·
In the countrey of Canterburys most plentie of fisn is,
And most chase of wilde beasts, about Salisbury I wis.
And London ships most, and wine at Winchester.
At Hartford sheepe and oxe: and fruite at Worcester.
Soape about Couentrie: and yron at Glocester.
Metall, lead, and tinne in the countrey of Exeter." *Camden's Remains*, p.

The country of Exeter then included, in the common forms of speech, both Cornwall and Devon.

‖ Pryce however thinks differently. "I do not suppose (says he) the present methods for working tin mines, by deep shafts, and by driving and stopeing under the firm ground has been practised more than three hundred years past. Prior to those means for raising of tin, they wrought a vein from the bryle to the depth of eight or ten fathoms, all open to grass, very much like the fosse of an intrenchment. This was performed by meer dint of labour, when men worked for one-third of the wages they now have. By that method they had no use for foreign timber, neither were they acquainted with the use of hemp and gunpowder. This fosse they call a coffin, which they laid open several fathoms in length east and west, and raised the tin-stuff on shammels, plots, or stages, six feet high from each other till it came to grass. Those shammels, in my apprehension, might have been of three kinds, yet all answering the same end. First, they sunk a pit one fathom in depth and two or three fathoms in length, to the east and to the west, of the middle part of the lode discovered; then they squared out another such piece of the lode for one or two fathoms in length as before; at the same time others were sinking the first or deepest ground sunk in like manner; they next went on and opened another piece of ground each way from the top as before, while others again were still sinking in the last and in the deepest part likewise: in this manner they proceeded step after step; from which notion arises the modern method of stoping the bottoms under-ground. Thus they continued sinking from cast to cast, that is as high as a man can conveniently throw up the tin-stuff with a shovel, till they found the lode became either too deep for hand work, too small in size, very poor in quality, or too far inclined from its underlie for their perpendicular workings. Secondly, if the lode was bunchy, or richer in one part than another, they only laid open and sunk upon it, perhaps in small pitches not more in length than one of the stopes or shammels before described. The shortness of such a piece of lode would not admit of their sinking stope after stope; it was then natural and easy for them, to square out a shammel on one side or wall of their lode, and so to make a landing-place for their tin-stuff cast after cast. Thirdly, if the lode was wide, and the walls of it, and the adjoining country, very hard solid ground, it was in such case more easy for them to make shammels or stages, with such timber, &c. as was cheapest and nearest at hand. This, with streaming, I take to be the plain simple state of mining in general, three centuries ago; and from hence is derived the custom of shammeling both above and under-ground at this time; for in clearing of attle, (deads) or filling the kibble with ore, the miners prefer a shammel, which is a stage of boards, for the more light and easy use of their shovels. But as this manner of working was irreconcileable with the discovery and raising any tin-stuff below a certain very shallow depth, it became necessary to contrive some other way to follow downwards the inviting rich stones of tin some lodes produced. The method of shammeling, even in those moderate times has been expensive, where a very small lode of tin occurred in a hard country. To remove a dense hard stratum of rocky overburden, must be very fatiguing and perplexing; therefore they found it most adviseable to sink shafts down upon the lode, to cut it at some depth, and then to drive and stope east and west upon the course of the lode: in time, no doubt, such improvements presented, as rendered that the cheapest and most established custom of mining." *Pryce's Mineral.* pp, 141, 142.

the great quantity of silver raised in Cornwall. In the reign of Edward the First there was enough produced to defray the expences of his wars. Yet the remains of mining in the isles of Sylleh, exhibit no other appearances than those of common stone-quarries.‖

III. We cannot speak with certainty of any particular stream-works or mines. The Porth-stream-works were situated near the shore of Trewardreth-bay.* The ore was of the purest kind, and contained rather more than two-thirds of metal. The pebbles from which the metal was extracted, were in size from sand-like grains to that of a small egg; they were included in a bluish marle mixed with sand, and containing various marine exuviæ. The depth of the principal bed was nearly twenty feet, and its breadth about six or seven. This appears to have been worked at a very remote period, and before iron tools were employed; as large pickaxes, made of oak, holm, and box, have been found in it. The soil in this vicinity is supposed by Dr. Maton to have been partly formed by a deposit from the sea, and partly by mould and fragments washed from the surrounding mountains. In St. Blazey, St. Austel, St. Stephens in Brannel, and St. Ewe, are many old stream-works; which are commonly attributed to the Jews.† The Carnon-

‖ "On the downs in the isle of Trescaw (says Borlase) 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, 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. A little further, 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 tinners call costean shafts, which are only six or eight feet perpendicular; to the west end of these pits there is the mouth of the drain, or adit. This course of tin bears east and west nearly, as our loads of 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." *Borlase's* Isles of Scilly, p. 45. Of this work, see pp. 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78. The tin-mines on Dartmoor, that were wrought very anciently, were abandonded for want of machinery on account of their depth; though I own, that depth was shallowness itself when compared with the present depth of the Cornish mines, in general; not to mention that at the time when the Dartmoor tin-mines were worked, the use of gunpowder for blasting rocks, was also unknown.

* These stream-works are classed in Maton's Observations on the Western Counties, with the most considerable of the kind, in Cornwall. They were all washed away by the sea in the year 1801.

† "There are several streams of tin in St. Stephen's Brannel, St. Ewe, St. Blazey, and other places, but the most considerable stream of tin in Cornwall is that of St. Austel moor, which is a narrow valley about a furlong wide, (in some places somewhat wider) running near three miles from the town of St. Austel southward to the sea. On each side, and at the head above St. Austel are many hills, betwixt which there are little valleys which all discharge their

stream-works were probably known before the present æra. They are situated near an arm of Falmouth harbour, called Restronget creek, into which flow a number of rivulets from the hills eastward of Redruth. At present, they occupy a portion of ground nearly one mile in length, and three hundred yards broad, and are by far the most rich and extensive of any stream-works in the county. The pebbles from which the metal is extracted, are embedded in a marle, mixed, like that at Porth, with sand and marine shells. The whole space, indeed, now occupied by the stream-works, appears to have been gained from the sea; the mud and other matter washed down by the streams, having raised a sort of enbankment, which, by its continual extension, and some assistance from art, has gradually contracted the boundaries of the tide. The bed of tin-pebbles is about thirty-six feet below the surface of the ground: its thickness is from four to six feet. Immediately on the bed of tin several stags-horns have been found, one of which measured three feet from the root to the point. Skulls and other bones

waters, and whatever else they receive from the higher grounds, into St. Austel moor: whence it happens that the ground of this moor is all adventitious for about three fathoms deep, the shodes and streams from the hills on each side being here collected and ranged into floors, according to their weight, and the successive dates of their coming thither. The uppermost coat consists of thin layers of earth, clay, and pebbly gravel, about five feet deep; the next *stratum* is about six feet deep, more stony, the stones pebbly-formed, with a gravelly sand intermixed: these two coverings being removed, they find great numbers of tin-stones from the bigness of a goose-egg, and sometimes larger, down to the size of the finest sand. The tin is inserted in a *stratum* of loose smoothed stones, from a foot diameter downwards to the smallest pebble. From the present surface of the ground down to the solid rock or karn, is eighteen feet deep at a medium: in the solid rock there is no tin. This stream-tin is of the purest kind; and great part of it, without any other management than being washed upon the spot, brings thirteen parts for twenty at the melting-house. In one of the workings here were lately found, about eight feet under the surface, two slabs, or small blocks of melted tin, of about twenty-eight pounds weight each, of a shape very different from that which for many years has obtained in Cornwall; and as they have no stamp on them, probably as old as the time when the Jews had engrossed the tin manufacture in the time of king John. They have semicircular handles or loops to them, as if to sling and carry them more conveniently on horseback: they are much corroded by the sharp waters in which they have layn, a kind of rust or scurf-like incrustation inclosing the tin. Probably there were some Jewish melting-houses near the place; and when these houses were plundered and destroyed, some of the blocks remained in the rubbish, and by the floods, which this valley is so subject to, washed downwards, and covered where they were found. In the stream-works in St. Stephen's Brannel, they also find now and then some small lumps of melted tin, two inches square and under. What I have seen of this kind cuts with difficulty, and is more harsh and gritty than the common melted tin, owing to this perhaps, that the ancient melters had not then discovered how to flux their tin into the purity and toughness of the present age. These nodules I look upon also as fragments of melted tin, scattered from the Jewish melting-houses." *Nat. Hist.* pp. 162, 163, 164.---"In St. Blazey Moor, at the depth of twenty feet, they have what they call stream (tin ore) about five feet in thickness in the bottom, great part of which had been anciently wrought before iron tools were known, several wooden pick-axes of oak, holm, and box having been lately found therein. Over this they have a complete stratum of black mud, fit for burning; on this a stratum of gravel, very poor in tin; on this another stratum of mud; and uppermost gravel again." *Pryce*, p. 68.

have likewise been discovered here: and, what renders it apparent that these works were known at a very early period, a wooden shovel, and various picks made of deers horn, have also been found. Almost all the vallies in Cornwall, indeed, were anciently streamed for tin. And many places took their denomination from this circumstance.* Of shammel-works or shafts, I mention the places, with much hesitation. It appears, that a store of tin was raised in former times, on Hengsten down.‡ There were old tin-mines in St. Agnes; in Gwennap; in Wendron; and in Breage.‖

IV. Of the methods of stamping and dressing, melting and coining the tin, a circumstantial account will be hereafter given. The art of manufacturing tin, was, doubtless, ancient; but, during the times of the Saxons and the Normans, it seems

* Carew tells us, that Polwhele may be interpreted "the *miry work*." On this Mr. Tonkin remarks. "I take the true etymology of this work to be Polgueul, the top of the field: For the present Mr. Polwhele assures me, that he could never discover the footsteps of any workings or mines in or near this place. But in 1734, an old work was discovered on this barton, in a *very miry place*, which answers to Carew's idea. It is now in working." *Tonkin's MSS.* But "the miry work" certainly refers to the old stream tin-works in a valley, which are still very apparent, and which tradition ascribes to the Jews.

‡ "From Plymmouth hauen, passing farther into the countrie, Hengsten downe, presenteth his waste head and sides to our sight This name it borroweth of Hengst, which in the Saxon signifieth a horse, and to such least daintie beasts it yeeldeth fittest pasture. The countrie people haue a by word, that,

Hengsten downe, well ywrought,
Is worth London towne, deare ybought.

Which grewe from the store of tynne, in former times, there digged vp: but that gainfull plentie is now fallen to a scant-sauing scarcitie. Those workes afford store of the formentioned Cornish diamonds. The neighbouring inhabitants obserue also, that when the top of Hengsten, is capped with a cloud, the same bodeth a showre within short time after. Roger Houeden reporteth, that about ann. 806. a fleete of Danes arriued in West-Wales with whome the Welsh ioyned in insurrection against king Egbright, but hee gloriously discomfited them, at Hengistendune, which I take to be this place (if at least West-Wales may, by interpretation, passe for Cornwall) because the other prouince, of that time, is more commonly diuided into north and south." *Carew*, f. 115. b.

‖ "In this parish, stands Godolphin-Ball, i. e. Godolphin Plague, or a place that bringeth death: and this and all other tin-mines are generally under this or like circumstance, whereof in British, many of them are called balls, (as St. Agnes Ball, Ball-dehen, Gwenap, and others.) This is that inexhaustible mountain or tin-work, which for some hundreds of years hath afforded its owners, or lords, the Lamburns, Stephens, Godolphins, and other adventurers, several thousand pounds worth of tin per annum, and which is called a Ball, from the dangerous, wet, deep, and miserable occupation of the labouring tinners therein. For which reason when the Romans ruled here, Tacitus, from the speech of Galgack ap Lienack, king of the Northern Britons, informs us, that none but captives, slaves, and condemned persons were obliged to work under ground in tin mines." *Hals*. p. 139.---"It pays the wages of at least three hundred men yearly." *Tonkin's MSS.*---*St. Mewan* (Muin) a *mine*; so called, Hals thinks, in reference to the many tin-lodes and works in the parish!!!

to have been very imperfect. At the place of coinage, indeed, the process was nearly the same, as we shall notice at a future period.§

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

MANUFACTURES.

I can state few facts respecting our Manufactures. First, for the Woollen. From some scattered memoirs it appears, that the English wool was of a superior quality to any other; and that the Spanish wool owed its celebrity to a present of some sheep from Henry II. to the king of Spain. But the woollen manufacture in England, was almost lost, at the close of the period before us. And unmanufactured fleeces were sent to foreign markets. In the mean time, the Cornish wool had, from its coarseness, the name of Cornish hair; in consideration of which, it was exempted

§ When the tin is brought to the coinage town, the officers appointed by the Duke of Cornwall assay it, by taking off a piece of one of the under corners of the block of about a pound weight, partly by cutting and partly by breaking; and, if well purified, stamp the face of the block with the impression of the seal of the dutchy;* which stamp is a permission for the owner to sell, and at the same time an assurance that the tin so marked, has been purposely examined and found merchantable. The stamping of this impression by a hammer (in like manner as was anciently done to money to make it current) is called coining the tin.

* The arms of Condorus last earl of Cornwall of British blood (temp. W. 1.) were Sab. 15 bezants (5, 4, 3, 2, 1) in pale, Or. See Camden, p. 26. Richard king of the Romans, earl of Cornwall, son to king John, threw these bezants into a bordure round the bearing of the earls of Poictou: he bore, therefore, argent a lyon rampant gul. crowned or within a bordure sable garnished by bezants, (see Camden, p. 27) and this still continues the dutchy seal.

from the duties of exportation. We are told, indeed, that Cornish cloth was exported, free from the customary duty: if so, the fleece seems to have been manufactured in Cornwall.* The manufacture of tin, which was carried to some degree of perfection by the ancient Britons, now greatly declined. Tin cups, basons, and pitchers were originally made by the Cornish: And the Romans taught them to combine two or three of their metals, and form another; I mean the argentarium, or pewter. But with the Romans, we seem to have lost, for a while, our ingenuity. The art of making earthen vessels, so frequent with the Roman-Cornish, was probably continued in the Saxon and the Norman times. The finest clays for porcelain were always at hand: And, the steatite at the Lizard, was not, perhaps, unknown to our forefathers.

* To Bishop Blaze, the reputed inventor of wool-combing, Cornwall hath some claim; if St. Blazey be dedicated to that bishop, and if, as tradition says, St. Blazey was his landing-place. His effigy is preserved in the church; And an annual festival is held in the parish for his commemoration at the same time that it is observed by all the wool-combers in the kingdom. In his "Fleece," *Dyer* celebrates St. Blasius, who,

> ....." filled at length
> With inspiration, after various thought,
> And trials manifold, with well-known voice
> Gather'd the poor, and o'er Vulcanian stoves,
> With tepid lees of oil, and spiky comb,
> Shew'd how the fleece might stretch to greater length,
> And cast a glossier whiteness. Wheels went round;
> Matrons and maids with songs reliev'd their toils;
> And every loom received the softer yarn.
> What poor, what widow, BLASIUS, did not bless,
> Thy teaching hand? thy bosom, like the morn,
> Op'ning its wealth? What nation did not seek,
> Of thy new-modell'd wool, the curious webs?
> HENCE the glad cities of the loom his name
> Honour with yearly festals: through their streets
> The pomp, with tuneful sounds, and order just,
> Denoting labor's happy progress, moves,
> Procession slow and solemn."
>
> Book II. pp. 55, 56.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

COMMERCE.

IT might naturally be expected, from the extent of the coasts of Cornwall, and our various ports or harbours, that I might enter into some detail, on the subject of Commerce. But the present period is too early for circumstantial narrative. I possess, however, a few scattered particulars of our ports and shipping, our exports, and our fairs, and markets, and coins.

I. Respecting the Cornish* ports or harbours, the chronicles of these days are, in general, silent. - - - *Saltash* had large privileges over the haven appertaining to it, a yearly rent of boats and barges, anchorage of strange shipping, and dragging of oysters, except between Candlemas and Easter. These liberties it derived from the castle of Trematon, the head of that honor. - - - - - As a port, *Fawey* had considerable privileges.† - - - - - In the *Truro* charters, to which I have already referred, there is no intimation of that grand privilege that Truro certainly possessed, and which is thus

* *A port* is a place to which only, the officers of the customs are appropriated, and which includes all the privileges and guidance of all the members and creeks thereto allotted. *A member of a port*, is a place where anciently a custom-house was kept, and officers or their deputies attend: And such are lawful places for importation or exportation. *A creek* is a place where commonly officers are or have been placed, by way of prevention, not out of duty or right of attendance: Such are not lawful places for importation or exportation, without particular licence or sufferance from the port or member under which it is placed. See Acts of Parliament relating to ports; 1. Eliz. c. 13. 14. Charles, 2. c. 14. 6. Anne. c. 26, 18.

† "The townsmen vaunt, that for reskuing certaine ships of Rye from the Normans, in Henrie the Third's time, they beare the armes, and enjoy part of the priviledges appertaining to *the Cinque Ports*; whereof there is some memorie in their chancell window, with the name of Fisart Bagga, their principal commander in that service." *Carew*, f. 135.

referred to in the last visitation of the county. "We find that the mayor of Truro hath always been and still is mayor of Falmouth, as by an ancient grant now in the custody of the mayor and burgesses doth appear." The superiority of Truro over all the harbour of Falmouth is here attested by a record of 1622, and an ancient grant now "in the custody," &c. appealed to by the record. This distinguishing privilege had been ceded to Truro by a grant of a particular nature; but from the manner the visitation refers to it, the grant must have been so early as to be without a date, and was probably, therefore, about the same age as Reginald's and Lucy's charters. Yet the privilege had in all likelihood been transferred from another town, and possibly from Tregoney, as that was the first town on the arm of the harbour.---That *Helston* was once a port, I have before stated as a traditional tale. But the Loe-pool seems to have been a lake, as at the present day, for many generations.‡---It should seem, that there was once a port at the *Mount*, called *Ruminella*.‖---On the north coast, *St. Ives*, *Padstow*, and *Bude*, were, doubtless, ports of consequence.---I find

‡ When the waters extend so far, as to obstruct the working of the mills at Helston and Carminow, the millers apply to the lord of the manor, and presenting him with two leather purses, each containing three-halfpence, solicit his permission to open the bar. This is a very ancient usage.

‖ "Edward the Confessor, first founder of this monastery, gave to St. Michael the Archangel for the use of the brothers there serving God, St. Michael next the sea, and all the land of Vennefire, as also the port called Ruminella." Here is a port, that is, a place for landing and embarking for import and export for safe ingress and egress of shipping mentioned as early as Edward the Confessor and a particular name given to that port of which there are now no remains any where in the neighbourhood or elsewhere in Cornwall. This Ruminella was a port it seems (i. e. a place for export and import) had mills, and fish-ponds and lands (called territorium) round it, some cultivated, some not, but yielding some revenues. But I find the haven (or port) of Romney in Kent had a name very like it. "The king, (viz. Henry the Third, in the year 1258,) being informed that this haven of Romenale (alias Romney) in Kent, was in danger of being destroyed by stoppage of the river Newenden, had sent into those parts Nicholas de Handco, soon after lord of Barstall," &c. *Dugdale's* History, p. 14. cited in *Kenn.* Par. Ant. p. 254. Whether Romney was the Ruminella mentioned, or the townlet of which the legend of St. Michael speaks, now (as Leland says) under water "is very difficult to ascertain but by the register of this house, still extant, as bishop Tanner says, in the library of the earl of Salisbury." *Price's MS. of the Mount*, pp. 43, 44.----"This mount is comparatively a pyramidal stragg of white and gray cloe rocks, that is to say, a sort of marble, containing about seven acres of land in compass. At the foot whereof, towards the land, is a level piece of ground covered with grass; where there is a wharf or key, for landing goods and merchandizes from the sea; also some dwelling-houses, and fish-cellars, and a cemetery for burying the dead. To this mount the sea daily makes its flux and reflux; and affords safe riding and anchorage to boats, barks, and barges, with some winds. And that which tends more to the convenience and security of this place, at low water it is all a part of the insular continent of Britain, and at full sea an island of itself. To which purpose thus speaks Mr. Carew, out of the Cornish Wonder-gatherer;—

Hugh de Nevil warden of the sea-ports for *Cornwall, Devon, Dorset,* and *Hants*; and accounting for 170*l.* 11*s.* for casual profits arising out of these ports.§

Who knows not Migell's mount and chair, the pilgrim's holy vaunt,
Both land and island twice a day, both fort and port of haunt." *W. Hals*, p. 37.

----In examining the state of our ports and harbours, I must necessarily speak of the Isles of Sylleh. In these isles, however, great changes must have taken place, since the times of the Saxons and the Normans. " I observed (says Borlase) the Guel hill of Brehar, and the isle of Guel, stretching away towards the little isle of Scilly, and with it making a curve, of which Scilly is the head land; and from the furthermost hill of Brehar a promontory shoots out, at the extreme point of which rises a vast rocky turret called the castle of Brehar: on every side many rocks shew themselves above water, and intimate their former connexion with Brehar, and their being reduced to their present nakedness by the fury of the ocean. From this disposition therefore of the rocks and islets on this side, we may answer a question, which would otherwise be extremely difficult to solve, viz. How came all these islands to have their general name from so small and inconsiderable a spot as the isle of Scilly, whose cliffs hardly any thing but birds can mount, and whose barrenness would never suffer any thing but sea birds to inhabit there? A due observation of the shores will answer this question very satisfactorily, and convince us that what is now a bare rock about a furlong over, and separated from the lands of Guel and Brehar about half a mile, was formerly joined to them by low necks of land, and that Trescaw, St. Martin's, Brehar, Samson, and the rocks and islets adjoining, made formerly but one island; nay, to these, I believe, I may safely add the eastern islands and St. Mary's too, there being great flats reaching from St. Martin's almost to both, all uncovered at low-water, and having but four feet water in the deepest part. This (at that time) great island had several creeks, such as New and Old Grynsey and others, by the sea's incroachment, or by the dipping of the lands, since extended into harbours: It had also several head-lands, of which that now called Scilly was the highest, outermost, and consequently most conspicuous. To pursue this conjecture a little further; when all these islands abovementioned made but one, that one went by the name of Sylle, or some word of like sound and derivation, and having some little islands scattered round it, it imparted its name to its inferiors, whence what were called by the Greeks, Cassiterides, were named by the latin authors Sigdeles, Sillinæ, Silures; and by the English, Sylley, Sulley, and Scilly.* I must go farther still, and observe, that the promontory now called Scilly island, lying the westernmost of all the high lands, was the first land of all these islands discerned by traders from the Mediterranean and Spanish coasts, and as soon as discovered was said to be Scilly, nothing being more usual with sailors upon their first seeing land, than to call the part by the name of the whole, with proofs of which I will not detain you. But when this considerable island was broken to pieces, and the great portions became inhabited, they required distinct appellations, and were called according to the religion of the times, when the monks were settled among them, after the names of particular saints. The chief division was called St. Mary's in honour of the virgin-mother; the next dedicated to St. Nicholas, the general patron-saint of all sea-faring people, the others to St. Martin, St. Samson, and so on, but this remarkable promontory now called Scilly, being no longer fit for habitation was dedicated to no saint, but left to enjoy its ancient name, and notwithstanding the modern Christian dedications, sailors went on still in their own way; this high land was called Scilly still, and the islands in general are still denominated (from what was anciently their principal) the Scilly Isles. These islands being so noted among the ancients, I expected to find among the inhabitants a conscious esteem of their own antiquity, and of the figure they had made in history before the other parts of Britain were at all known, or at least regarded. I was not without some hopes of finding old towns, old castles, perhaps inscriptions, and works of grandeur; but there is nothing of this kind; the inhabitants are all new comers; not one old habitation, nor any remains of Phenician and Grecian art in the ports, castles, towns, temples, or sepulchres. All the antiquities

§ *Mag. Rot.* 15. John. 8. 15. *Madox's Hist. Exchcq.* 213, 530, 531. *Baron. Anglican.* 581.

* The natives called these islands " Sulleh" - - - " flat rocks dedicated to the Sun."

2. For our shipping; Alfred is commonly esteemed the founder of the naval strength of England. But the laws of Athelstan gave peculiar encouragement to

here to be seen, are of the rudest Druid times, and if borrowed in any measure from the oriental traders (superstition being very infectious) were borrowed from their most ancient and simple rites. We are not to think however but that Scilly was really inhabited, and as frequently resorted to anciently, as the old historians relate. All the islands, by the remains of hedges, walls, houses contiguous to each other, and a number of sepulchral burrows shew that they have been fully cultivated and inhabited. What the ancients say of its name, customs, trade and inhabitants, I shall not trouble you with, as affording us few lights; you will find all this collected in the last edition of Camden, (p. 1519) but I should not excuse myself, if I did not lay before you the hints, which things themselves suggested, and which our own records supply us withal. That these islands were inhabited by Britons is past all doubt, not only from their neighbourhood to Britain, but from the Druid monuments; the several rude pillars, circles of erect stones, kistvaens without number, rock-basons, and tolmens, all monuments common in Cornwall and Wales, equal evidences of the antiquity, religion, and original of the old inhabitants; they have also many British names at present for their little islands, tenements, karns, and creeks, and more, doubtless, have been forgot or jostled out by modern ones. How came these ancient inhabitants then, it may be asked, to vanish so, as that the present have no pretensions to any affinity, or connexion of any kind either in blood, language, or customs? How came they to disappear and leave so few traces of trade, plenty, and arts, and no posterity that we can hear of behind them? In answer to which, as this is the most remarkable crisis in the history of these islands, you will excuse me if I enlarge; and if I make use of the same arguments which I had the honour lately to lay before the Royal Society, it is because they have the same weight with me now as they had before, and the course of the present subject will not suffer so momentous a part of natural history to be omitted. Two causes of the extinction of the old inhabitants, their habitations, and works of peace, war, and religion, occur to me; the gradual advances of the sea, and a sudden submersion of the land. The sea is perpetually preying upon these little islands, and leaves nothing where it can reach but the skeleton, the bared rock. It has before been mentioned that many hedges now under water, and flats which stretch from one island to another, are plain evidences of a former union subsisting between these now distinct islands. History speaks the same truth. "The isles of Cassiterides (says *Strabo*) are ten in number, close to one another, one of them is desert and unpeopled, the rest are inhabited." But see how the sea has multiplied these islands, there are now reckoned more than one hundred and forty, into so many fragments are they divided. The continual advances which the sea makes upon the land at present, are plain to all people of observation, and within these last thirty years have been very considerable. I was shewn 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. What we see happening every day may assure us of what has happened in former times, and from the banks of sand and the low lands giving way to the sea, and the breaches becoming still more open and irremediable, it appears that there has been a gradual declension and diminution of the solids, and as gradually a progressive ascendancy of the fluids for many ages. But farther, ruins and hedges are frequently seen upon the shifting of the sands in the friths between the islands, and the low lands which were formerly cultivated, (particularly those stretching from Samson to Trescaw,) 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; this therefore will make sixteen feet difference at least between their ancient and present level; there are several phænomena of the same nature to be seen on these shores; as particularly a straight-lined ridge like a causeway, running cross the Old-Town creek in St. Mary's, which is now never seen above-water. On the isle of Annet there are large stones now covered by every full tide, which have rock-basons cut into their surface, and which therefore must have been placed in a much higher situation when those basons, in other places generally so high, and probably of superstitious use for receiving the waters of heaven, were worked into them. Again, tin-mines they certainly had in these islands two hundred years before Christ. What is become of these mines? for the mines at present to be seen shew no marks of their being

navigation. The merchant, who had been thrice across the high seas upon his own

ancient. To account for these alterations, the gradual advances and slow depredations of the sea will not suffice; 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, the whole ocean has been raised as to its surface, sixteen feet and more perpendicular; which latter supposition will appear to the learned without doubt much the harder of the two. I conclude, therefore, that these islands have undergone some great catastrophe, and besides the apparent diminution of their islets by sea and tempest, must have suffered greatly by a subsidence of the land, (the common consequence of earthquakes) attended by a sudden inundation in those parts where the above-mentioned ruins, fences, mines, and other things of which we have no vestiges now remaining, formerly stood. This inundation probably destroyed many of the ancient inhabitants, and so terrified those who survived, and had wherewithal to support themselves elsewhere, that they forsook these islands, by which means the people who were the aborigines, and corresponded so long with the Phenicians, Greeks, and Romans were reduced to the last gasp. The few poor remains of the desolation might soon lose sight of their ancient prosperity and eminence, by their necessary attention to food and raiment; no easy acquisitions, when their low-lands, ports, and towns were overwhelmed by the sea. Give me leave to observe in the next place, that this inundation may be traced in the traditions we have had for many ages among the Cornish, and stands confirmed by some phænomena on the shores of Cornwall. That there existed formerly such a country as the Lionesse, stretching from the Land's-end to the Scilly Isles is much talked of in our parts. Antoninus places a little island called Lissia here, but whether he means the Wolf ledge of rocks, or any portion of the Scilly Isles is uncertain; however there are no appearances of any island in this channel at present. Mr. Carew, (in his Survey of Cornwall, p. 3.) 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. 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; but I produce these arguments only as proofs of the tradition and strong persuasion amongst the Cornish, that such a country once existed and is now buried under the sea, not as proofs of the matter of fact, for of that I am very dubious, the Cassiterides, by the most ancient accounts of them, appearing always to have been islands. I rather guess that this tradition of the Lionesse, and a great country between the Land's-End and Scilly being overwhelmed by the sea, might have taken its rise from that subsidence and inundation which not only these islands have certainly undergone, but part of the shores of Cornwall also, for in Mount's-Bay we have several evidences of a like subsidence. The principal anchoring-place is called a lake, but is now an open harbour. St. Michael's Mount, from its Cornish name, must have stood formerly in a wood, but at full tide is now half a mile in the sea, and no tree near it. Leland (Itin. vol. iii. p. 7.) talking of this Mount, says that an "ould legend of St. Michael speaketh of a tounelet in this part, now defaced and under the water;" in confirmation of which alterations I must observe, that on the beach betwixt the Mount and the town of Penzance, when the sands have been dispersed and drawn out into the sea, I have seen the trunks of several large trees in their natural position, (as well as I can recollect) worn smooth just above their roots, upon which at full tide there must be twelve feet of water. Neither is what Mr. Scawen says in his MS. an inconsiderable confirmation that Cornwall has lost much land on the southern coast, that there was "a valley between Ramhead and Loo, and that there is to be seen on a clear day, in the bottom of the sea, a league from the shore, a wood of timber lying on its side uncorrupted, as if formerly grown therein, when it was dry ground thrown down by the violence of the waves. Of this several persons have informed me (says Mr. Scawen) who have, as they said, often seen the same." So that the shores in Scilly, and the neighbouring shores in Cornwall (not forgetting the Wolf ledge of rocks midway between both) are equal evidences that there has been a subsidence of the land in these parts, and the memory of the inundation which followed upon that subsidence is preserved by tradition, though, like other traditions, greatly enlarged and obscured by fable. When this inundation happened we may be willing to know, but must be without hopes of knowing with any certainty. In the time of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, the commerce of these islands seems to have been in full vigour; "abundance of tin carried in carts," says

account, became entitled to the rank and privileges of a thane.* Yet the royal navy had no existence under the Saxon monarchs, except in the pinnaces or barges for the king's own use. The different sea-ports of the kingdom were bound by their tenure to supply their quota of ships, whenever the public service required it. According to some of our historians, the ships of Edgar amounted to more than three thousand. But these ships, though many in number, must have been insignificant in point of size. That English ships were much valued in the time of Henry II. we may conclude from a law of that king prohibiting the sale of them to foreigners.† And the fleet of Richard the First were much admired at Messina in Sicily, for their number, magnitude, and beauty.‡

the latter; "but ten islands in all, says Strabo, and nine of these inhabited." The destruction thereof of Scilly, must be placed after the time of these authors; that is, after the Augustan age, but at what time after, I find nothing as yet that can determine: Plutarch indeed (of the Cessation of Oracles) hints that the islands round Britain were generally unpeopled in his time; if he includes Scilly among them, and was rightly informed, then this desolation must have happened betwixt the reign of Trajan and that of Augustus. There was a great subsidence in the southern coasts of England, in the time of Edward the First, whereby Winchelsea, near Rye, in Sussex was swallowed up, and its ruins are now three miles within the high sea, and for the unhappy inhabitants who had lost their town, Edward the First bought land and gave it them, and there stands the new Winchelsea. But I must observe that if the subsidence at Scilly and Mount's-Bay were so late, we could not have been without some notice of it, and in the complaints of the monks of Scilly to Edward the First, we must needs have found so great a misfortune particularly mentioned; whereas their petition was only for protection from pirates and foreign sailors. In the year 1014 happened a great inundation, of which the Saxon Chronicle gives this account: "Hoc item anno in vigiliis Sancti Michaelis contigit magna ista maris inundatio per latam hanc terram quæ longius expatiata, quam antea unquam, demersit multa oppida et hominum numerum inenarrabilem." But I think the catastrophe of these islands cannot be placed even so late as this; for the monks being placed here either by Athelstan, in the year 938, or soon after, nothing of this kind could have happened but it would have appeared somewhere or other, in the papers or history of Tavistock-abbey, at least, if the monks of Scilly were united to that abbey at its first foundation in the year 961. I therefore conjecture that this inundation must have happened before Athelstan's time; and by the Irish annals I find an inundation which might probably have affected the south of Ireland, and at the same time reached Scilly and the coast of Cornwall, which are not above fifty leagues distant from it to the east, nor much more than a degree to the south of it. "In the end of March A. D. 880, Hugh Dorndighe being monarch of Ireland, there happened such terrible shocks of thunder and lightning, that above a thousand persons were destroyed between Corca-Bascoin, a part of the county of Cork then so called, and the sea side. At the same time the sea broke through its banks in a violent manner, and overflowed a considerable tract of land. The island then called Innisfadda, on the west coast of this county, was forced asunder and divided into three parts. This island, says my author, lies contiguous to two others, viz. Hare Island and Castle Island, which lying in a range, and being low ground, might have been very probably then rent by the ocean." As this inundation in the southern parts of Ireland seems well attested, and might not unlikely have reached Cornwall and Scilly, I should think it most suitable to history, that this was what reduced, divided, and destroyed the Scilly Islands, and over-run the lands on Mount's-Bay." *Borlase's Isles of Scilly*, pp. 57 ..... 61. --- 84 ..... 99.

† *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 368.

‡ *Gauf. Vinesauf.* lib. 2. c. 26. p. 316. ---- As numerous ships have been wrecked on the coasts of Cornwall, it may be proper to state the following particulars. We find in Sir H. Spelman's code of the ancient statute laws of

3. The principal articles of Cornish exportation, were tin and fish. We may form some idea of the great quantities of tin that were exported, from an article in the accounts of Henry de Casteilan, chamberlain of London in the year 1198. In these accounts, he charges himself with 379*l.* 18*s.* which he had received in fines from the merchants of London, for leave to export tin.‖ The royal revenues arising from the tin-mines of Cornwall and Devonshire, were valued at this time at two thousand marks a year; a sum equivalent to ten thousand pounds of our money. They were granted at that rate to queen Berengaria, widow of Richard the First.¶ In the time of Richard, son of king John, king of the Romans and earl of Cornwall, the Cornish mines were immensely rich; and the Jews being farmed out to him by his brother Henry the Third, their interest was at his disposal. In the mean time, the tin-mines in Spain were stopped from working by the Moors: And no tin was as yet discovered in Germany: So that Devonshire and Cornwall had all the trade of Europe for tin; and the earl almost the sole profit of that trade.* Henry the Third ordered the merchants not to send away the *tin* from his land or the earl of Cornwall's without licence, either by land or sea; and unless signed by the coinage of the king or their earl.† Our *fish* (certainly the pilchard) formed a considerable article of commerce.‡

the kingdom of England, that, by the ancient law or custom of the English, when a ship was wrecked on the coast, if those who escaped from it did not repair to it within a limited time, the ship and all belonging to it, that was driven ashore, became the right and property of the lord of the manor. Henry the First abhorring this custom, made a law to be observed throughout all his dominions, that, if but one man had escaped alive out of the wreck, the ship and its whole cargo should be given to him. This statute remained only in force during the life of the king who enacted it; for, under his successor, the nobles of the kingdom restored the ancient custom, to their own benefit. Henry the Second, however, revived the law of his grandfather, and enforced it with severe penalties against offenders.

‖ *Madox*, p. 531.

¶ *Rymer's Foed.* tom. i. p. 243.

* To Devonshire and Cornwall, the commerce for tin was solely confined till about the middle of the thirteenth century; when one of our tinners being disobliged by Richard earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans, went into Germany, found the same metal, and taught the Saxons how to distinguish, search for, and dress their tin. The quantity of tin, however, which the Saxons raised, was very inconsiderable, and by no means adequate to the expence of raising and carrying it by land. And our tin continued to be superior in quantity and quality, and facility of exportation, to that of all the rest of the world.

† See Patent Rolls.

‡ "The Cornish (says *Camden*) make a gainful trade of those little fish called Pilchards, which are seen upon the sea-coast, as it were in great swarms, from July to November. These they catch, garbage, salt, smoke, barrel,

In his satire against Henry of Avranches, poet-laureat to Henry the Third, Michael the Cornish poet, thus celebrates his native shores:---

Non opus est ut opes numeram quibus est opulenta,
Et per quas inopes sustentat non ope lenta:
Piscibus et stanno nusquam tam fertilis ora!

4. For the more easy disposal of our commodities, fairs and markets were instituted by the Anglo-Saxon kings: And the times and places in which the people were accustomed to assemble, were commonly regarded. Hence the weekly markets, were often held at churches, on Sundays. A little before the conqueror's time, the day was, in general, changed from Sunday to Saturday: But the markets were still kept in the vicinity of churches. The greater commercial meetings or fairs were always held near some cathedral church or monastery, on the anniversary of the dedication of the church, or on the festival of the saint to whom it was dedicated. The bishops and abbots observing that people came from all parts to celebrate the festivals of their patron saints, applied to the crown for charters to hold fairs at these particular times. By this means they consulted the accommodation of strangers; and, what was their chief motive, increased their own revenues by the tolls which their charters authorised them to levy at those fairs.*----As *Launceston* was a principal residence of the earls of Cornwall for a great number of years, its consequence continually increased, and many liberties and privileges were bestowed on its inhabitants. Soon after the conquest, the market, which, from the time of Edward the Confessor, had been held at Lanstuphadon, or the "town of St. Stephen's church," about a mile distant, was transferred to Launceston; and in the reign of king John, the townsmen paid five marks for the privilege of removing the market-day from Sunday to Thursday; but it has since been changed to Saturday. In the reign of Henry the Third, the town was made a free borough by Richard, earl of Poitiers and

press; and so send them in great numbers to France, Spain, and Italy, where they are a welcome commodity, and are named *Fumados*." Pp. 3, 4.---The *Fumados* were, perhaps, the *Gerres* of Pliny.

* The occupiers of tenements held of the castle and honor of Plymton under certain rents and services constantly paid and observed, enjoy several benefits and immunities, and, in particular, are freed and discharged from paying any custom at *fairs and markets* within the counties of Devon and CORNWALL

Cornwall, and brother to the king. He also granted the inhabitants some additional immunities, which were confirmed by subsequent charters.* --- Of *Kellington*, the first mention I have met with, is in the reign of Henry III. when that king granted to Reginald de Ferrers, and his heirs, a market at his manor of Calweton, every Wednesday, and a fair annually, viz. on the eve, day, and morrow of the nativity of the blessed Mary.† --- There was a market at *St. German's*, at the Norman invasion. It was held on the Lord's day. But it was soon reduced to nothing by the rival market of the earl of Moreton at Trematon castle. --- The royalty of the town of *Bodmin* was at the time of the conquest held by this church; which had, as Domesday book informs us, in Bodmin, sixty-eight houses, and a market, valued at thirty-five shillings per annum, to which privilege of a market, with claim of a gallows, pillory, view of frank pledge, and a fair at Bodmin, the prior of this place certified his right in Edward the First's time. --- The bishops had two fairs yearly, within the manor of *Pawton* in *St. Breock*, on the first of May, and on Michaelmas-day.‡ --- The name of *Marazion*, or *Market-Jew*, (as my readers have been already informed) points out its market. And there is a tradition in the town, that there was a market of the Jews formerly there, and that it was held on the western strand of the sea.

5. As to the current coin of the county, it has been suggested, that we had none in gold, till Edward III. Yet in the Saxon and first Norman times, vast sums were paid in gold. The annual tribute exacted from the Cornish and Welsh by Athelstan, was twenty pounds of gold, and three hundred pounds in silver. And in Domesday, we find gold in ingots, contradistinguished from gold coin.§ There "were two coyners established at Exeter by the Saxons," says Camden. "The

* R. Fin. A. 7. Joh. p. 1. m. 12.

† Rex, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse, &c. Reginaldo de Ferrariis, quod ipse et Hæredes sui inperpetuum habeant unum mercatum apud manerium suum de Calweton, in comitatu Cornubiæ, singulis septimanis per diem Mercurii, et unam feriam ibidem singulis annis per tres dies duraturam, viz. in vigiliis, in die, et in crastino nativitatis beate Marie. Nisi mercatum illud et Feria illa sint ad nocumentum vicinorum, mercatorum, et vicinarum feriarum. Dat apud Wintoniam, 10 die Novembris, Cart. anno. 52. Henr. 3. m. 12.

‡ "They are held in Wadebridge-town, on the west side of the bridge, and enjoyed by Sir Wm. Morice, as lord of the manor. The town consists of only one street, in which are about thirty houses." *Tonkin's MSS.*

§ Libras auri ad pensum—libras ad numerum.

Norman kings continued the same form. In king Stephen's time, any earl and baron erected his mint; but Henry the Second suppressed them all; and granted the liberty of coining to certain cities and abbies. "In the time of Richard the First, money coined in the east parts of Germany, began to be in request in England for the purity thereof, and was called *Easterling* money."† The authors of the Magna Britannia‡ tell us, that, some years since, was found near Constantine church, a buff-bag full of silver pieces, some of king Arthur's coin, and some of king Canute's; and that a cross once stood on the spot where it was found. Carew§ mentions *leather-coins* found in the castle-wall at Launceston. They were French. Philip de Comines‖ informs us, that for a long time after king John of France was taken prisoner, the current coin of that kingdom, was nothing but bits of leather, with a silver nail in the middle of them. Probably, these were some of the sort.

† *Camden's Remains*, pp. 203, 204. "Neuerthelesse (continues Camden) this easterling good money was in a short time so corrupted and clipped by Jewes, Italian vsurers called then *Corsini*, (who were the first Christians that brought in usury among vs) and Flemings, that the king by proclamation was enforced to call in the old money, make a new stampe and to erect exchanges where the weight of old money was exchanged for new, allowing thirteen-pence for every pound, to the great damage of the people, who beside their trauaile, charge, and long attendance receiued (as my author saith) of the bankers scant twentie shillings for thirtie, which the earle of Cornewall farmed of the king reserving only the third part for the king." The late Mr. Southgate, in a letter to the author, thus writes:—'The Anglo-Saxon coins bear a peculiar relation to your county. There was a copious mint at Exeter from the time of Athelstan, which is extended to the reign of Edward the First. A great number of silver coins were also struck at that place from the crown to the penny in the time of Charles, and an occasional mint also of the half-crown, shillings, and half-shillings in the reign of William III. These two last coinages have been already engraven in Folkes and Snelling, so that you need only mention them and refer to those authors. But a series of those Anglo-Saxon and English coins to Edward I. inclusive, which relate to the county of Devon, and make a part of its history, should certainly appear in your work, especially as they have never been brought together. And that I may contribute my share, I have already got drawings of several coins, struck not only at Exeter, but at Totnes, Lydford, Tingmouth, and I believe Barnstaple. At least I have procured one, from a private collection, of Ethelred II. the reverse of which reads BVRHSIGEMO. BARO. The duke of Devonshire has one, which reads BERDESI. I should be glad to know your sentiments on this subject, and by what name Barnstaple was called in the Saxon times. The drawings I have mentioned would have been completed long ago, but from the repeated disappointments I have met with from my delineator. I now employ young Basire, a parishioner of mine, and as soon as the series is finished, I will present them to you, together with the descriptions, and send them wherever you think proper. Town pieces and tradesmens tokens, as they are called, have of late years frequently made their appearance in county histories." The death of Mr. Southgate, put an end to this valuable correspondence.

‡ P. 310.

§ *Carew*, f. 116.

‖ B. 5. c. 18.

I shall conclude this chapter with one observation. It is an idea at first carelessly adopted, and then repeated by almost all our historical writers, that the manufactures and commerce of this country, were yet in an infant state. But the truth is, manufacture, especially the woollen, had been growing up and flourishing under the Saxons and Normans, and spreading vigorously during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. But in the tumultuous reigns of John and Henry III. it languished, and almost sunk into annihilation.---A distinction should always be made between the first dawning of the arts, amidst the ignorance and unskilfulness of a semi-barbarous people, and their casual eclipse in civilized society. That the latter was the case, in the present instance with respect to England, and Cornwall in particular, I have no scruple in asserting.

CHAPTER THE NINTH.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, LITERARY CHARACTERS.

I.---1. AS the study of language must be always preparatory to that of the sciences, the state of the Cornu-British tongue at this conjuncture, and the changes which the Saxon and Norman invasions and settlements produced in it, seem to be the first and most obvious subjects for enquiry. The British tongue had several languages ingrafted in it, before the arrival of the Saxons. When the inhabitants of this island, therefore, were dispersed before the Saxon conquerors, they retired into Wales and Cornwall, and thence into Bretagne, after these innovations had made a considerable progress in the British language. Thus they carried with them a language which was

not so greatly altered,* as to lose all its original features; though it retained not its oriental purity, as in Ireland and the Highlands.‡ And the Welsh and the

* In the distinct dialects of the British,----the Cornish, the Welsh and the Armoric, the radicals were so much alike, that they were known and admitted by the inhabitants of either country; but the grammatical construction of the language, and the mode of pronunciation so greatly varied in a short time, that those three tribes could, with difficulty, communicate their ideas to each other, in conversation. The Cornish dialect still preserved the more leading features of its original British. It was sonorous and bold; and spoken by the greatest part of present Devon, as well as Cornwall. The names of places and persons in Cornwall and in Bretagne, are very similar, and often the same. The late Mr. *Trevanion* of *Carhayes* in Cornwall, in a tour through Bretagne, was greatly surprized at the echoes of his own *name* and *seat:* It is very remarkable, that he there discovered both a *Trevanion* and a *Carhayes*. And the French emigrants at Bochym near Helston, in 1793, were delighted with the similarity of Cornish names to those of their own country of Bretagne, particularly *Bochym* and *Penquite*. I have heard, that once at Algiers a lady speaking *Welsh* was well understood by the Moors.---This reminds me of *Marchese Maffei*, who, in his Verona Illustrata, describes a small nation at the Lago di Guarde, beyond Roveredo, that spoke a *language of an unknown origin*. Of the *Romansh* spoken in the vicinity of this spot, Mr. Coxe gives us a very short vocabulary, in which, two words are nearly Welsh---*Mellen*, yellow, in Welsh, *Melyn*; and *God*, wood, in Welsh, *Coed* and *Gwydd*. It is the *distance* of these places from Wales, that occasions the wonder. If, however, the *Moorish* be a branch of the Arabic, or derived from the Phenician, we need not be surprized at its affinity with the Welsh. The similitude between the Welsh and the Arabic, may be learnt from *Bruce's* travels. "*Bahar Kolzom* is a name given to that part of the Red Sea where tradition says the Egyptians perished in pursuing the Israelites. A Welshman would write it *Mor y Coll'som*; in English, *the sea where we were lost:* Mr. Bruce translates it, *the sea of perdition*. The great affinity of the Welsh with the Phenicians, appears from a fragment, copied from one of the Bath Guides. It runs thus:---"Zus hu asphira acranitha, meni arits chuia; asphira hu chiyl d'alha dilh la strura ula shulma aerahn mydh; vehnia hu rucha d'alha dmchina cul ylma." The same in Welsh:---Sws yw aesffer a groniaetha, mewni arwys chwiwia; aesffer yw chwyl d'allu, dull ei ystraw oleua yshilfa ograwn fydd; i'w chwnu yw rhoch d'allu, dymchwyna cwbl hilfa. Translation of the Welsh:---"*Zws* is a mighty sphere producing a circle; in it the earth revolves; the mighty sphere shews the course of the self-puissant one; the nature of his inherent wisdom illuminates the seat of animation (world), thence made prolific; to make it ascend is the mighty breath of the self-puissant, which sets in motion the whole animated system." From this example it must appear that the Phenician and the Welsh are but one and the same language.

‡ I shall here exhibit the Lord's Prayer first in *British, Erse,* and *Irish,* and secondly in *Cornish, Welsh* and *Armoric*:

BRITISH.	ERSE.	IRISH.
Eyen taad rhuvnwytyn y neo foedodd;	Ar Nathairne ata ar neamh.	Ar nathair ata ar neamh.
Santeiddier yr hemvu taw:	Goma beannuigte hainmsa.	Naomhthar hainm.
De vedy dyrnas daw:	Gu deig do Rioghachdsa.	Tigeadh do rioghachd.
Guueler dy wollys arryddayar megis agyn y nefi.	Dentar do Tholsi air dtalmhuin mar ata air neamh	Deuntar do thoil ar an ttalamh, mar do nithear ar neamh.
Eyn-bara beunydda vul dyro innihed-divu:	Tabhair dhuinn ar bhfeacha, amhuil mhathmuid dar bhfeicheamhnuibh.	Ar naran laeathcamhail tabhair dhu. inn a niw.
Ammaddew ynny eyn deledion, megis agi maddevu in deledvvir ninaw:	Agas na leig ambuadhread sinn.	Agus maith dhninn or bhfiaeha mar mhaitmidne dar bhfeitheamhnuibh fein.
Agna thowys ni in brofedigaeth:	Achd sor sinn o olac.	Agus na leig sinn a ccatghuhadh.
Namyn gvvaredni rhag drug. Amen.	Oir is leatsa an Rioghachd an cumhachd agas an gloir gu scorraidh.	Achd faor in o olc.
	Amen.	Oir is leachd fein an rioghachd agus an cumhachd, agus an ghloer go scorruighe. Amen.

Armoricans§ were enabled to preserve it, from the remoteness or inaccessibility of their situation. From similar causes, the Cornish, also, upheld their ancient tongue in opposition to the Saxons; whilst the eastern provinces, compelled to adopt the Saxon language in a certain degree, very quickly lost the idiomatic genius of their own, and at length, indeed, every trace of it.

2. In every part of the island, the Saxons were despotic in imposing names. They called the Cornish *Kernow*, and the Roman *Cornubia Cornwealas*;* and our

ANCIENT CORNISH.	MODERN CORNISH.	WELSH.
Pydzhadou a'n Arluyth.	*Padar a'n Arluth.*	
An Taz ny es yn nef, bethens thy hannow ughelles, gwrenz doz thy gulasker: Bethens thy voth gwreiz yn oar kepare hag yn nef. Ro thyn ny hithow agan peb dyth bara; Gava thyn ny agan cam, kepare ha gava ny neb es cam ma erbyn ny; Nyn hombrek ny en antel, mez gwyth ny the worth drok: Rag gans te yn an nighterneth, an creveder, hag an' worryans, byz a venitha. *An dellna ra bo.*	Agan Taz leb ez en nev, benigas beth de hanno, gurra de gulasketh deaz, de voth beth gwrez en' oar pokar en nev. Ro dony hithow agan pyb dyth bara; Ha gava do ny agan cabmow, pokara ny gava an gy leb es cam ma war bidn ny: Ha na dege ny en antail, buz gwitha ny dort droge: Rag an mychteyrneth ew chee do honnen, ha an crevder, ha an 'worryans, rag bisqueth ha bisqueth. *An dellna ra bo.*	Ein Tad yr hwn wyt yn y nefoedd, sancteiddier dy enw: Deued dy deyrmas; byd dy ewyllys ar yddaiar megis y mac yn y nefoedd dyro i ni heddyw ein bara beunyddiol: a madeu i ni ein dyledion, fel y maddewn ni i'n dyledwyr: ac nar arwain ny brofe digaeth, eithr gwared in rhag drwg.

ARMORIC.

Hon Tat, petung so en eoun, ot'h Hano bezet samtifiet De vet de omp ho Rovantelez Ha volonte bezet gret voar an douar euel en eoun Roit dezomp hinou hor bara bemdezier. Ha pardonnit dezomp hon offancon evelma pardon nomp d'ae re odeus hon offancet. Ua n'hon digacit quel e' tentation. Hoguen hon delivrit a droue.

§ *Camden* tells, that "the Armorican Britons, marying strange women in Armorica, did cut out their tongues, lest their children should corrupt the language with their mother's tongues." *Remaines*, p. 30. The Cornish approaches nearer to the Armoric, than to the Welsh or Irish. Q, though never used by the Welsh and Irish, was yet received by the Cornish, (as bisqueth *never)* though not so much used amongst the Cornish, as the Britons of France. It seems, however, to have been very anciently used in Cornwall, in the same manner as in the Armoric, viz. *Qu* as *K*. For I observed the ancient British name Kynedhav inscribed on the stone at Gulval, QVENETAV.

* "*Wall* in Cornwall comes from the Saxon *Wealh*, foreign or strange---- the Saxons calling the inhabitants of this part Cornwealas as being foreigners and strangers to them; and their country *Wesewcalas*, West Wales from its situation. Wealas first occurs in the laws of Ina which were made at least a hundred years after the extirpation of the Britons." *T. T.* p. 2.---"In the times of the Saxon wars, when a great many of the Britons retreated into this country, sheltering themselves in the nature of the place, (for, as for the land-roads, they knew they were by reason of mountains and the breaches made by æstuaries, in a manner unpassable; and those by sea were extreme dangerous to persons altogether ignorant of them:) then the Saxon conqueror, who called foreigners and every thing that was strange, *Wealsh*, named the inhabitants of this part *Cornwealas* and *West-wealas*. From hence arose the name Cornwallia, and in later writers Cornubia, as also that of some writers Occidua Wallia, *i. e.* West-Wales. So far is

viæ stratæ, streets: and towns placed on these streets, they named Street-towns, or *Strettons.* But they were not content with these changes. They imposed new names on places, wherever they could, without any reference to the old. It does not appear, indeed, that *Cornwall* was generally known by the name of *Triconshire*, notwithstanding Athelstan. They did not even stop here. They endeavoured to extirpate our language; by instituting Saxon schools, such as at Tavistock, (a reputed though no longer a legitimate town of Cornwall) and by discouraging the use of our vernacular tongue on all public occasions.* The conqueror and his followers, as soon as they were settled in this country, made every effort to substitute the Norman-French for the Anglo-Saxon, which was generally spoken in England. In their attempts, however, to recommend their own language to the attention of the English, both themselves and their successors were for several generations unsuccessful. The Saxon prevailed in every part of England, excepting Devonshire and Cornwall. In Devon, indeed, it became fashionable among the superior orders of the people, though

Cornwall from borrowing its name from the conquering Gauls, as is urged by some out of a compliment to the nation. But if they were as knowing at home as they are medling abroad, they would quickly apprehend that their Bretagne upon their sea-coast, is so called from ours; and that a little tract therein called Cornovaille, where the Cornish language is spoken, was so termed from those of our nation transplanted thither. For as those western Britons of ours were assisting to the Armoricans in France, in their wars against Cæsar, (which was, indeed, his pretence for the invasion of Britain,) and afterwards marching over thither and changing the name, called it Bretagne: so in former ages they sent aids to their countrymen the Britons against the Franks, and in those cruel Danish wars, many of them went over thither, where they left that more modern name of Cornovaille." *Gibson's Camden*, p. 2. --- *Hengist's-Hill*, was, in Saxon *Hengestendun*; *Camelford*, was *Galulford*; *St. Michael's Mount*, *Michael's-Stow*; the *Land's-End*, *Penwith-Steort*. But the Cornish were very unwilling to adopt the Saxon appellation of places. There is one Saxon word, however, that seems to have crept early into our language, and to have been applied by the Cornish to church-yards in particular. In England, in general, no more is understood by *Hays*, than a small field or inclosure near an house. Fields so situated are so termed on numbers of estates in this country: but in the eastern part of England small fields so situated are named the *Haws*, derived from the Saxon word Hæz. *Ho* seems to signify a mound or boundary. Witness the terrace round the fort of Plymouth called the Ho; but it should be spelt *Hay*.

* According to the ingenious Mr. Britton, "the length of time through which the natives retained their original language," furnishes a presumption against the Roman conquest of Cornwall. P. 312. But Mr. B. should recollect, that the Romans did not wish to introduce their own language into any part of the island --- that the latin, however, spontaneously crept into the *British*, and became incorporated with it, in proportion as the Romans mixed with the natives; and that more Roman words are to be found in the Cornu-British, than the British at large. The Saxons acted differently from the Romans. They attempted to substitute their own language for that of the natives; and of course, were not so successful on this side of the Tamar, as in other parts of the island, where they settled in greater numbers. This will sufficiently account for the long continuance of the Cornish tongue.

the inferior classes adhered firmly to their old vernacular tongue. Not that the Cornu-British was abandoned by every Devonian of rank or education: It was certainly spoken in Devonshire by persons of distinction, long after the present period.

II.---1. Whether any relics of our venerable language, now no longer oral, be yet preserved in traditionary proverbs, or songs, or MSS. or printed books, curiosity will naturally enquire. There are several proverbs still remaining in the ancient Cornish, all savouring of truth, some of pointed wit, some of deep wisdom. *Neb na gare y gwayn coll restoua:* "He that heeds not gain, must expect loss." *Neb na gare y gy, an gwra deveeder:* "He that regards not his dog, will make him a choak-sheep." *Guel yw guetha vel goofen:* "It is better to keep than to beg." *Gura da, rag ta honan te yn gura:* "Do good, for thyself thou dost it." Many proverbs relate to caution in speaking, as *Tau tavas:* "Be silent, tongue." *Cows nebas, cows da, ha da veth cowsas arta:* "Speak little, speak well, and well will be spoken again." Of talking of state-affairs, there are some remarkable cautions: *Cows nebas, cows da, nebas an yevern yw an gwella:* "Speak little, speak well, little of public matters is best." The danger of talking against the government is excellently represented in this proverb: *Nyn ges gun heb lagas, na kei heb scovern:* "There is no downs without eye, nor hedge without ears." In the following there is a sententious gravity----*Der taklow minniz ew brez teez gonvethes, avelan tacklow broaz: dreffen en tacklow broaz, ma an gymennow hetha go honnen; bus en tacklow minnis, ema an gye suyah haz go honnen:* "By small things are the minds of men discovered, as well as by great matters: Because in great things, they will stretch themselves; but in small matters, they follow their own nature." *Gwra, O mateyne, a tacklow ma, gen an gwella krevder, el boaz pideeres an marudgyan a go terman; ha an tacklow a vedn gwaynia klos theez rag nevera:* "Do, O king, those things which, with the best strength, may be thought the wonders of their times; and those things will gain glory to thee for ever." *Po rez deberra an bez, vidn heerath a seu; po res dal an vor, na oren pan a tu, thuryan, houl zethas, go gleth, po dihow:* "When thou comest into the world, length of sorrow follows; when thou beginnest the way, 'tis not known

which side, east, west, to the north, or south."* We have a Cornish pastoral, not much unlike, I think, the twenty-seventh idyllium of Theocritus----"Daphnis

* *Colloquies.*

Ese leath luck gen vue?	Is there milk enough with the cow?
Whelas tees tha trehe kesow.	Look men to cut turf.
Whelas poble tha trehe ithen.	Look people to cut furze.
Moas tha an gove tha herniah an verh.	Go to the smith to shoe the horses.
Gora an ohan en arder.	Put the oxen in the plow.
Aras an kensa an todn.	Plow first the lay.
Gora an soch, ha an troher, tha an gove.	Put the shear and coulter, to the smith.
Gora an dens harraw tha an gove tha lebma.	Put the harrow-tines to the smith to sharpen.
Danen rag teese tha trehe gorra.	Send for men to cut hay.
Whelas megouzion tha medge an isse.	Look reapers to reap the corn.
Pan a priz rag hearne?	What price for pilchards?
Priz dah.	A good price.
Deez ubba do gawaz an dega?	Come you here to have the tithe?
Thera ve cara why en colon, betha why lawanneck.	I love you in heart, be you merry.
Bene tu gana.	Farewell.
Hagar awell, ha auel teag.	Bad, or foul weather, and fair weather.
Yein kuer, tarednow, ha golowas, er, reu, gwenz, ha clehe, ha kezer.	Cold weather, thunder, and lightning, snow, frost, wind, and ice, and hail.
Bennen vaz, ha dre-maz.	The good woman, and the good man, i. e. the bride and bridegroom.
Ma hy a humthan.	She is breeding.
Gwag o ve, ra ve gawas haunsell?	I am hungry, shall I have breakfast?
Gora an bara en foarn.	Put the bread in the oven.
En an bara pebes luck?	Is the bread baked enough?
Gora tees en an skeber tha drushen.	Put men in the barn to thresh.
Gora an vose tha shakiah an kala.	Put the maid to shake the straw.
Gora oh tees tha'n fer tha guarr ohan.	Put my men to the fair to sell oxen.
Dry dre an mona, ha perna muy.	Bring home the money, and buy more.
Bargidnia gen dean da mose da whele sten.	Bargain with a man to go to work tin, or to a tin-work.
Ry tha stener deck pens en blethan.	Give to a tinner ten pounds a year.
Coria an stuff stenes tha an stampes.	Carry the tin-stuff to the stamping-mill
Cariah an stean tha an foge.	Carry the tin to the blowing-house.

Proverbial Rhymes.

An lavor goth ewe lavar gwir,	The old saying is a true saying,
Ne vedn nevera doaz vas a tavaz re hir;	Never will come good from a tongue too long;
Bes den heb tavaz a gollas e dir.	But a man without a tongue shall lose his land.
Ez kez? ez, po neg ez; ina sez kez,	Is there cheese? is there, or is there not; if there be cheese,
Dro kez; po negez uez, dro peth ez.	Bring cheese; if there is not cheese, bring what there is.
Sav a man, kebner tha li, ha ker tha'n hal;	Get up, take thy breakfast, and go to the moor;*

* That is, go and work to Tin; they call that especially going to Moor, when they work on the Stream Tin.

and the Shepherdess." They are both equally characterized by flippancy, familiarity, and the rudest rusticity. Our Cornish idyllium has all the simplicity of

Mor-teed a metten travyyth ne dal.	The sea-tide of the morning is nothing worth.
This proverb is spoken in St. Just, in Penwith, where are both fishermen and tinners.	
Karendzhia, vendzhia,	Good will (or love) would do it,
Ravaethiaz na vendzhia.	Covetousness will not do it.
These four I had from Mr. Lhuyd, when he was in Cornwall.—Tonkin.	
Cusal ha teg, sirra wheage,	Soft and fair, sweet Sir,
Moaz pell.	Goes far.
Re a ydn dra ny dal traveth.	Too much of one thing is good for nothing.
Ma leiaz gwreage,	There are many wives,
Lacka vel zeage.	Worse than grains.
Gwell gerrss,	Better left,
Vel kommeres;	Than taken;
Ha ma leiaz, bennen,	And there are many women,
Pokare an guenen,	Like the bees;
Eye vedn gwerraz dege teez	They will help bring men
Dendle peath a'n beaze.	To get the wealth of the world.
Fleaz hep skeeanz,	Children without knowlege,
Vedn guile go sceanz;	Will do (to) their sense;
Buz mor crown gy penderi,	But if they should consider,
Pan del go gwary,	What ought to be their play,
Ha madra ta,	And study well,
Pandrig seera, ha damma?	What did father, and mother?
Na ra henz moaz dan cooz,	They should not go to the wood,
Do kuntle go booz;	To gather their meat;
Buz, gen nebas lavirians,	But, with little labour,
Eye venjah dendle go booz, ha dillaz.	They would get their meat, and cloaths.
Cowzow do ve,	Speak to me,
Che dean mor ffeer,	Thou man so wise,
Do leba ez mear a peath, ha leiaz tir;	To whom is much of wealth, and much land;
Ha me rig clowaz an poble galarou,	And I did hear the people complain,
Ta eth reas do chee eithick gwreag dah:	That there is to thee a huge wife good:
Hye oare gwile padn dah gen tye glan;	She knows to make cloth good with her wool;
Ha et eye ollaz, hye dalveath gowas tane.	And she must hearth it, she ought to have fire.
Na dalle deez perna kinnis war an sawe,	Nor ought men buy fuel by the seame,
Na moaz moaz cuntle an drize dro dan keaw:	Nor go to gather brambles about the hedges;
Rag hedda vedn boz cowzes dro dan pow:	For that will be spoken about the country;
Gwell eye veyha perna nebas glow;	Better she had bought some coal;
He hedna vedn gus tubm a theller e a rag.	And that will warm you behind and before.
Ha why el evah cor gwella, mor seez de brage.	And you may drink best beer, if you have malt.
Na dale dien gwile treven war an treath;	Nor ought men to make houses on the sand;
Buz, mor mennow direvall war bidn an pow yeinc,	But, if you will build up against the country cold,
Why dal veya gowas an brossa mine,	You must have the biggest stones,
Ha ryney vedn dirra bidn mor, ha gwenz.	And they will last against sea, and wind.
Na-g-ez drog vyth grez, lebben, na kenz.	There is no hurt at all done, now, nor before."

These I had from Mr. Lhuyd; and since, with some difference, from Mr. Gwavas, whose is the translation.—(Tonkin.)

the ancient Amœbean strain. It resembles the extemporaneous numbers of the Sicilian and the Tuscan shepherds. And the old Cornish had the same readiness in metrical responses, as the Welsh possess at the present day. "Incompositum temere ac rudem alternis jaciebant."† Of MSS. in the Cornish, perhaps, there is one only, of great antiquity. It is emphatically called, the *Cotton MS.*‡ ---- With respect

"This sort of verse was, for what I can yet find, the oldest, if not the only verse amongst the ancient Britons: for tis the oldest in our Welsh books, and I have heard an old man repeat one of them in the Highlands of Scotland; and had another from the clerk of St. Just, viz.

An lavar koth yw lavar gwir,
Na boz nevra doz vaz an tavaz re hir;
Bez den heb davaz o gollaz i dir.

The old saying is a true saying,
A tongue too long never did good:
But he that had no tongue, lost his land.

† A Cornish Idyll.

Pelea era why moaz moz, fettow, teag,
Gen agaz bedgeth gwin, ha agaz blew mellyn?
Mi a moaz tha'n venton, sarra wheag,
Rag delkiow sevi gwra muzi teag.

Pea ve moaz gen a why, moz, fettow, teag,
Gen agaz bedgeth gwin, ha agaz blew mellyn?
Greuh mena why, sarra wheag,
Rag delkiow sevi gwra muzi teag.

Fatla gura ve agaz gorra why en dowr,
Gen agaz, &c.
Me vedn sevel arta, sarra wheag,
Rag, &c.

Fatla gura ve agaz dry why gen flo,
Gen agaz, &c.
Me vedn ethone, sarra wheag,
Rag, &c.

Pew vedn a why gawas rag seera rag guz flo,
Gen agaz, &c.
Why ra boz e seera, sarra wheag,
Rag, &c.

Pen dre vedd a why geil rag lednow rag 'as flo,
Gen agaz, &c.
E seera veath trehez, sarra wheag,
Rag delkiow sevi gwra muzi teag.

Pray whither so trippingly, pretty fair maid,
With your face rosy-white, and your soft yellow hair?
Sweet sir to the well in the summer-wood shade,
For strawberry-leaves* make the young maiden fair.

Shall I go with you, pretty fair maid to the wood,
With your face rosy-white, and your soft yellow hair?
Sweet sir, if you please - - - it will do my heart good—
For strawberry-leaves make the young maiden fair.

If gently I lay you on strawberries down,
With your face rosy-white, and your soft yellow hair?
I will rise up again, Sir, nor mind a green gown—
For strawberry-leaves make the young maiden fair.

And, what if I bring you with child in the wood,
With your face rosy-white and your soft yellow hair?
I will bear it, sweet sir, - - - it will do my heart good—
For strawberry-leaves make the young maiden fair.

Pray, who to your child shall be father, pray who,
With your face rosy-white, and your soft yellow hair?
Be father, sweet sir! Why no other than you!
For strawberry-leaves make the young maiden fair.

But your child, pretty maid, will want whittles, perdie,
With your face rosy-white, and your soft yellow hair?
Sweet Sir! his good father a taylor shall be—
For strawberry-leaves make the young maiden fair."

‡ "I know not whether I mentioned that I had sent Mr. Moor a copy of an old Cornish glossary in the Cotton library. It is a valuable curiosity; being probably seven or eight hundred years old. If you cannot procure it, you shall have a copy of mine: alphabetically, or in the order of the Cotton MS. which is in continued lines, but with some regard to natural order." *Extract of a letter from Lhuyd to Tonkin.* ---- "Mr. Anstis found a British vocabulary, hand-written many ages since, in the Cotton Library in London, and, as he did

* In the "Rival Mothers" of Madame de Genlis, Zephyrine was detected in eating the strawberries which were prepared for washing Mademoiselle du Rocher's hands.

to books, so inattentive were the Cornish to printing, that many years after the discovery of this art, they never adverted to the preservation of the MSS. in their language.

always, so according to his good will on the like occasions before and after, he wrote to me about it. When I had looked over the book, I perceived very well that it was not a Welsh vocabulary, according to the Latin name (written at the latter end) vocabularium wallicum ; but a Cornish vocabulary, as the thing (according to my thought) must appear to every British reader, that shall consider upon the translations of these Latin words, viz. Angelus, *Ail*; Stella, *Steren*; Membrum, *Ezel*; Supercilium, *Abranz*; Collum, *Conna*; Palatum, *Stefenic*; Mentum, *Elget*; Tibia, *Elesker*; Vitricus, *Altro*; Regina, *Ruivanes*; Vulgus, *Pobel biogo*; Puer, *Floh*; Senex, *Coth*; Mercator, *Guicour*: Prora, *Flurrog*; Umbra, *Scod*; Milvus, *Scoul*; Bufo, *Croinoc*; Rana, *Guilschin*; Passer, *Golvan*; Pullus, *Ydhnunc*; Scomber, *Brethyl*; Lucius, *Denshoc dour*; Vulpes, *Louuern*; Ursus, *Ors*; Scrofa, *Guis*; Echinus, *Sorb*; and many other words, which are not known among us Welshmen. I know full well that I could produce one, and that with more true likeness, than can the small vocabulary of the British Armorick, or British of the country of Lezou in France, be; for that dialect is near thereunto; and in truth there are many words of them to this day still spoken by the people of Lezou, although they are not used now in the county of Cornwall. But this wrong-thinking is put away, without much trouble, when we discover that the author of this vocabulary, when he was in want for British words, did write down Old English words for the same, by giving them sometimes a Cornish termination; and did not bring any of the words from the French, as he would without doubt, if he had been an Armorick Briton. Now these, and the like, are the words thereof, taken out of the Old English; Comes, *Yurl*; Lector, *Redior*; Hamus, *Hye*; Fiald, *Harfel*; Saltator, *Lappier*; Sartor, *Seuyad*; Contentiosus, *Strivor*; Spinther, *Broach*; Fibula, *Streing*; Raptor, *Robbior*; Noctua, *Hule*; Halec, *Herring*; Prahun, *Bidin*; Lagena, *Kanna*; Trutta, *Trud*. Now as it could not be any Armorick Briton, that wrote this vocabulary, so neither could it be written by any Welshman. For had he been a Welshman, he would without further consideration, have written *Darlhennodh, Breyr, Hox, Telyn (or Kruth) Neidiur, Guniadydh, Kynhennys, Guaeg, Aruestr, Yspeiliur, Pylhyan, Pennog, Guerlodh, Ysten (*or *Kynnog Piser,* or *Kostrelh)* and *Brethylh*. In like manner, if it had been done by an Armoric Briton, he would never have named the things called in Latin, *Quercus, Rhamnus, Melis, Lepus, Hædus*; Glastanen, Eithinen, Broz, Scouarnog, Min: but instead thereof, *Guazen daro, Lan, Lus, Gat,* and *Gavar bian.* Doctor Davies (according to my thought) has named this Cornish Vocabulary in the Cotton Library, Liber Landavensis: for there are many words, in this Welsh vocabulary, marked, Lib. Land. which I never saw in another book. But yet, as he had seen the book which is now in the Cotton Library, I wonder that he would not draw all the words from that to his own book. Nevertheless the truth is, I know very well that the words therein marked Lib. Land. are not written in the book called Liber Landavensis: for I have looked over that before written book, in the library of that most learned and most knowing gentleman, the lord of Lanner in the county of Guenez, i. e. North Wales, and likewise a fair transcript in the library of Jesus College, in Oxford. There is some hope in me, that the reader will forgive me, that I do not always write after the language of our time, nor yet keep to the writing retained in this Cornish vocabulary. By perusing the aforesaid written books, I have discovered that there have happened four noted changes (or variations) and remember very much, in the Cornish tongue, within this age, or these last hundred years: and the same being before very little printed in the Latin and Celtic vocabulary, I was very desirous to give them in the Cornish English vocabulary by hand here to you. The first change is, to put the letter *b*, before the letter *m*, and to speak and write *Tybm, Tabm, Kabm, Gybman, Krobman,* and *Kylobman,* &c. in the place of *Tym. Tym, Kam, Gymman, Kromman,* and *Kylomman.* The second is to put the letter *d*, before the letter *n*; and to speak thus, in the place of *Pen, Pan, Pren*; *Guyn, Guan, Bron, Brynan*: Pedn, Padn, Predn, Guydn, Guadn, Brodn, Brydnan. Neither did I see fit to give a place to these changes in this vocabulary; for neither will they hereafter retain these changes; and likewise their language is thence more hard and rugged, than it was before: and for that many times you must turn the *m*, and *n*, to *b*, and *d*, by saying *tubbi, obba, hodda, hedda,* where you said before *tubmi, obma, hodna,* and *hedna.* And this second novelty hath cast off these

2. As the language§ of the *Saxons* operated, at this period, so little on the Cornish, to wave a distinct consideration of their literature---would scarcely be deemed an omission. With the Normans our connexion was more intimate. The

words so far from the former words *tummi*, omma, *henna*, and *hanna*,—that not any can at all, neither *Armorick Briton*, nor yet *Welshman*, find out their foundation, by seeing from what place they are come. The third change is, to put the letter *d* before *s*, (the which *s* is almost always pronounced as *z)* and to speak the *s* as *sh*, for I have found out in one of the aforesaid written books, which is a book setting forth miracles out of the holy scripture, written, more or less, one hundred and fifty years since, where are these words just as you now speak them, *Kridzhi*, *Pidzhi*, *Bohodzock*, *Pedzhar*, *Bledzhar*, *Lagadzho*, &c. instead of these, *Cresy*, *Pesy*, *Behosoc*, *Peswar*, *Lagaz*. I know very well that you do not write these words as I write them, with dzh, but only with the single letter *g*, or with an *i* consonant; but this falls in with the manner of the English writing: and since the speaking is from thence, the writing must be put and likewise changed from z, [or s] as was the s before from *d* or *t*. The fourth change is turned very much like the third: and that is, to put *sh* after *t*, or (according to the Armoric writing) of late the letter *t*, for *ch*: and so to change the words *Ty* (or *Tey)* to *Tshey*; *Ti* to *Thi* (or *Chee) Pysgetta*, to *Pysgetsha*, and many more the like. From whence the other speakings, in which you go off very far from us Welshmen, viz. in speaking *a* for *e*; *e* for *o* and *y*; *i* for *e*; *o* for *a*; and *v* consonant for *f*; and likewise *h* for *x*; *th*, *s*, or *h*, for *t* and *d*; and *l* for *lh*; nor will I for any thing take upon me these novelties; in part, for that the speaking from thence is easy enough; and in part, for that few of them are so old (if any of them are very old) as our language, and the language of the people of Lezou. And another is, in naming of late the letter *t*, for *s*; which is not so hugely old, yet may be old enough for the good taking, and keeping it hereafter. But now the reader will ask me without doubt, why I have in this writing, preserved the aforesaid alterations myself, since I knew the deficiencies of them? my answer is, that it was my great desire that they might be taken aright; and that every one might know to speak Cornish (or understand further) according to this letter. But my hope is, that you will not in such a manner suffer any other defects in your future Cornish printings, as you have hitherto done in the forewritten alterations.—Neither can any one make many novelties in any tongue so ever at one time. It is an early work, and therefore too short a licence to take any one thing, before that it be born and bred in the country, to offer it. When any one is willing to know the more late Cornish alterations, that he may the better find them out, let him compare the Cornish words with the like Welsh words of the country of Gunek (or which is much nearer) and the Armorick words; and when you see the agreement and concord, about the consonant letters of these two tongues, then you may see whether the Cornish hath kept to these consonants, or not; if not, you may without any doubt, know, that the Cornish words are changed. For example; when you see that we turn the English words, *to laugh*, *to play*, *to whistle*, *bitter*, *six*, *sister*, in the language of Guenek, *xuerthin*, *xuare*, *xuibany*, *xueru*, *xuex*, *xuacr*; and in the Cornish, *xoasin*, *xoari*, *xuibanat*; *xuero*, *xeux xosr*; but in the Cornish, *huerthin*, *guare*, *huibanat*; *huero*, *hui*, *hor*; we know then very easily that the Cornish is changed. For the like passages are never thus turned by the people of the Welsh Guenez; and the people of Lezou have learned to turn from them" *Lhuyd's Preface to his Cornish Grammar and Vocabulary.*--- Among some old British MSS. which *Pryce* describes, there are two, which he calls *Loegrian-British*. One is entitled Ovidii Nasonis Artis Amatoriæ, Lib Primus. This old fragment is bound with various others, and is preserved in the Bodleian Library, NE. D. 2, 19. The other is a tract of Eutex, the grammarian's *De Discernendis Conjugationibus*, gloss'd with British. They seem to have been the old Loegrian British, in some measure yet retained in Cornwall; which I gather partly from the elegance of the hand, and partly from some terms; as morhaur, *many*, *much*, caiauc, *a book* (probably from the Latin *codice)* guarim, *a play*; guardi, *a scene*, &c. not to insist upon the plural termination of nouns in *ou*; as loimou, *bushes*; runiou, *fillets*; which was constant amongst the Cornish as well as the Armoric Britons, and never used in Wales.

§ A specimen of the Saxon language, from the Saxon chronicle. Brittene Igland is ehta hundmila lang. ed twa hund brad. And her sind on wis Iglande fif getheode. Englisc ed Brittisc ed Wilsc ed Scittisc ed Pihtisc ed

Saxons were, by no means, the patrons of science. Illiterate and fierce, themselves, the looked down with contempt on the noiseless pursuits of the learned. - - - In divinity, the subtleties of casuistry, every where, usurped the place of truth: And, indeed, the most contemptible quibbling seemed to derive to the disputant the fame of erudition. At this juncture we have only to contemplate mental darkness wherever we turn our eyes. The prospect is, doubtless, dreary: But a few scattered rays from the Scandinavian muse seem to break, at times, through the gloom. Adhelm, a prince of the royal family of Wessex, and a bishop of Sherburne, was the best poet of his age: And the greater number of our kings, after the union of the heptarchy, from Egbert even to Harold, discovered a genius or prepossession for the poetry of the north. Alfred regularly allotted a part of his time amidst all the turbulence of war, to the Saxon poets: And Canute was a distinguished patron of the bards. As these kings, therefore, were more especially conversant with the original inhabitants of East-Cornwall; and as the Saxon and Danish poetry was highly figurative, and in this respect resembled the strains of the Druids; it is probable that the best educated people in this county were not inattentive to the northern muses, both with a view to preferment, and from a disposition to amuse their minds with the fables of Odin. The Normans avowed themselves‖ the friends of literature; and endeavoured to enlarge the circle of the sciences; and to introduce a taste for the fine arts. Under their

Bocleden. Erest weron bugend wises landes Brittes wa coman of Armenia, ed gesatan suthewearde Brittene arost-Da Gelamp hir y Pihtis coman of suthean Scithean: mid langum Scippum na manegum. ed wa coman arost on nord hybernan up. ed sar bædon.

‖ Most of our proverbs in the English language were in circulation, I believe, before the close of this period. "*To give one a Cornish hug.*" A Cornish hug is a lock in the art of wrestling, peculiar to the Cornish-men, who have always been famous for their skill in that manly exercise, which they still continue to practise. - - - "*Hengston-down, well ywrought, is worth London-town dear ybought.*" Hengston-down was supposed not only to be extremely rich in tin, but also to have in its bowels Cornish diamonds, vulgarly estimated superior to those of India. In Fuller's time, the tin began to fail here, having fallen, as he terms it, to a scant-saving scarcity. As to the diamonds, no one has yet judged it worth his while to dig for them. - - - "*He is to be summoned before the mayor of Halgaver.*" This is a jocular and imaginary court, wherein men make merriment to themselves, presenting such persons as go slovenly in their attire, untrussed, wanting a spur, &c. where judgment in formal terms is given against them, and executed, more to the scorn than the hurt of the persons. - - - "*When Dudman and Ramhead meet.*" These are two headlands, well known to sailors; they are near twenty miles asunder; whence this proverb is meant to express an impossibility. Fuller observes that, nevertheless, these two points have since met together (though not in position) in possession of the same owner, Sir Pierce Edgecombe enjoying one in his own right, and the other in right of his wife. - - - "*The*

influence, the sciences were cultivated with increasing success; though the Aristotelian logic had spread over them a most unpleasing colour. But theology was deeply tinctured by it: And the school-divinity enjoyed great triumphs in the monasteries that were rising on every side. The canon and the civil law, and even the common law were infected by the subtleties of logic. In the mean time, the study of medicine, which was almost confined to the clergy, and the profession of which had become so lucrative, that it drew even the monks from their cloysters, was subjected to the influence of astrology and magic. That the polite arts should have made any striking progress at this period, is more than we can expect: Yet the Normans were as attentive to poetry, as the Anglo-Saxons; particularly latin poetry.¶

III. I meet with no records of particular schools erected in Cornwall, by the original natives, the Saxons, or the Normans; though, doubtless, in this long space of time, many seminaries must have sprung up and flourished in Exeter and the neighbourhood, under the genial influence of so many kings and great personages, who visited our metropolis, and who favoured literature in every shape. Schools were now attached very commonly to cathedrals and monasteries. And we had conventual schools, in Cornwall. Indeed, our religious houses might be considered as colleges. All the orders of our religious men were employed in literary pursuits---some in the transcript of manuscripts, and others in writing the annals of their country.

devil will not come into Cornwall for fear of being put into a pie." The people of Cornwall make pies of almost every thing eatable; as squab-pie, herby-pie, pilchard-pie, mugetty-pie, &c. &c.----" *He doth sail into Cornwall without a bark.*" This is an Italian proverb, signifying that a man's wife has made him one of the knights of the bull's feather. The whole jest, if there be any, lying in the similitude of the words Cornwall and cornua, horns. Fuller quotes a prophecy in the Cornish language, the sense of which is, that Truru consists of three streets, but a time will come when it shall be asked where Truru stood. On this he observes, that he trusts the men of that town are too wise to mind this prediction, any more than another of the same kind, presaging evil to the town, because ru, ru, which in English is woe, woe, is twice expressed in the Cornish name thereof. But, says he, " let the men of Truru but practise the first syllable in the name of their town, (meaning truth, i. e. integrity) and they may be safe and secure from all danger arising from the second."

¶ And it is natural to suppose, that the learned Britons of Devonshire and Cornwall, would fix on the latin tongue as better adapted for conveying their ideas even to their own countrymen, than the Cornu-British, which was known within a very small circuit, or than the Saxon, which was as yet in a very fluctuating state, and which was greatly disrelished by their countrymen in general; or than the Norman, which had scarcely gained a footing among the English.

For these purposes particular rooms were assigned in our monasteries, and estates were often granted. If the studious any where enjoyed a pause of stillness, it was in the retirement of the monastery. In this view, religious houses are by no means to be despised; whilst we observe their utility, if not in immediately softening the manners, yet in affording a retreat for the studious. The pursuits of these men, though mostly ill directed, in the dark ages before us, ultimately contributed to the advancement of literature.

IV. Of our literary natives, the *divines* claim the priority.---The first Cornish theologian was HUCARIUS the levite, who (as *Fuller** tells, from Bale and Pits) was born in this county, and lived at St. Germans; was a pious and learned man, and wrote one hundred and ten homilies, besides other books---now, I believe, all lost. He flourished in 1040.----Whether GERALDUS CORNUBIENSIS were a theologican or not, we are not able to say: But he seems to be the second Cornish writer upon record; and to have flourished in the year 1150.†----About the year 1170, JOHN OF CORNWALL, was a student at Rome, and in high favor with pope Alexander the Third. He wrote various books, and one, in particular, De Incarnatione Christi, against Peter Lombard, who affirmed "quod christus secundum quod homo est, aliquid non est." This book he dedicated to his friend the pope.‡---From SIMON

* *Worthies*, p. 202.---"In the abbey of St. Germans, A. D. 1040, in the time of Livignus, bishop of Kirton, lived Hucarius, commonly called the Levite, as Bale and others in their writings of Britain tell us; perhaps for that he assisted the priest at the altar, as the Levites of old did, and was more excellent, or did exceed all others in that particular. Otherwise, by the appellation Levite we must understand him a priest, and that he was universally famous in performing his function of preaching and divine service. Certain it is he was a holy and learned man, as the one hundred and ten homilies or sermons, and many other books, which he wrote, declare; but whether he was a native of this province I know not." *Hals*, p. 140.

† "There are (says bishop *Nicholson*, p. 97. speaking of Caradoc of Lancaryan's History of Wales) "three MSS. of good note mentioned by archbishop Usher, (Hist. Eccles. Brit. pp. 29, 32.) which seem to reach much higher than Caradocus pretends to go, all which I guess to have been written about the same time. The first is in Welsh, in Sir John Cotton's library, reported to be the same that was translated by Geoffry of Monmouth. The second is in old English by one Lazimon; and the third, as I take it, in latin, by Geraldus Cornubiensis." Geraldus, if contemporary with Geoffry of Monmouth, lived about 1150.

‡ "Bali, out of Leland tells vs, centuary three, number six, that there flourished a learned man in Cornwall in 1173, named *John de Cornwall*, who beinge well educated in the latin tongue, trauelled beyond the seas, and studdyed the liberal arts in forreigne vniuersities, but chiefly at Rome, where he grew famous for his learninge, which recommended him to the notice of pope Alexander the Third, about the yeare 1180; at which tyme Peter Lombard, (somtyme bishop of Paris, and master of the sentences) had vented som doctrines in favour of Arianisme; wherevpon as Mathew Paris informs us, pope Alexander III. writt to the archbishops of France to suppress the same, but their

THURNAY, whom we find, also, in the catalogue of our divines, no great honor was derived to his native county. "That knowlege puffeth up" is a position sadly exemplified in Simon Thurnay.§ In *poetry*, I would force into the service, the celebrated JOSEPH OF EXETER; since Exeter was still, in courtesy, the metropolis of Cornwall. But I must send my readers into "Devonshire," for the memoirs of Joseph.‖----MICHAEL *Cornubiensis* I believe, must stand forth our solitary

indeavors prouinge ineffectual---- the said pope gaue orders to our John of Cornwall, to write against Lombard and his doctrine, who therevpon writt a booke called De Homine Assumpto; which booke the master of the sentences indeavoured to refute, by writinge an answer thereto, but his holyness and the Roman clergie thought Lombard's booke to consist of weake and fallacious argvments; wherevpon our John of Cornwall by the said pope, was stiled a Catholique Doctor." *Hals* (No. 6.) *in St. Martin-Meneg.*

§ "A. D. 1201, one *Simon Thurnaius*, a Cornishman, brought up in learning, did, by diligence and study, so prosper therein, that he became excellent in all the liberal sciences, that in his days none was thought to be like unto him. He left Oxenford, where he had been a student, and went to Paris, and there became a priest, and studied divinity, and therein became so excellent, and of so deep a judgment, that he was made chief of the Sorbonists. At length he became so proud of his learning, and did glory so much therein, that he would be singular, and thought himself to be another Aristotle; and so much blinded was he therein, and waxed so in love with Aristotle, that he preferred him before Moses and Christ. But behold God's just judgment! for suddenly his memory failed him, and he waxed so forgetful, that he could neither call to remembrance any thing that he had done, neither could he discern to read, or know a letter in the book." *Hooker's MSS.*---- *Fuller* says, (Worthies, p. 203.) this *Thurnay* not only turned fool, but was struck with dumbness likewise. *Bale* tells us, that he made an inarticulate sound, like lowing. *Polydore Virgil* observes of him (lib. 15. Angl. Hist.) juvene nil acutius, sene nihil obtusius. This great judgment befel him about the year 1201.

‖ "Joseph of Excester followed our king Richard the First, in his warres, in the Holy Land, celebrated his acts in a book called Antiocheides, and turned Dares Phrygius so happily into verse, that it hath bene printed not long since in Germany, vnder the name of Cornelius Nepos. The passing of the pleasant riuer Simois by Troy, and the encounter betweene the waues of the sea, and it, at the disemboging, or inlet thereof, he liuely setteth forth thus:

Proxima rura rigans alio peregrinus ab orbe
Visurus Troiam Simois, longoque meatu
Emeruisse velit, vt per tot regna, tot vrbes
Exeat æquoreas tandem Troianus in vndas.
Dumque indefesso miratur Pergama visu
Lapsurum suspendit iter, fluuiumque moratur,
Tardior & totam complecti destinat vrbem:
Suspensis infensus aquis violentior instat
Nereus, atque amnem cogens proculire minorem;
Proximus accedit vrbi, contendere credas
Quis propior, sic alternis concurritur vndis,
Sic crebas iterant voces, sic iurgia miscent.

You may at one view behold mount Ida with his trees, and the country adjacent to Troy in these few lines, as in a most pleasant prospect presented vnto you thus, by the said Joseph:

Haud procul incumbens intercurrentibus aruis
Idæus consurgit apex, vetus incola montis
Silua viret, vernat abies procera, cupressus

poet:¶ And I by no means think him a contemptible one. He flourished in the

Flebilis, interpres laurus, vaga pinus, oliua
Concilians, cornus venatrix, fraxinus audax,
Stat comitis patiens vlmus, nunquamque senescens
Cantatrix buxui: paulo procliuius aruum
Ebria vitis habet non dedignata latere
Cancricolam poscit Phœbum, vicinus aristas
Prægnantes fœcundat ager, non plura Falernus
Vina bibit, non tot pascu Campania messes.

A right woman and lady like disdaine may be obserued in the same author, where he bringeth in Pallas, mating dame Iuno with modest disdainfulnesse before Paris, in the action of beauty, a matter of greatest importance in that sex, after this manner of reply:

Magna parens superum, nec, enim nego; magna Tonantis
Nupta, nec inuideo; meritum, Paris inclyte, nostrum
Si quod erat carpsit: testor freta, testor Olympum,
Testor humum, non armatas in prælia linguæ
Credideram venisse deas; hac parte loquacem
Erubeo sexum, minus hic quam fœmina possum;
Martem alium didici, victoria fœda vbi victus
Plus laudis victore feret, nostrisque trophæis
Hic haud notus honos. Sed quo regina dearum
Effatu tendit, Dea sit, cedo, imo Dearum
Maxima non dextræ sortiri sceptra potentis,
Partiriue Iouem certatim venimus, illa
Illa habeat, quæ se ostentat.

In the commendation of Britaine, for breeding martiall men, and praise of the famous king Arthur, he sung in his Antiocheidos, these which onely remaine out of that work:

..... Inclita fulsit
Posteritas ducibus tantis, tot diues alumnis,
Tot fœcunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem,
Et fama veteres. Hinc Constantinus adeptus
Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit.
Hinc Senonum ductor captiva Brennius vrbe,
Romuleas domuit flammis victricibus arces.
Hinc & Scæua satus, pars non obscura tumultus
Ciuilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
Hinc celebri fato fœlici floruit ortu
Flos regum Arthurus, cuius tamen acta stupori
Non micuere minus, totus quod in aure voluptas
Et populo plaudente fauus. Quæcunque priorum
Inspice, Pellæum commendat fama Tyrannum,
Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romana triumphos,
Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstris.
Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem
Æquant, Annales Graios Latiosque reuolue,
Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes
Solus præteritis melior, maiorque futuris." *Camden's Remaines*, pp. 317, 318, 319.

¶ Unless *Llywarghen*, were a Cornish poet. "I have hitherto met with no very ancient writing that seemed to be Cornish; unless we should suspect for such an elegy on the death of Gereint ab Erbyn, a nobleman of Cornwall

time of Henry the Third; "admirable (as Carew saith) for his variety of latin rhymes."*

or Devon, about the year 540, who is mentioned in the Triades as one of the three greatest admirals of the British seas; the other two being March 'ab Meirchyon, and Gwenwyn 'ab Naw. There is in Cornwall a parish called Gerrans, which is the modern pronunciation of Gereint, (they constantly changing *t* into *s)* and another called Trev Erbin, which might be so denominated from his father. It is said in the elegy that he was of the borders of Devon, and that he was slain at Llongborth The word re, which in the Cornish signifies *too much*, as also *soon* or *quickly*, occurs frequently in this elegy; together with a great many others, such as Eloravr, kymrydh, gwehin, moloch, &c. which are lost in the Welsh. But it is owned, this is not enough to conclude the author to have been of Cornwall or Devon. And my old copy is written among some elegies ascribed to Llywarch hen." *Pryce's Vocabulary.*----In 1792, Mr. Owen published a translation of *Llywarq's* heroic elegies; from which I shall extract the elegy on Geraint ab Erbin, together with some observations of the Monthly Reviewer of Mr. Owen's book. These observations are highly flattering to Cornwall. "Mr. Owen tells us that Llywarq was descended from Coel king of Britain, and was a guest of Arthur Yet the very existence of a native resident sovereign of the name of Arthur has been disputed. He tells us with equal confidence that Llywarq lived 150 years. It should seem that the patriarchal religion bestowed a patriarchal length of life. The whole tradition of the poetry also required vouchers: as it is said to have been the practice of the later bards to ascribe their own poems to the celebrated names of elder time. We must acknowlege, however, that the internal evidence from the sentiments in the poems, (for of the language and pedigrees we profess not to judge,) scarcely affords a pretence for questioning their authenticity. Nor can it be doubted that, in the sixth century, Wales, Cornwall, and Britany, were the most favoured seats of civilization in Europe. We shall extract the elegy on Geraint ab Erbin, prince of Devon, who is probably the same knight so celebrated in the romances of Britany by the name of Geron the courteous:

'When Geraint was born the gates of heaven were open,
Christ then granted what was requested,
A countenance beautiful, the glory of Britain.

'Let all celebrate the red-stained Geraint
Their lord; I will also praise Geraint,
The Saxon's foe, the friend of saints.

'Before Geraint, the terrifier of the foe,
I saw the steeds hagged with mutual toil from battle,
Where, after the shout was given, frightful deeds began.

'Before Geraint, that breathed terror on the foe,
I saw the steeds bearing the maimed sharers of their toil;
And after the shout of war a fearful obscurity.

'At Llongborth I saw the noisy tumult,
And biers with the dead drenched in gore,
And ruddy men from the onset of the foe.

'Before Geraint, the molester of the enemy,
I saw the steeds white with foam,
And after the shout of battle a fearful torrent.

'At Llongborth I saw the rage of slaughter,
And biers with slain innumerable,
And red-stained men from the assault of Geraint.

'At Llongborth I saw the gushing of blood,
And biers with dead from the rage of weapons,
And red-stained men from the assault of death.

V. In the next literary chapter, our views of philology and science will expand into prospects more agreeable to the contemplative mind.

'In Llongborth I saw the quick-impelling spurs
Of men who would not flinch from the dread of the spear,
And the quaffing of wine out of the bright glass.

'In Llongborth I saw a smoaking pile,
And men enduring the want of sustenance,
Aud defeat, after the excess of feastings.

'In Llongborth I saw the weapons
Of heroes with gore fast dropping,
And after the shout a fearful return to earth.

'In Llongborth I saw the edges of blades in contact,
Men surrounded with terrour, and blood on the brow,
Before Geraint, the great son of his father.

'In Llongborth I saw hard toiling
Amidst the stones, ravens feasting on the entrails,
And on the chieftain's brow a crimson gash.

'At Llongborth I saw a tumultuous running
Of men together, and blood about the feet :—
"Those that are the men of Geraint, make haste!"

'In Llongborth I saw a confused conflict,
Men striving together, and blood to the knees,
From the assault of the great son of Erbin.

'At Llongborth was Geraint slain,
A strenuous warrior from the woodland of Dyvnaint,†
Slaughtering his foes as he fell.

At Llongborth were slain to Arthur
Valiant men who hewed down with steel;
He was the emperor, and conductor of the toil of war.

'Under the thigh of Geraint were swift racers,
With long legs, that fed on the grain of deer,
Their course was like the consuming fire on the wild hills.

'Under the thigh of Geraint were fleet runners,
With long hams, fattened with corn;
They were red ones; their assault was like the bold eagles.

'Under Geraint's thigh were fleet runners,
With long legs, they scattered about the grain;
They were ruddy; their assault was like the white eagles.

'Under Geraint's thigh were fleet runners,
With long legs, high-mettled, fed with grain;
They were ruddy; bold their assault, like the red eagles.

'Under Geraint's thigh were fleet racers,
Long their legs; their food was corn;
Red were they; fierce their course, like the brown eagles.

'Swift racers were under the thigh of Geraint;
Their legs were long; they well deserved the grain;
Red were they; bold their course, as the grey eagles

† Devonshire, and Cornwall; "a country abounding with deep vales."

'Swift racers were under the thigh of Geraint;
Whose legs were long; they were reared up with corn,
They were red ones; their assault was as the black eagles.
'Swift racers were under the thigh of Geraint;
Whose legs were long; wheat their corn;
They red ones were; their assault was as the spotted eagles.
'Swift racers were under the thigh of Geraint;
Whose legs were long; they were satiated with grain;
They were grey, with tails tipt with silver.'

* "Merry Michael, the Cornishman, (says *Camden)* piped this vpon his oten pipe for merry England, but with a mocking compassion of Normandie, when the French vsurped in the time of king John.

Nobilis Anglia, pocula, prandia, donat & æra.
Terra iuuabilis & sociabilis, agmine plena.
Omnibus vtilis Anglia fertilis est, & amena:
Sed miserabilis & lachrimabilis absq caterua,
Neustria debilis, & modo flebilis est, quia serua."

The same Michael begged his exhibition of king Henry the Third, with this distich:

Regie rector, miles vt Hector, dux vt Achilles,
Tequia sector, mellee vector, mel mihi stilles.

And highly offended with Henry of Aurench, the king's poet, for disgracing Cornwall, he thought to draw blood of him with these bobbing rimes:

Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris, & latus apri,
Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens & gena muli,
Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, & color vndiq; Mauri:
His argumentis quænam est argutia mentis?
Quod non a monstro differs; satis hic tibi monstro." *Remaines*, p. 7.---p. 340.

These last lines are thus translated by *Fuller*, who calls him Michael Blaunpayne:

Gamb'd like a goat, sparrow thigh'd, side as boar,
Hare-mouth'd, dog-nos'd, like mule thy teeth and chin,
Brow'd as old wife, bull-headed, black as Moor;---
If such without, what then are you within?
By these my signs, the wise will easily conster,
How little didst thou differ from a monster.

Camden (in his Britannia) terms this Michael the most eminent poet of his age, and recites other verses of the same poem in praise of his country against the said libeller Henry de Abrincis. Of these verses, I shall here insert Fuller's translation. The original lines have appeared in my account of the commodities of Cornwall.

We need not number up her wealthy store,
Wherewith this helpfull land relieves her poor,
No sea so full of fish, of tin no shore.

And then (says *Camden)* after a long harangue on his countrymen, telling us in his jingling verse how Arthur always set them in the front of the battle, he at last boldly concludes:

Quid nos deterret, &c. &c. &c.
What should us fright, if firmly we do stand?
Bar fraud, and then no force can us command.

He flourished in 1250.† The time and place of his death are unknown.---Browne, in his Britannia's Pastorals, speaks of the Cornish Michael. See p. 90.

† Not 1350, as Fuller hath said by mistake.

CHAPTER THE TENTH.

POPULATION, HEALTH, STRENGTH, DISEASES.

I. THOUGH the Romans retained the possession of this island for a long space of time; yet the English have much more of the Saxon than the Roman blood in their veins.-----But not so the Cornish. The Romans were, strictly speaking, our only conquerors. And with the Romans we mixed, in all relations of life. To the Saxons, the Cornish were always hostile; and though forced to give way to the arms of Athelstan, retained their spirit unsubdued.---Of the disinclination of the Cornish to incorporate with the Normans, we have abundant proof. And, indeed, the greater part of the inhabitants of Cornwall, were, at the close of this period, either aboriginal, or Roman-Cornish.

II. Before the first Roman invasion, Cornwall was more populous than in the times of the Saxon heptarchy. From the small number of houses in Exeter, at the Conquest, we may, by induction, argue, that our inferior towns had been reduced also, to a few habitations.

III. Of the strength, activity, and longevity of the Cornish, we have repeated evidence.* The Cornish Arthur seems to have been as gigantic‡ as Orgar: And

* "The Cornish-men are verie stronge, actiue, and for the moste parte personable men, of good constitution of body, and verie valorous; which made Michael Cornubiensis their countryman to sett them forth in this ostentiue manner, among other his laudatory verses: *Fraus ni nos superet, nihil est quod non superemus.* They liue in this countrye verie longe, 80, 90, some 100 and more yeares." *Norden*, p. 28. "The Western-Saxon kingdom, (says *Fuller*, in his Church History) was famed for the *stoutness of active men*, which some impute to the natural cause of their being hatched under the warm wings of the south-west wind. The Cornish (says he) are masters of the art of wrestling; so that if the Olympic Games were now in fashion, they would come away with the victory. Their hug is a cunning close with their fellow combatants, the fruits whereof is his fair fall or foil at the least." See *Fuller's Worthies* of England in Cornwall, p. 197.

‡ What is said, however, of his structure, is doubtless, a very great exaggeration. The distance between his eye-brows, we are told, was a span, and the rest of his body in proportion. *Girald. Cambr.* l. 2. c. 11. "Nor is Corn-

St. Piran, "(if the legend lye not) after that (like another Johannes temporibus) he had lived *two hundred years* with perfect health, took his last rest in a Cornish parish, which therethrough he endowed with his name."† But, without recurrence to apocryphal heroes or saints, we shall be able, hereafter, to produce numerous instances of strength and longevity: Such instances the present period would unquestionably have afforded, had there existed a Cornish annalist to record them; or had not his annals been wrecked, in their descent to posterity.

wall more happy in the soil, than it's inhabitants; who as they are extremely well bred, and ever have been so, even in those more ancient times, (for, as Diodorus Siculus observes, by conversation with merchants trading thither for tinn, they became more courteous to strangers;) so are they lusty, stout, and tall; their limbs are well set; and at wrastling (not to mention that manly exercise of hurling the ball) they are so eminent, that they go beyond other parts, both in art, and a firmness of body required to it. And the poet Michael, after a long harangue made upon his country-men, telling us in his jingling verse, how Arthur always set them in the front of the battel, at last boldly concludes: ---

Quid nos deterret? si firmiter in pede stemus,
Fraus ni nos superet, nihil est quod non superemus.

What can e'er fright us if we stand our ground?
If fraud confound us not, we'll all confound.

And this perhaps may have given occasion to that tradition, of giants formerly inhabiting those parts. For Hauvillan, a poet who lived four hundred years ago, describing certain British giants, has these verses concerning Britain:

———Titanibus illa
Sed paucis famulosa domus, quibus uda ferarum
Terga dabant vestes, cruor haustus, pocula trunci,
Antra Lares, dumetta thoros, cœnacula rupes,
Præda cibos, raptus Venerem, spectacula cædes, &c. &c. &.

———Of Titan's monstrous race
Only some few disturb'd that happy place.
Raw hides they wore for cloaths, their drink was blood,
Rocks were their dining-rooms, their prey their food.
Their cup some hollow trunk, their bed a grove,
Murder their sport, and rapes their only love.
Their courage frenzy, strength their sole command;
Their arms, what fury offer'd to their hand.
And when at last in brutish fight they dy'd,
Some spacious thicket a vast grave supply'd.
With such vile monsters was the land opprest,
But most, the farther regions of the west;
Of them, thou Cornwall! too wast plagu'd above the rest.

But whether this firmness of constitution (which consists of a due temperature of heat and moisture) be caused in the Danmonii by those fruitful breezes of the west-wind, and their westerly situation, (as we see in Germany the Batavi, in France the Aquitani and Rutheni, which lye farthest toward the west, are most lusty;) or rather to some peculiar happiness in the air and soil; is not my business nicely to consider." *Gibson's Camden*, col. 3, 4.

† *Carew*, f. 58, b.

IV. Of the diseases of the Cornish, we have no particular account. A great plague in the time of Vortigern, is noticed by the venerable Bede.§

CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH.

MANNERS, DIVERSIONS, SUPERSTITIONS.

I.---1. BEFORE I attempt to delineate the character of the Cornish; I shall touch on that of the Saxons and of the Normans. The leading traits of the *Saxon* character were the love of freedom and of arms; ferocity and cruelty.* Nor must their gallantry† be forgotten. The story of the Saxon Edgar, and the beautiful

§ "In the time of king Cadwallo, it rained blood for three days; when happened that sanguinary war between him and the Saxons, and ensued a famine; which forced Cadwallo to fly into Armorica for the supply of men, money and provisions." *Florent.* p. 29.

* As the Saxons were a German nation, we may consult Tacitus for their manners and their policy: and in his discourse on the manners of the Germans we shall find the Saxon character portrayed with truth and elegance.

† The Saxons were fond of displaying the sex to advantage: They tell many stories illustrative of female virtue. "Ina, king of the West-Saxons, had three daughters, of whom upon a time he demanded whether they did love him, and so would do during their lives above all others; the two elder sware deepely they would; the yongest, but the wisest told her father flatly without flattery: 'That albeit shee did love, honour, and reverence him, and so would whilst shee lived, as much as nature and daughterly dutie at the uttermost could expect; yet shee did thinke that one day it would come to passe, that shee should affect another more fervently, meaning her husband, when shee were married: Who being made one flesh with her, as God by commaundement had told, and nature had taught hir, shee was to cleave fast to, forsaking father and mother, kiffe and kinne." *Camden's Remains*, pp. 248, 249.---Yet towards the end of the eighth century, our western ladies, had their dignity and influence somewhat diminished in consequence of the following incident. Eadburgh, the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, and queen of *Bearthric* king of *Wessex*, after having committed many detestable crimes, at length poisoned her husband and a young nobleman his favorite. This excited universal indignation: And Eadburgh could only save her life, by making her escape to the continent. The people of Wessex, finding no other way of testifying their resentment, made a law: "That none of the kings of Wessex should from that moment permit their consorts to be crowned, to sit with them on the throne, or to enjoy the name of queen."

Elfrida, hath been told by the historian‡‡ and sung by the poet. But whether the scene of their loves were the banks of the Tavy or the Tamar, would be fruitless to enquire.---The *Normans*, according to William of Malmesbury excelled the Anglo-

‡‡ "Elphreda (the only daughter of duke Orgarus) was the paragon of her sex, and wonder of nature, for loveliness and beauty; the fame of which sounded so loud in those western parts, that the echo thereof was heard so far as K. Edgar's court, and reached the king; the touch of which string (that made the most pleasing musick in his breast) from his ear soon resounded to his heart; To try the truth whereof, he secretly sent his favourite, earl Ethelwold of East-Anglia (who could well judge of beauty) with commission, that if the pearl proved so orient, it should be seized for his own wearing, intending to make her a queen, and Orgarus the father-in-law of a king. The young earl soon posted into Devonshire to duke Orgarus's court; where, on sight of the lady, he was so surprized with her charms, that he began to woo her for himself; and proved so successful therein, that he procured hers and her father's goodwill, in case he could obtain the king's consent. Earl Ethelwold returning, related to the king, that the lady was fair indeed, but nothing answerable to the report of her; however, he desired his majesty, for his leave to marry her, thereby to raise his fortunes. The king, suspecting no deceit, consented, and the marriage was solemnized. Soon after which, the fame of her beauty sounded much louder than before at court; whereupon, the king, much doubting he had been abused, resolved to try the truth himself. In order to which, he comes to Exeter, and thence sends word to the duke, where the fair Elphreda and her husband were, that he designed to be speedily with him, and hunt in his parks; or rather in the forest of Dartmoor there near adjoyning. The ground of whose coming the guilty Ethelwold suspecting, he acquainted his wife with the wrong he had done both her and the king, in disparaging her beauty to him: And therefore, to prevent the king's displeasure, he entreated her very earnestly, to cloath herself in such attire as might least set forth her lustre, in words to this effect: As the richest diamond, said he, rough and uncut, yields neither sparkle nor esteem; and gold, unburnished, gives no better lustre than base brass; so beauty and feature, clad in mean array, is, or slightly looked at, or wholly unregarded: So true is the adage of old, that cloth is the man, and man is the wretch. To prevent, therefore, the thing I fear, and is like to prove my present ruine, and thy future shame; conceal thy great beauty from K. Edgar's eye, and give him entertainment in thy meanest attire; let them, I pray thee, for a time, be the nightly curtains drawn about our new nuptial bed, and the daily clouds to hide thy splendant sun from his sharp and too piercing look; the rays whereof will soon set his waxen wings on fire, that ready are to melt at a far softer heat. Thus, with a kind kiss, hopeing he had prevailed, he withdrew to receive and entertain the king. The fair Elphreda now left alone, began thus to debate the matter with herself. Hath my beauty, thought she, been courted of a king, and by the mouth of fame compared with Hellen's, and must it now be hid? Must I falsify and belye nature's bounty, mine own value, and all mens reports, only to save his credit, who hath impaired mine, and belyed my worth? And must I needs defoul myself to be his only fair fool, that hath despightfully kept me from the seat and state of a queen? However he may answer it to the king his master, to me the injury is beyond repair; who thus hath bubbled me with a coronet, instead of a crown; and made me a subject, who, e're this, should have been a soveraign. It can be no blame in me, to make the most of nature's largesses and art's accomplishments, when I falsify no trust; only with the sun (to which he is pleased to liken me) shew the beams, which, do what I can, will not be hid; nor at this time shall be, be the event what will. Thus, right woman, desiring nothing more than what is forbidden, and considering, that now was the time to make the most of her beauty, she resolved she would not be accessary to her own injury by failing to set it forth to the best advantage; her body she endulced with the sweetest balms; display'd her hair, and powder'd it with diamonds; bestrew'd her breasts and bosom with pearls and rubies; rich jewels, glittering like stars, depended at her ears; and all her other ornaments every way agreeable. And thus, rather angel than lady-like, she attended the approach and enterance of the king; whom with such fair obeisance and seemly grace she received, that Edgar's greedy eye, presently collecting the rays of her shining beauty, became a burning glass to his heart; and the sparkle of her fair look falling into the train of his love, set all his senses on fire. Struck with astonishment and admiration at first sight, the king was fully resolved to be quits with his perfidious favourite; yet dissembling his passion for the present, until the morning came, they went out a hunting;

Saxons in temperance and fortitude, and urbanity. How far the Saxon or the Norman manners operated on the island in general, is an enquiry which I shall not pursue. The British ladies were certainly fond of imitating the Saxon fashions. But whether they were equally assiduous in the imitation of that modest demeanour which is said to have distinguished the Saxon women, I am not authorized to say. The influence of the Roman manners had long circumscribed the pleasures of the marriage-bed, to which the Britons had permitted so liberal an indulgence: And the chastity of the Saxons, whose women were never so highly adorned as by a numerous offspring, the pledges of unviolated love, must, in some measure, have imprest its character on the British race.---To the Conqueror, this county was indebted for the melioration of its manners. William, whilst he endeavoured to incorporate his own people with the English, was sedulous also to introduce the laws, the language, the learning, and the customs and fashions of Normandy. In these

where carefully watching, he at length found an opportunity, and taking Ethelwold at an advantage, slew him. And at a place in Dartmoor forest, called Wilverley, since Warlwood,* the earl was found slain with an arrow, or, as some will, run through with a javelin. Soon after this, K. Edgar having thus made the fair Elphreda a widow, took her to be his second wife; by whom he had two sons; Edmund, who died in his infancy; and Ethelred, who afterwards came to be king of England, by name of Ethelred the unready. The way to which (what may not be disguised) this his mother Elphreda made through the body of K. Edward, eldest son of Edgar, by his first wife Q. Ethelfled; the manner thus: King Edward hunting in the isle of Purbeck, not far from Corff-Castle, where his mother-in-law queen Elphreda, and her son his brother prince Ethelred, were residing; out of his love to both, would needs himself alone give them a visit. The queen, having long laid wait for an occasion, out of ambition to bring her own son to the crown, took the opportunity; and while the young king was drinking a cup of wine at the gate on horse-back, she caused one to run him into the back with a knife: Who feeling himself hurt, set spurs to his horse, thinking thereby to get to his company; but the wound being mortal, and the king fainting through the loss of blood, fell from his horse, and one foot being entangled in the styrrup, he was ruthfully dragged up and down through woods and lands, and at length left dead at Corffe-Gate. Which happened after he had reigned three years and six months, in the sixteenth year of his age, and of Christ Jesus 979. Having thus related queen Elphreda's vile and horrid fact, it is very fit also we should give account of her deep repentance; for being much grieved hereat, to expiate her bloody crime,† according to the religion of those days, she built the two monasteries of Amesbury and Worwel, in the counties of Wiltshire and Southampton; in which latter she lived with great pennance, until the day of her death; and in the same lieth her body interred." *Prince* pp. 481. 482.---According to a latin poem of Dr. Shebbeare, *Okehampton-castle* was the scene of Edgar's and Elfrida's amours. But I was informed some years ago, that the meeting between the lovers was asserted by the Morice family to have been at Werington. In consequence of which, I made some enquiries there; and found not only the voice of tradition confirming the family-persuasion; but evidence apparently more substantial. There is a spot near Werington called *Ladies-cross*, where the lovers are reputed to have met, and an ancient bed at Werington said to be the very bed in which king Edgar slept.

* Risd. Surv. of Dev. in Tavist. MS. † Speed's Hist. of Gr. Brit. lib. 7. p. 356.

fashions, indeed, there was much pomp and ostentation. And we are told, that in the times of Henry the II. the whole gentry of England, imitating the fashions of the Normans, affected an extraordinary style of magnificence in their dress and equipage.

2. Amidst these varieties of foreign manners and customs, little of the original British character could be recognized; unless its ancient features were to be traced at the extremities of the island. And here their ancient features were traceable: Here were still Britons, proud to oppose their virtues and their manners, to those of the Saxon or the Norman progeny.§ From their remote and peninsular situation, the Cornish must necessarily have retained their provincial peculiarities.‖ In peace they were still generous and hospitable; in war, enthusiastically brave.¶ ---In the time of king Arthur,* the Cornish were accustomed to lead the

§ It is curious to observe the anxious wish of *Risdon* and his commentator *Chapple*, to derive the people of Devonshire from CORNISH rather than SAXON progenitors.--- "King Arthur honoured these Britons (says *Risdon*) with the first charge in his battles, who, together with the Cornish and Welshmen, by martial prowess, have challenged the prerogative of that regiment in the English army that should second the main battle:" "and although the present inhabitants (interposes *Chapple*) cannot so much boast of their descent from those ancient Cornish, but rather from their conquerors the Saxons; yet as the former continued in possession of a great part of this county in common with the latter 'till about A. D. 936, and doubtless had frequent intermarriages with them, the present Devonians may consider both as their ancestors, and are no less intitled to their martial honours and privileges." "A bold, hardy, brave and valorous people (continues *Risdon*) having no less an aptitude for instruction in military exercises, or courage to maintain their post in an engagement, than docility and readiness in acquiring the requisite qualifications for civil employments."—"Nor ought our sailors to be forgotten (says *Chapple*) of whom this maritime county produces not a few; who for skill in their profession, valour and conduct in engagements with an enemy, patience in hardships and wants, and unlimited generosity in affluence, are not excelled any where."

‖ Yet, if we attend to Cornish traditions, we had frequent and familiar intercourse with the Saxon kings.--- In the parish of St. Just, Penwith, is a large flat stone, on which, tradition saith, seven Saxon kings dined at one time and day, at such time as they came into Cornwall, to see the Land's-end. These kings are said to have been, Ethelbert 5th king of Kent; Cissa, second king of the South-Saxons; Kingills, sixth king of the West-Saxons; Sebert, third king of the East-Saxons; Ethelred, seventh king of the Northumbrians; Penda, fifth king of the Mercians; Sigebert, fifth king of the East-Angles; who all flourished about the year 600, and were all crowned heads, as Daniell, in his chronicle tells us." *Hals's MSS.* in St. Just.

¶ On military expeditions, they generally avoided promiscuous intercourse with the rest of the army. This seems to have been their character, from the days of Arthur, when, as merry Michael sings, they led the van, to the rebellion of 1745, when at Exeter, they "*one-and-all*," fled to arms at an imaginary insult, and secure in their combined force, set the city at defiance.

* Warton, in his "Observations on Spencer's Fairy Queen," has given us a most entertaining criticism on the romance entitled "*Morte Arthur*." See vol. i. pp. 19....46.

van:† And, in Egbert's time, they are said to have challenged the honor of leading the van in the day of battle. In the reign of king Canute, whether the danger was greater in the rear on some remarkable retreat of his army, or whether the Dane piqued himself on inverting all the Saxon order of battle, we find the Cornish bringing up the rear. This is attributed by John of Salisbury to their distinguished valour. In the mean time, (it must not be concealed) the Cornish was choleric;‡ and, in some respect, ferocious.§---To distinguish between the manners of the superior order, and the poorer classes, I have to observe, that the former possessed on arbitrary spirit: In many instances, also, they were grossly indelicate.‖ The riding upon the black ram, the cocking-stool,¶ and other usages of a similar nature, prove both tyranny and indecency. But these, I

† —— Rex Arcturus nos primos Cornubienses
Bellum facturus vocat, ut puta Cæsaris enses
Nobis non alijs, reliquis, dat primitus ictum
Per quem pax lisque, &c. &c. &c.

Michael Cornubiensis.

‡ "Hur *Welsh* blood is up," is a proverbial expression. But "hur *Cornish* blood is up," would be equally just. And, I think, *Fuller's* observation, that "the Welsh are like the face of their country, full of ups and downs, elevations and depressions-----prone to anger, but soon appeased," is more applicable to the Cornish than the Welsh. The anger of the Welsh generally settles into a deep resentment; and is only expiated by some revengeful stroke. But that of the Cornish, involves in it no sin; "We are angry, and sin not:" We "let not the sun go down upon our wrath."

§ I am ashamed of our shipwrecks. Yet, I believe, the Normans are more blameable than the Cornish, in the instance of the "wrack." "Lamentable is the case of poor sea-faring men that suffer wrack, which the Normans called *varech*; from whom came that custom not unworthy writing, that in ancient times, if a ship were cast on shore, torn with tempest, and were not repaired by such as were left alive within a certain time, then this was taken for wrack. But king Henry I. disliking the justice of that custom, ordained: That if any one thing came on land alive, then the goods and ship should not be seized. This decree was of force all his reign, and ought of equity to have endured for ever. Howbeit, after his death, the owners of land on the sea-shore shewing themselves more careful of their own gain, than pitiful of other men's calamity, returned to their old manner." *Risdon*, p. 286.

‖ "For adultery or a rape, let the man and woman each pay eight shillings and fourpence." *Domesday*. Eight shillings and fourpence was, doubtless, a great sum in the Norman times: But a settled pecuniary composition for a rape, is revolting to our conceptions of moral turpitude.

¶ Among the punishments inflicted in Cornwall was that of the *cocking-stool*, (or *cockaigue*, signifying a base woman) a seat of infamy, where loose women and scolds, with bare feet and head, were exposed to the derision of those that passed by, for such time as the bailiffs of manors who had the privilege of such jurisdiction, thought proper to appoint. This jurisdiction was granted (or rather at the inquisition declared to belong) to the manor of Cotford-Farlo in the parish of St. Wenn: "Maner. de Cotford-Farlo, alias Lancorla in St. Wenn-

conceive, were Norman customs. We have so few memoirs of this county, before the time of Edward I. that we must have recourse to the Welsh annals,* for the history of our county. And, perhaps, for the true lineaments of the Cornish character, we

moor, temp. Henr. 3. Quia per objurgatrices et meretrices multa mala in manerio oriuntur, lites, pugne, diffamationes, et alie multe inquietationes per earum putesias; igitur utimur de eisdem quod cum capte fuerint, habeant judicium de cocking-stool, & ibi stabunt nudis pedibus, et suis crinibus pendentibus dispersis tanto tempore ut aspici possint ab omnibus per viam transeuntibus secundum voluntatem balivorum nostrorum capitalium." *Hals's MSS.*

* "How actiue and seruiceable the Welsh were when king Richard Cuer-de-lion lead an armie of them into France, haue this testimonie of William Britto (who then liued) in his fifth book of Philippeidos,

Protinus extremis Anglorum finibus agmen
Wallorum immensum numero vocat, vt. nemorosa
Per loca discurrant, ferroque ignique furore
Innato, nostri vastent confinia regni.

Gens Wallensis habet hoc naturale per omnes
Indigenas, primis proprium quod seruat ab annis.
Pro domibus syluas, bellum pro pace frequentat,
Irasci facilis, agilis per deuia cursu,
Nec soleis plantas, caligis nec crura grauantur
Frigus docta pati, nulli cessura labori.
Veste breui, corpus nullis oneratur ab armis.
Nec munit thorace latus, nec casside frontem,
Sola gerens, hosti cædem quibus inferat, arma,
Clauam cumiaculo, venabula, gesa, bippennem,
Arcum cum pharetris, nodosaque tela, vel hastam
Assiduis gaudens prædis, fusoque cruore.

How afterward in processe of time they conformed themselues to all ciuilite, and the reason thereof, appeareth by these lines of a poet then flourishing.

Mores antiqui Britonum iam ex couictu Saxonum
Commutantur in melius, vt patet ex his clarius.
Hortos & agros excolunt, ad oppida se conferunt,
Et loricati equitant, & calceati peditant,
Vrbane se reficiunt, & sub tapetis dormiunt
Vt iudicentur Anglici, nunc potius quam Wallici.
Huius si quæratur ratio, quietius quam solito
Cur illi viuant hodie, in causa sunt diuitiæ.
Quas cito gens hæc perderet, si passim nunc confligeret.
Timor damni hos retrahit, nam nil habens nil metuit.
Et vt dixit Satyricus: Cantat portatur vacuus
Coram latrone tutior, quam phalaratus ditior.

And since they were admited to the imperiall crowne of England, they haue, to their iust praise, performed all parts of dutifull loyaltie and allegeance most faithfully thereunto; plentifully yeelding martiall captaines, iudicious ciuillians skilfull common lawyers, learned diuines, complete courtiers, and aduentrous souldiers. In which commendations their cousins the Cornishmen do participate proportionally, although they were sooner brought vnder the English command." *Camden's Remains*, pp. 10, 11.

should do right to consult Giraldus Cambrensis, who has drawn a good outline of the kindred Welsh.‡

II. The diversions of the people form always an interesting subject, at every period of time.

Among the gentry, hunting seems to have been the first and favourite sport. And it equally prevailed among the original Britons, § and their suc-

‡ Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, that not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole people of Wales were universally addicted to arms - - - - That they were exceedingly active and hardy, and dexterous in the use of their arms. That to fight for their country, and lose their lives in defence of its honor and liberty, was their chief pride. The following particulars, also, we learn from Giraldus. King Henry the Second, in a letter to the Greek emperor Emanuel Comnenus, was pleased to take notice of the extraordinary courage and fierceness of the Welsh, who were not afraid to fight almost unarmed with enemies armed at all points, willingly shedding their blood in the cause of their country, and purchasing glory at the expence of their lives. The same vivacity which animated their hearts, inspired their tongues. They were of quick and sharp wit, naturally eloquent, and ready in speaking without any awe or concern before their superiors, or in public assemblies: But from this fire in their tempers, they were all very passionate, vindictive, and sanguinary in their resentments. For even the lowest amongst them had each by heart his own genealogy, together with which he retained a constant remembrance of every injury, disgrace or loss, his forefathers had suffered, and thought it degeneracy not to resent it as personal to himself. To plunder or rob, was scarcely accounted dishonourable among them, even when committed against their own countrymen, much less against foreigners. They hardly ever married without a prior co-habitation. Their kings and a few of the principal nobles, had built some castles in imitation of the English; but most of their gentry still continued to dwell in huts made of wattle, and situated in solitudes, by the sides of the woods, as most convenient for hunting and pasture, as for a retreat in time of war. Their furniture was as simple and mean as their houses, such as might answer the mere necessities of gross and uncivilized nature. The only elegance among them was music, which they were so fond of, that in every family there generally were some who played on the harp: and skill in that instrument was valued by them more than all their knowlege. Notwithstanding their poverty, they were so hospitable that every man's house was open to all. When any stranger or traveller came to a house, he used no other ceremony than (at his first entrance) to deliver his arms into the hands of the master, who thereupon offered to wash his feet, which if he accepted, it was understood to signify his intention of staying there all night, and none who did so was refused. It was customary among them, to receive in the mornings large companies of young men, who followed no occupation but arms, whenever they were not in action strolled all over the country, and entered into any house that they found in their way; where they were entertained till the evening, with the music of the harp, and free conversation with the young women of the family. One is surprised in observing how absolutely the Britons, after their retreat into Wales, lost all the culture they had received from the Romans. They retained the profession of the Christian religion, but debased with gross superstitions. Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, that they paid in his days, a more devout reverence to churches, and church-men, to the relics of saints, to crosses, and to bells, than any other nation. Their hermits were celebrated for severer austerities than any others in Europe. Pilgrimages to Rome were their favourite mode of devotion, though they had many saints of their own nation, whose shrines were thus adored with the blindest superstition.

§ "Res-ky-mer, dogg-marsh, or fenn, or a place situate on the declininge part of a hill, upon a meer marsh; or moorish piece of ground; notable for doggs in generall. But whether it referrs to beagles, hounds, spaniells, wolves, or fox doggs, I know not. *Quere*. Whether in this place there was not some carrion poole for doggs; or what sort of doggs is meant by the conjunctive particle *ky?* For Mr. Carew (in his Survey of Cornwall, p. 55.) tells us, contrary to the etymologie aforesaid, that Reskymer signifies

cessive invaders. ‖ And hawking obtained among all; though an Asiatic

the greate dogg's race; but then it should have been very differently written. Be it how it will, from this place was denominated an ancient familly of gentlemen, surnamed de Reskymer, or rather Res-ky-maur, *i. e.* the greate or large dogg's vallum. From this place in all probabillitie was denominated Kymarus, *i. e.* greate doggs, or this place from him, a British kinge (mentioned in Galfridus's Chronicle, A. D. 1152,) grandsone of Gwintolinus, by Marcia his lady; author of the Marcian lawe, longe after translated out of the British tongue into the Saxon language by king Alured; who had issue by the said Marcia Ceilius, who governed part of this realme fifteen years, father of this Kymarus or Kimarus, as some say, who is reported to have been a wild younge man, and irregular both in his private life and public government; who, after he had reigned three years, beinge in his disport of huntinge with his doggs was trayterously slayne by his owne servants, about one hundred years before Julius Cæsar invaded this land. And that the reader may knowe of what vse and esteem doggs of game were had amongst our ancestors the Britons in those days, the author of the life of Agricola, thus speaks: The inland Britons and many others of that nation, got their livinge by huntinge with doggs; and lived upon the flesh soe gotten; and cloathed themselves with the skins of those beasts, and also made greate advantage of the flesh and skins caught by that art. Moreover Strabo, (in lib. 3.) tells us of the Cassiterides and Ostiones that they digged up great plenty of lead and tynn there; and that they had also among them good quantities of skinns and furrs, which commodities they bartered or exchanged with merchants for earthen vessels, salt, and brass-work. Againe of these Britons thus speaks Cæsar's commentary 5. most of the inland people sowe noe corne, but live on milk and flesh and are cloathed with skins of beasts; moreover their religion will not suffer them to eate either hare, hen, or goose; notwithstandinge they have of all sorts as well for novelty as variety. And of latter tyme it is evident from the rolls of the Exchequer that diverse tenements of land in this island have been held of the crown and other lords, by the tenure, condition, or covenant of payinge and keepinge doggs; for instance, in the pleas of the crowne at Windsor, tempore Edw. I. roll the 28th, we read thus: Johanes de Baye, tenet. duas hidas terræ de domino rege, in Rookhampton, in Surry; per sergentiam custodiendi unam mentam caniculorum harectorum, ad custam domini regis. &c. *i. e.* for keeping a pack or kennell of hare doggs, for the use of our lord the kinge. Again, in the Fines 6. of kinge John in Norfolk; we reade, Joanna quæ fuit uxor Johannis Kinge, tenet. quandam serjantiam in Stenhow, in Norfolk, per Serjantiam custodiendi, unum brackeltum demeritum, domini regis, &c. *i. e.* by keepinge a brache-lete, a little mastive dogg, that shall deserve or procure the favour of our lord the kinge. Again, in the rolls of the Fines 42. Edw. III. in Northampton in latin may be read to this effect, in English, Thomas Eugayne, held lands in Pightesle, in this county, by the service of findinge, at his own proper cost and charges, certaine doggs for huntinge wolves, foxes, martins, catts, and other vermin in the countys of Rutland, Oxford, Essex, Buckingham, and Northampton; it is likely, from hence, he was for those wicked wild creatures, the king's huntsman, by inheritance; for of his progenitor 14. Edw. I. roll 7th in Huntington, it is thus set down:---Johannes Eugayne, tenet. unam carucatam terræ in magna Gedinge in comitatu predict. per serjantiam, currendi ad lupum vulpem, et cattum, et amovendi omnem verminiam extra forrestum domini regis, in comitatu isto. Again, in the Pleas of the Crowne, 13. Edward I. in Essex, we reade Willelmus de Reynes, aliquando tenuit duas carucatas terræ in Boyton in parochiæ de Finchingfeud, in comitatu Essex, per serjantiam custodiendi domino regi quinque Canes Luporarias. Lastly, in the Pleas of the Crown, in Berkshire, 12. Edward I. may be read Willelmus Lovell, tenet. duas carucatas terræ de domino regis apud Benham, in comitatu predict. per serjantiam, custodiendi, a pack or kennell of courageous or valiant doggs." *Hals in Mawgan.*

‖ "I know not well, whether I may referre to the parish of St. Neot, that which Mat. West. reporteth of king Alfred, namely, how comming into Cornwall on hunting, he turned aside, for doing his deuotion, into a church, where St. Guerijr and St. Neot made their abode; and there found his orisons seconded with a happy effect." *Carew*, f. 129.----The author of the Saxon Chronicle, speaking of the rigorous laws which William the Conqueror enacted for the preservation of game, observes: That he *loved the deer, as if he had been their father.*

sport, and existing in Cornwall, long before the Romans. The fighting of cocks was more the sport of gentlemen than the common people.¶ The sports of wrestling and hurling* were, perhaps, almost entirely confined to the inferior classes of the community. And, in these sports, the agility and skill of the Cornish were more especially displayed, at their parish-feasts,† and on saints days.

¶ William Fitz-Stephen, who wrote the life of archbishop Becket, in the reign of Henry II. describes cocking as the sport of school-boys, on Shrove-Tuesday. The theatre was the school: And the master was the director of the sport.

* "Among the general customs, we must not forget the manly exercises of wrestling and hurling, the former more generally practised in this county than in any part of England, the latter peculiar to it. The Cornish have been remarkable for their expertness in athletic contentions for many ages, as if they inherited the skill and strength of their fabulous first duke Corinæus, whose fame consists chiefly in the reputation he won by wrestling with, and overcoming the giant Gogmagog: And that fable perhaps was founded five hundred years since upon the then acknowleged and universal reputation of the people of this county for wrestling. But to leave fables; what should have implanted this custom in such a corner of Britain, and preserved it hitherto in its full vigour, when either never affected at all, or with indifference in other parts of the island, we cannot say; certain it is the Grecians, who traded hither for tin, and hither only, had the highest esteem for this exercise. The arts of the Palæstra were chiefly cultivated by the Lacedemonians, and yet Plato himself among the Athenians was so far from disapproving the exercise, that he recommends it to the practise of old as well as young women, and thinks it proper for them oftentimes to wrestle with men, that thereby they might become more patient of labour, and learn to struggle with the difficulties incident to a warlike state. The ardour for this exercise so prevailed at last, that all Greece devoted their time and inclinations to the gymnasia and palæstra, and chose rather to be accounted the most expert wrestlers, than to be celebrated as the most knowing and valiant commanders. Whether the Cornish borrowed this custom from the Grecians, or whatever else was the cause, you shall hardly any where meet with a party of boys who will not readily entertain you with a specimen of their skill in this profession. Hurling is a trial of skill and activity between two parties of twenty, forty, or any indeterminate number; sometimes betwixt two or more parishes, but more usually, and indeed practised in a more friendly manner, betwixt those of the same parish: for the better understanding which distinction, it must be premised, that betwixt those of the same parish there is a natural connexion supposed, from which *(cæteris paribus)* no one member can depart without forfeiting all esteem. As this unites the inhabitants of a parish, each parish looks upon itself as obliged to contend for its own fame, and oppose the pretensions, and superiority of its neighbours. It is so termed from throwing or *hurling* a ball, which is a round piece of timber, (about three inches diameter) covered with plated silver, sometimes gilt. It has usually a motto in the Cornish tongue alluding to the pastime, as *Guare wheag, yw Guare teag*, that is, fair play is good play. Upon catching this ball dexterously when it is dealt, and carrying it off expeditiously notwithstanding all the opposition of the adverse party, success depends. This exercise requires force, and nimbleness of hand, a quick eye, swiftness of foot, skill in wrestling, strength and breath to persevere in running, address to deceive and evade the enemy, and judgment to deliver the ball into proper hands, as occasion shall offer: In short, a pastime that kindles emulation in the youngest breast, and like this requires so general an exertion of all the faculties of the body, cannot but be of great use to supple, strengthen, and particularly tend to prepare it for all the exercises of the camp." *Borlase*, pp. 299, 300, 301.

† The famous festival of *Hockeday* has been the subject of much conjecture. In the Teutonic language, *hockzeit* is particularly applied to a wedding-feast: And to this day the German word for a wedding is *hockzeit*. At the celebration of the feast at the wedding of a Danish lord Canute Prudan with lady Githa, the daughter of Osgot

In noticing the parish-feast, we approach the confines of religion.* The primeval feast, indeed, was strictly religious: ‡ And so was the miracle-play. The miracle plays were called *Guaremir*, and the place of acting, *Plaen-an-guare*.

Clape a Saxon nobleman, *Hardicanute* suddenly expired. Our ancestors, therefore, had sufficient grounds for distinguishing the day of so happy an event, by a word denoting the wedding-feast, or the wedding-day. The dominion of the Danes had long been extremely galling and oppressive: And Hardicanute, among other rigorous measures, had rendered himself odious to the Danes, by exacting the Danegelt. Chatterton has mentioned Hokeday in several places. In one, particularly, he says;

> The Saxonne warryer that did so entwyne,
> Lyke the nesh bryon and the eglantine,
> Orre Cornysh wrastlers at a hocktyde game.'

From this passage it seems that the wrestling of Cornishmen was one of the hocktide sports.

* The parish-wake, in celebration of the saint to whom the church was dedicated has been mentioned in the third chapter as a religious rite.

‡ In the first volume, I described the Furry of Helston, as a specimen of *Furry* days or Feiræ observed in other parts of Cornwall. Such scenes in honor of Pagan divinities, were now celebrated in honor of Christian saints, on the days of the dedication of churches, or other sacred days. On the third of May, the *Furry* was once kept at Penryn; and on the first of May we have a similar festival at Padstow. On May the first is a festivity kept here, which is called the hobby-horse, from a man being drest up in a stallion horse's skin, led by crowds of men and women through the streets, and at every dirty pool dipping the head in the pool, and throwing out the water upon them. It is therefore the British festivity of May-day, observed in a manner not British. Even an addition completely English has been very lately made to it; by the men and women singing a song in English of which the burden is: "where are the French? Give them to us, that we may kill them." So the *Furry* Feria, Fure [1], For-y (in Cornish pronunciation), at Helston, is kept on the eighth of May, with a song in English, declaring they bring home the *summer* and the *may*, and inveighing against the French and Spaniards. Some pretend, that the French, in queen Anne's time, attempted to land, and were driven away by a figure thus drest up, &c. A tale too ridiculous for refutation! The addition made at Helston shews the addition made at Padstow; that being evidently a very late one. And the *summer* and the *may*, which are retained equally in the Padstow as in the Helston song, mark the main, the original parts of both. The eighth of May, I doubt not, is the day of the parish-feast; and, being so near to the first, has superseded it, yet borrowed the substance of its song from it.---"Acarnival, which has been kept for ages upon Halgaver-moor near Bodmin, is said to be as old as the Saxons. The season of its celebration, is the middle of July: And thousands of people used to resort to the spot. "The youthlier sort of Bodmin townsmen vse sometimes to sport themselues, by playing the box with strangers, whome they summon to Halgaver. The name signifieth the goat's moore, and such a place it is, lying a little without the towne, and very full of quagemires. When these mates meet with any rawe seruing-man, or other young master, who may serue and deserue to make pastime, they cause him to be solemnly arrested, for his appearance before the maior of Halgaver, where he is charged with wearing one spurre, or going vntrussed, or wanting a girdle, or some such like felony: and after he hath beene arraygned and tryed with all requisite circumstances, iudgement is giuen in formal termes, and executed in some one vngracious pranke or other, more to the skorne, then hurt of the party condemned. Hence is sprung the prouerb, when we see one slouenly appareled, to say, he shall be presented in Halgaver Court. But now and then, they extend this merriment with the largest, to the preiudice of ouer-credulous people, perswading them to fight with a dragon lurking in Halgaver, or to see some strange matter there; which concludeth at least, with a trayning them into the mire"*

* Carew, f. 126, 126 b. --- "The sports and pastimes here held were so well liked by Charles the Second, when he touched here in his way to Scilly, that he became a brother of the jovial society!" See Heath's Description of the Isles of Scilly, printed in 1750.

---They lasted sometimes more than one day, and were attended not by the vulgar only, but by people of the first rank. § Carew compares these inter-

§ "Of the *Guare-mir* I have seen some faint remains both in the east and west of Cornwall during the Christmas season, when at the family feasts of gentlemen, the Christmas plays were admitted, and some of the most learned among the vulgar (after leave obtained) entered in disguise, and before the gentry, who were properly seated, personated characters, and carried on miserable dialogues on scripture-subjects. When their memory could go no farther, they filled up the rest of the entertainment with more puerile representations, the combats of puppets, the final victory of the hero of the drama, and death of his antagonist." *Borlase*, p. 299.----In the "Old English Gentleman," I have taken occasion to describe the geese-dance, and other festal celebrations.

"In the gay circle of convivial cheer,
Blithe Christmas came, with chaplets never sear.
How beam'd delight, in every eye, unblam'd,
When at the hallow'd eve for carols fam'd,
The greenwood towering o'er the heapy turves,
First fum'd and crackled in elastic curves;
When brightly blaz'd the sap-besprinkled ash,
And glistening holly danc'd with many a flash,
And, every vulgar fire design'd to mock,
Repos'd in sombrous state the *Christmas-stock.
Alas! uprooted in the tempest's roar,
And hewn in sunder to its hollow core;
Andarton's oldest oak the flame attacks—
For ages yet it 'scap'd the forest-axe!
Rais'd high amid the turf, the kindled sprays,
It bids awhile defiance to the blaze;
And, though it redden deep, preserves its claim
Twelve days and twelve long nights to feed the flame.

The rites now paid, their pipes they clear'd, to chime
The current carols of unletter'd rhyme;
Or told appropriate tales with gamesome glee—
"How once an owlet † from the Christmas-tree
(Such as, perhaps, now glow'd amid the blaze)
Flew with scorcht pinions to the wondering gaze;
Or how a cuckoo † scar'd the circling throng,
As a new warmth reviv'd her April song.

With box and myrtle sprig'd, and leav'd with bay,
The windows were adorn'd to meet the day,
When, as the merry bells announc'd the dawn,
Soft symphonies came wafted o'er the lawn;
And, honour'd by a peal, the parish-feast
Perchance, by its peculiar rites increas'd
The general joy, and round the church-town drew
Alike the thrifty train, the careless crew,—

* Called, in the north of England, the Yule-block.

† † These are actually facts: they both happened not many years ago on this peninsula.

ludes to the old Roman tragedy: And he is peculiarly happy in this mode of illustration.‖

From day to day each appetite amus'd,
And o'er the farms its alehouse mirth diffus'd—
Adapted the wild dance to various tunes
From crazy * *crowds* or Jew's-harps, or bassoons,
(When "kiss-her-sweet," the fidlers archly play'd,
And the quaint summons every swain obey'd—)
And rous'd to emulation all the clowns.
Or at the tower, the green, or open downs;
If still the ‡ intense desire of praise attach
Each rival parish to the ringing-match;
Or, (as a less impetuous spirit hails
A band of striplings to the town of kailes)
If ancient ardour in the athletic game
Bid Cornwall pant again for Grecia's fame,
And to the extensive heath the hurlers call
To deal, to bear away the mottoed ball; ‖
Till now no more with stomachs to carouse,
Some crown'd with hats, and some, with silver cows, §
Some smarting from the bruise, the broken shin,
Others, perhaps, escaping in whole skin,
The revel with one general yawn they close,
And seek their homes, impatient of repose.

But the new year brought ever to the knight
Its ¶ "happy" hour with festal glory bright.

'Twas on this day, the villagers in flocks
Caught fine effluvia from the roasted ox,
With stomachs haply not inclin'd to dwell
With perfect satisfaction on the smell;
Whilst, open to each voluntary guest,
The laurel'd hall to many a mouth address'd
Productions rich with dextrous art dispos'd,
Among the rest, mince-pyes, how neatly ros'd!

Towering o'er all, the †imperial dish appear'd
On the long-groaning table as it rear'd
(Delicious to polite or vulgar gust)
In brown magnificence its walls of crust.
Within, what various cates promiscuous lurk,
Geese stuff'd with tongue, and turkeys cram'd with pork,

* Crowd. A fiddle, a violin. ‡ Laudumque immensa cupido.

‖ The manner in which the game is played, is pretty generally known: But hurling is almost extinct in Cornwall.

§ Gold-laced hats, silver-cows, &c. proposed as prizes to the wrestlers, &c.

¶ The old wish---"a happy new year"---is almost forgotten.

† The standing Christmas pye.

III. From religious rites to superstitious tenets, the transition is imperceptible and easy: The one was closely connected with the other. The greater part of our

And hares and hams embracing and embrac'd
High-season'd to solicit every taste!
So proud, in each opinion to outvie
The mighty Trojan horse, aspir'd the pye;
And drew from all, or delicate or coarse,
Praise never boasted by the Trojan horse!

Hah! 'mid that monster skulk'd the foes of Troy,
The insidious Greeks in ambush to destroy;
Ere-long descending from its wooden womb
To speed the vengeful torch from dome to dome,
But, darkly-leagued, the citadel surprize
Ere yet the extensive flame involv'd the skies.
So may, perhaps, those cates in ambuscade
The unweeting stomach with like power invade,
To the parcht liver treacherous fire impart,
And steal upon that citadel, the heart!

A massy bowl, to deck the jovial day,
Flash'd from its ample round a sun-like ray,
But, from a deeper gilding wont to beam,
On its worn rim betray'd a silver gleam—
A long-transmitted bowl that high-embost,
And with quaint figures astrologic crost
More prominent the *Andarton* arms display'd,
To throw the inferior symbols into shade.

Full many a century it shone forth, to grace
The festive spirit of the *Andarton*-race,
As, to the sons of sacred union dear,
It welcom'd with lambswool the rising year.

Nor sooner, at its chill and transient close,
Had evening ting'd a dreary waste of snows,
Than from the great plumb-cake whose charms entice
Each melting mouth, was dealt the luscious slice;
As all the painted tapers in array
Flung round the jovial room a mimic day,
To wake to wonted sports the fancy wild,
Where, e'en the greybeard re-assum'd the child.

Yes! all—the gay, the serious—prompt to share
The merry pastime, cried—avaunt to care!
All—while each slip a forfeit would incur,
(A slip that hardly left a lasting slur!)
With the same ardor as when childhood dawns,
Survey'd the accumulating store of pawns;
And all enjoy'd, with eyes that rapture beam'd
The frolic penance that each pawn redeem'd—

Cornish superstitions, in truth, were attached to saints or devils. There scarcely appeared a rock whose shape or position was singular or fantastic, without inspiring the idea of supernatural agency. Not a pool, whose situation was dreary or

Perhaps, self-doom'd to ply the gipsey's trade,
Or thro' the gridiron kiss the kitchen-maid,
Or, by a gentle metaphoric trick,
With cleaner lips salute the candlestick,
Or catch the elusive apple with a bound
As with its taper it flew whizzing round,
Or, with the mouth, half-diving to the neck,
"The splendid shilling" in a meal-tub seek,
Or, into wildness as the spirits work,
Display a visage blacken'd o'er with cork.

Meantime, the † geese-dance gains upon the sight,
In all the pride of mimic splendor bright;
As urchin bands display the pageant show,
In tinsel glitter, and in ribbons glow;
And pigmy kings with carnage stain their path,
Shake their cock-plumes, and lift their swords of lath;‡
And great St. George struts, valorous, o'er the plain,
Deck'd with the trophies‖ of the dragon slain,
And in a speech, the stoutest hearts to daunt,
Paints the dread conflict, at the monster's haunt;
And, thick where shiver'd lances strew the ground,
A champion falls, transfixt by many a wound,
But sudden, by the necromantic trump
Awaken'd, sits erect upon his rump;
And little dames their favouring smiles bestow,
And "father Christmas" bows his head of snow!"

‖ "The *Guary-miracle*, is a kind of enterlude, compiled in Cornish out of some scripture-history, with that grossness which accumpanied the Romanes. *Vetus Comedia*. For representing it, they raise an earthen amphi-theatre, in some open field, having the diameter of this enclosed playne some forty or fifty foot." *Carew*, f. 71.---- The miracle-play not only resembled the *Vetus Comedia*, but was actually a continuation (as I have intimated in a former chapter) of the Pagan drama----mutatis mutandis----gods and goddesses for saints. And the circle in which it was celebrated, served alike for dances and scenic exhibitions. We have a great number of stone circles, generally supposed to be Druid circles; which the Cornish people call *Dawns-men*, or the *Stone-dance*. And "they called it so, (according to an ingenious writer) on no other account, than that they are placed in a circular order, and so make an area for dancing."* To confirm this opinion, I have to observe, that *dawnse*, in Cornish, signifies a dance; and that in a circular figure in the hundred of Penwith, the very ancient dance of *Trematheeves*, (as they name it) was practised not long since, among the Cornish.

† Geese-dance, i. e. guise, or disguise-dance—for so the Cornish pronounce guise. The geese-dancers of Cornwall answer to the mummers of Devon, and the morrice-dancers of Oxfordshire, &c.

‡ As the verses repeated in the geese-dance contain an allusion to the crusades, the following couplet was first written:

"And pigmy kings, by Paynim sabres gor'd,
"Shake the light plume, and glance the mimic sword."

‖ Spoliis indutus opimis.

* See Moyle's Posthumous Works, vol. 1. p. 239.

uncommon, but shewed marks of the cloven foot on its margin: And, certainly, there were few wells, without their tutelary saints.*-----The duel between St. Just and St. Keverne is one of our traditionary tales: And the three stones of *Tremenheverne* are still pointed out to travellers, as proofs of saintly prowess.‡ The battle of the devil and the saints at Karnbre, is among the popular stories of the neighbourhood. To this battle, is owing that accumulation of enormous rocks, which were flung at random over all the mountain. But amidst all the wonders that work upon a Cornish imagination, the acts of *Tregagle* have surely a right to the pre-eminence. If nature appear in forms that are fantastic, or strike by uncommon occurrences, Tregagle is at once called in, to solve the difficulty: He is the being to create or to conduct the machinery. The pool of Dosmary is, in the vulgar opinion, unfathomable. The idea is preserved in the task

* St. Sancred was famous for curing diseases in swine: And to Sancred parish, swine were formerly driven from all quarters.

‡ St. Just came to pay a visit to St. Keverne, who hospitably entertained him for some days. He then took his leave to return home; and they parted good friends. Soon after St. Just's departure, St Keverne missed a piece of plate. After examining his servants he could hear no tidings of it, and was convinced St. Just must have taken it away. St. Keverne then went in pursuit of his brother saint; and on crossing Crowsaz-down, put three very large stones (weighing 300 pounds weight at least) into his pocket, and overtaking St. Just a little beyond Breage, in the parish of St. Germoe, charged him with the robbery; and a contest ensued. But St. Keverne, well armed with his three stones, soon overcame his adversary, and made him deliver the plate. Not chusing to carry back his ammunition, he left them on the spot; where they are to be seen to this day; sunk triangularly into the ground, in a nook on the right-hand-side of the road, as we go from Breage to Marazion. They are called *Tremen-heverne*. Tradition says, that these stones have been removed, by way of repairing hedges: but that they were always found, in the place where they now stand, the next morning. They are the iron stone of Crowsaz-downs.----None of the sort are found in Breage or Germoe, or the neighbourhood.§-----I am here tempted to observe, that the ideas of the Arabs at this day, (derived from high antiquity) are very similar to those of the Cornish, respecting rocks and stones, which were grotesque in their appearance, or which retained a situation which could not be accounted for, in spite of human efforts. The author of "A Journal from Cairo," tells us: "We passed the mountain called *Gebel el Scheitan*, that is, "the mountain of the devil; which, as it is entirely of a black colour, gives foundation for the Arabs to report, that the devil sometimes dressed his victuals under it, by the smoke of which it acquired that blackness. They relate also another fabulous history about a head erected on high towards the entrance into the mountains, upon the left hand of the road: being a very large stone, supposed to have been the head of a sea captain, whose name was Baube, which was cut off by the Arabs, and put on the summit of that mountain, where it now remains; and, they say, should any one throw it down from the place where it is fixt, it would by the next day be restored to its situation. But these are only the fables of the Arabs." *See "Journal from Cairo to Mount Sinai,"* p. 48.

§ There is a manor in the parish of St. Keverne, called Lan-heverne.

to which he is condemned - - - - - to empty it with a limpet-shell,§ with a hole in the bottom of it. That, before the existence of the Loe-bar, Helston was a port, is more than a notion of the lower classes. This persuasion also, is proved and illustrated by the giant Tregagle's dropping his sack of sand between Helston and the sea: His sack of sand was the bar. If the echoes of the Loe hills be heard in the storm, they are the howlings of Tregagle: So extensive, indeed, is his fame or his infamy, that if there be a high wind in Cornwall, it is "Tregagle roars."‖ Amidst a variety of legendary personages crouding around me, I scarcely know where to close my narrative: Still in the rear, are there devils and saints without number. To draw, therefore, the curtain over all, I must conjure up Merlin, the enchanter and the prophet, who seems to have possessed a power over devils and saints. As an enchanter we have seen him in the story of Arthur: We are now to recognize him as a prophet. "In the parish of Paul, on the sea-shore, is a rock called in Cornish *Merlyn-Car*, or Merlin's rock. There, perhaps, he delivered that old prophecy in the Cornish tongue, foretelling the destruction of Paul church, Penzance, and Newlyn, long before they were in existence. It is as follows:

Aga fyth tyer, war an meyne Merlyn,
i. e. *There shall land on the stone Merlin,*
Ara neb fyth Leskey, Paul, Penzance, hag Newlyn.
*Those who shall burn Paul, Penzance, and Newlyn.**

§ On the rising of an easterly wind, the devil used to chase him three times round the pool; when he would make his escape to Roche rock; where putting his head into one of the chapel-windows, he was safe.

‖ The exact crisis of Tregagle's entre into being, is enveloped in darkness. But I think that he is a personage hoary with age; and that he was known to our remote progenitors; notwithstanding the familiarity of "Janny Tregagle," now current amongst us. The story is, that he by some means got within his grasp the heir to a considerable property, murdered the father and mother, and seized the estate of their orphan child.

* This prophecy was fulfilled when the Spaniards landed "*an meyne Merlyn*," in 1595, and burnt those very places: And so great was the conflagration at Paul, that the fire consumed the stone pillars of the church. *Carew*, f. 158. b. 159. - - - - *Walker's Hals* in Paul.