

WHERE CORNISH WAS SPOKEN AND WHEN: A PROVISIONAL SYNTHESIS

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I may seem too conjectural to those who will make no allowance for the deficiencies of History, nor be satisfied with anything but evident Truths; but, where there is no Certainty to be obtained, Probabilities must suffice; and Conjectures are no faults, but when they are either advanced as real Truths, or too copiously pursued, or peremptorily insisted upon as decisive.
(William Borlase¹)

INTRODUCTION

Roman colonial rule in much of Britain from the mid-first century AD represented language contact as well as major changes to material culture and many other aspects of life. Latin, however, did not replace the Brittonic Celtic language of the Romanized area, although borrowings did occur. In contrast, Anglo-Saxon colonialism represented a massive and rapid case of language shift over much of England during the fifth to seventh centuries to what became Old English. Some would argue that Norman colonialism nearly represented another language shift to Norman French, but even though that did not in the end happen, Norman influence did cause significant contact-induced language change in English. One must not forget Viking settlement in the ninth and tenth centuries as another historical process having linguistic effects. This was much more localized, however, although certainly significant in affected areas.²

It is interesting that only one of these colonial episodes led to

complete language replacement, the language shift from a Brittonic Celtic language to Old English.³ This took place extremely rapidly over much of what is now England, with very few Brittonic words entering Old English at all. Although in local areas there may have been the slaughter sometimes boasted about in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, most authors now discount this as a general explanation of the situation.⁴

The importance of the completeness of this shift from Brittonic to Old English has perhaps not been fully appreciated. It fits well, however, within the evidence of conformism seen in other aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture.⁵ Hines discusses how the use of material culture to symbolize group identity spread from its Saxon source on the continent to other Germanic-speaking areas such as those of the Angles and Jutes in about the mid-fifth century. While all these separate group identities were then carried over into Britain at that time, he also points out that there is some evidence of hybridization with aspects of sub-Roman British material culture during the earliest period of migration, telling us something about relationships between natives and colonists.⁶ This aside, what differences there were between the colonizing groups soon came to be much less clearly marked in material symbolism. As Hines puts it, 'England by now existed structurally, even if conceptually its time were yet to come'. In material culture there was a 'marked shift towards uniformity around the late sixth century, particularly in art and dress styles where regional diversity had formerly prevailed'.⁷ The different Germanic languages of these groups also began to reconverge at a surprisingly early period to form Old English.

Hines suggests that a stronger sub-Roman British ethnic identity arose in resistance to this new 'English' ethnic identity. This was transmitted both through symbolically powerful material culture items and perhaps through the medium of heroic poetry. He asks 'how justified we might be in proposing that where material culture was a primary medium for the expression of identity in the Germanic world, language and discourse served that function in the Celtic British one?'.⁸

Language and poetry clearly served as a primary medium for expressing identity in the English world as well, however. This, to me, is the significance of the 'purity' of Old English, with virtually no borrowing from the native British tongue. The defining criterion of being English was linguistic: speaking Old English (or dialects of it) without any trace of a British substrate. Such total language replacement in a short period of time could well have to do with a deliberate colonial policy of conformity which would have encouraged or forced people to shift language.

We know from the laws of Ine of the late seventh century that

British subjects of Anglo-Saxon kings were treated in a discriminatory manner compared with English ones.⁹ But by that time who were the British? The definition must surely have been essentially linguistic. Language shift in this case represented a shift in ethnicity. The British were not genocidally dispersed; by language shift they too became English.

THE CASE OF CORNWALL

When we leave England, however, and cross the River Tamar, that most long-standing of European political borders, to Cornwall, we find a different situation. Here, in contrast, the Brittonic language continued to be spoken for nearly a thousand years after becoming subject to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex. This contrast is interesting in itself. Cornwall was conquered later than most of what is now called England, apart from Cumbria¹⁰ and the Welsh Marches where the language also survived for a period after conquest. By then the migration period was over, its end marked by fundamental social as well as material culture changes in the late sixth century.¹¹ The more fluidly organized migrant elites of earlier periods were at that time coalescing into the groupings that became the formal leadership of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

The subjection of Cornwall occurred initially in the ninth century and more decisively in the tenth century, with Athelstan's expulsion of the Cornish from Exeter and his fixing of the boundary between the Britons and English at the Tamar perhaps in 936 AD. To describe this event as 'ethnic cleansing' might seem exaggerated, and the report of it could just be another example of the common Anglo-Saxon hyperbole about how they dealt with the Britons they met.¹² If the early twelfth-century chronicler William of Malmesbury, who provides our only surviving account of this event presumably based on now lost sources, is to be trusted, however, then this local solution to the British problem was indeed a radical one: 'Urbem igitur illam quam contaminatae gentis repurgio defaecaverat . . .' (Having cleansed the city of its defilement by wiping out that filthy race . . .).¹³

We can only be thankful that Athelstan chose not to attempt this tactic beyond the Tamar, but instead used more conventional colonial administrative procedures. He, if Finberg's interpretation echoed by Padel is to be accepted, even restored the ancient boundary of the Tamar to the Cornish, although Anglo-Saxon colonization had already proceeded some way beyond it.¹⁴ Archaeological evidence suggests that the Tamar was indeed the long-standing boundary of a distinctly Cornish identity going back to Roman times or even earlier.¹⁵ The late conquest of Cornwall—whether complete or initially leaving a client

state still ruled by local leaders is debated—doubtless has much to do with the survival of the language until the modern period.¹⁶

Anglo-Saxon domination of England was secure by the ninth century against an indigenous population who had overwhelmingly by then become Anglo-Saxon in speech and ethnicity. The threat in the tenth century was not really a few Cornish speaking an alien language but the Vikings who spoke a much more closely related one. And so, once subdued decisively and no longer a potential Viking bridgehead, the Cornish were largely left alone linguistically and, some would argue, administratively as well.¹⁷

THE DECLINE OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

In the end, of course, the language did decline and die out. Why? It is hard to go past the ten to seventeen reasons given by William Scawen in various manuscript versions of his great work on the decline of the language, *Antiquities Cornu-Britannick; Or Observations on an Ancient Manuscript written in the Cornish Language*, written between 1678 and 1689.¹⁸ Scawen noted factors of varying weight, among them:

1. Loss of contact between Cornwall and Brittany with the Reformation in Britain in the sixteenth century. These languages are very close indeed and contact across the Channel was common until that time.
2. The cessation of miracle plays in the Cornish language, performances probably being suppressed between about 1575 and 1600 as in the rest of the country when Puritanism began to take hold.¹⁹ Stagings of these religious dramas were clearly events that brought together people united by a common language and tradition. As Scawen put it: 'This was a great means to keep in use the tongue with delight and admiration, and it continued also friendship and good correspondency of the people'.²⁰ They were thus key performances of Cornish culture by actors and spectators alike.²¹
3. The Cornish gentry abandoned the language and became Anglicized. This seems to have occurred particularly in Tudor times, perhaps paralleling processes in Wales at the same time. The language then became stigmatized as low class.
4. To quote Scawen:
The coming in of strangers of all sorts upon us, artificers, traders, home born and foreigners, whom our great commodities of tin (more profitable to others than ourselves) and fishing, have invited to us to converse with, and often to stay with us; these all, as they could not easily learn our tongue, for

which they could not find any guide or direction . . . and such, for the novelty sake thereof, people were more ready to receive than to communicate ours to any improvement to them.²²

More recently, Halliday put this point nicely:

The discovery of the New World led to the discovery of Cornwall by the London merchants, by the adventurers, and all those interested in the exploitation of the Indies, as the struggle for the New World and the consequent war with Spain led to the development of the magnificent natural harbours along the southern coast of the county. From being an almost forgotten extremity of the island, Cornwall found itself at the very centre of mercantile, maritime and military activities, and the slumbering centuries of isolation were at an end.²³

5. The failure to translate the Bible into Cornish at the Reformation is another factor often cited. It is one always invoked in relation to the preservation of the Welsh language.²⁴ The lack of much other literature in Cornish as the world entered the age of printing is also clearly important.

Scawen also mentioned further causes such as the loss of the Duchy of Cornwall records, in his estimation presumably containing a wealth of Cornish language material, during the Civil War, a general malaise or apathy among the population ('A general stupidity may be observed to be in the whole county'),²⁵ a lack of interest in the language among the learned, the spread of English church and place-names, the proximity of English-speaking Devon, and 'foreign marriages' among the gentry, that is marriages outside of Cornwall.²⁶ Other causes which can be adduced include the rapid spread of English-language schooling around 1500 AD. As Orme has noted: 'Schools have played important roles in the decline of small indigenous languages in Post-Medieval Europe'.²⁷

WHERE CORNISH WAS SPOKEN AND WHEN

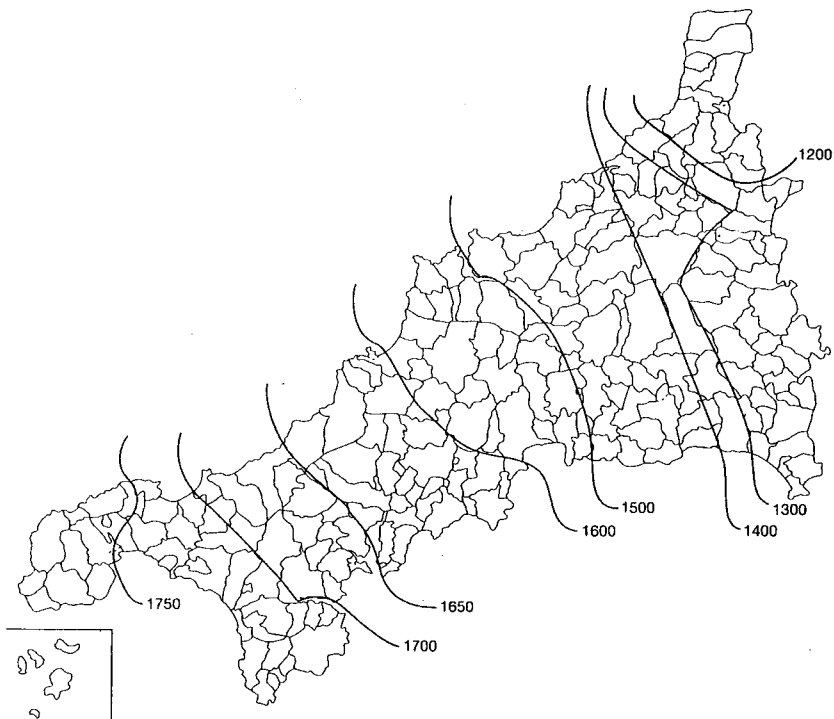
There are quite different views current as to where Cornish was spoken at any particular time. Earlier scholars looking at the issue include the early revivalists Henry Jenner and Robert Morton Nance. Jenner believed that 'until at least the 15th century the Tamar was the general boundary of English and Cornish' and elsewhere noted that in East Cornwall 'the language has been dead for three centuries'.²⁸ In 1939 Nance opined that Old Cornish had been spoken over the whole of Cornwall at one time, Middle Cornish of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been spoken over about half of Cornwall, with Late Cornish of the sixteenth century onwards being limited to only a

quarter of Cornwall at best. All this was based on place-name evidence.²⁹ Elsewhere he is quoted as saying that in north-east Cornwall the language 'could hardly have been spoken there much later than 1000 AD'.³⁰ Henderson's opinion was that: 'It is convenient for philological purposes, to divide Cornwall by a line from Padstow through Bodmin to Fowey'.³¹

The first detailed consideration of the issue, however, was by Wakelin.³² He saw an early and rapid decline of the language back to the Fowey–Padstow line by about 1100 AD and beyond Truro by 1500 AD. His evidence was based to some extent on spot references attesting to Cornish speech, but mainly on sound changes in place-names that can be tracked as occurring at particular times. The examples he uses are *-nt* to *-ns* (e.g. Trewent, 1086 > Trewens, 1300) and *-d* to *-s* (often *-d* is *-t* in place-names: Renti, 1086 > Rensy, 1387) occurring (he believed) soon after 1100 AD, and *-n* to *-dn* (Tewynnak, 1523 > Towidnacke, 1659) which usually occurred in place-names from around 1575.³³ In support of his 1100 AD boundary he quoted the opinion of Henderson cited above. Henderson had ventured no date, however, for when this formed a language boundary.³⁴

In contrast and quoted often is a 1986 map by George, based in large part on an unpublished conference paper by Holmes and reproduced here (Figure 1). Holmes gave evidence from his own studies which backs up the map's 'isobars', particularly for eastern Cornwall. This is mainly based on the same sound changes in place-names showing *-nt* to *-ns* and *-d* to *-s* used by Wakelin and thought to have occurred about 1100–1200 AD according to Holmes. The difference is that he found many examples of the changes to the east of the Padstow–Fowey line examples cited by Wakelin.³⁵ Thus Wakelin's 1100 AD line becomes the Holmes–George 1500 AD line and his 1500 AD line becomes their 1650 AD line. The published paper by George in which the adjusted map occurs is more focused on how many people spoke Cornish at any particular time, and thus the actual evidence on which the map was produced has never been aired in published form. George, while broadly accepting Holmes's conclusions, does note that the arguments concerning the implications of the 1100–1200 AD sound changes for where Cornish was generally spoken have not received 'general acceptance'.³⁶ What appears to be an updated version of the same map appears in a 1989 French publication by Abalain.³⁷

More recently, Williams has suggested that instead of the slow but steady retreat of Cornish represented by the Holmes–George map, there was an early decline in late Saxon times but then a resurgence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the arrival of Normans and Bretons in Cornwall. In the eastern part there would then have been a



1. The Holmes-George 1986 map of Cornish language retreat.

language shift back to Cornish from English. He concludes that 'Cornish was spoken by a proportion of the population at least as far as the Tamar until the fifteenth century, if not until the Reformation'. It would then have suffered a catastrophic decline in less than a hundred years except in the far west beyond Truro.³⁸ His argument is based on a different interpretation of both when the sound changes occurred and a theory of dialectal variation between West and East Cornwall. Thus *-n* to *-dn* never happened in East Cornwall because it occurred only in the western dialect of Cornish, rather than because Cornish was not spoken there at the time that this sound change occurred. He dates this sound change 'not very much later' than 1250, rather than the usual date of around 1550–1600 based on place-names and other evidence.³⁹

Williams has been roundly criticized for his interpretations by Dunbar and George, who dispute almost every one of the ideas he presents. No additional published support for Williams's ideas on language distribution has come from any other linguist as far as I am aware.⁴⁰ Along the way Dunbar and George produce a new map

indicative of where Cornish may have been spoken at particular periods, based this time on the structure of place-names in particular areas. This produces a tripartite division of Cornwall with two early English-speaking enclaves in the east.⁴¹ Padel suggested that these areas became English-speaking in the eighth and/or ninth centuries and represent a pre-Athelstan English migration across the Tamar.⁴² The second major division with initial Cornish settlement names and English names of the separate parts of the settlement stretches nearly to the Fowey–Padstow line. In fact it probably represents a better approximation of the long-standing language boundary than earlier characterizations do, such as Henderson (quoted above) and the Holmes-George 1500 AD boundary. Cornish primary and secondary names predominate to the west of that boundary. The boundary seems so sharp that it must represent a significant still-stand in language shift to English, one perhaps lasting some hundreds of years. The names they discuss were those recorded between 1250 and 1550, although the primary evidence is not presented.⁴³

SOURCES FOR A LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY OF CORNISH

Linguistic and historical evidence for constructing such maps can come from:

1. Linguistic innovations reflected in place-name changes. Where the linguistic innovation has occurred, say a change from an *-nt* ending to *-ns*, then the language is thought to have been still spoken in that area at the time the innovation took place. The problem here is a seeming lack of such innovations in the period between about 1200 and 1500 AD.⁴⁴ In addition, there is as yet no definitive survey available of where such changes occurred. One has to use what are at present only partial and potentially misleading data.
2. Attestations of Cornish speech in historical records. I have been looking at these for the period up to 1800 (see Appendix 1). These are in the form of pleas by priests who say they want to give up their benefices as they cannot understand their Cornish-speaking parishioners, travellers' reports from the 1530s onwards on stating where Cornish was still heard, Consistory Court evidence that someone called someone in church 'whore bitch in English and not in Cornowok' (thus suggesting Cornish as a still-living tongue used for less heated speech), or lists of parishes where Cornish was still spoken during its final decline. Although 1800 AD is conventionally given here—following Nance—as the date by which use of Cornish as community language had died out, Lyon has recently collated a significant body of evidence to suggest the

possibility that the language was still in use in pockets until about 1850 or slightly later.⁴⁵

3. Surname evidence, such as the practice of people taking their father's Christian name as their surname, Cornish language descriptive and occupation surnames, and two-part surnames made up of two Christian names.⁴⁶ These latter names may have particular significance for the survival of Cornish language and other distinctly Celtic cultural practices. Padel had earlier discussed the distribution of personal names containing the Cornish word *plu* 'parish'. These are found from about 1450 to 1550 to the west of Padstow. The concentration of such names in documents from St Columb Major allowed him to suggest that Cornish was still spoken there in the mid-sixteenth century.⁴⁷ In addition, surnames too may show the sound shifts found in placenames. Thus the surname usually recorded as Chegwin or Chigwen is recorded as Chigwin and Chegidden in 1641 in Sithney, and somewhat felicitously Pengwyn or Pengwen becomes Pengwidden in Gwennap in 1664.⁴⁸
4. Records of borrowings into recent Cornish dialects of English of Cornish language words, indicating that the language was spoken later in those areas.⁴⁹

Any map is going to represent a simplification of the real linguistic situation. The 'isobars' produced do not mean that no one spoke Cornish at that time to the east of them, or that no one spoke English to the west of them. They are generalizations showing areas where Cornish-speaking could be generally found. By about 1700 at the latest there would have been no monolingual Cornish speakers, and even in the westernmost peninsula of Penwith many could have been found who spoke no Cornish at all. Some have suggested that the towns were largely English-speaking from an early date,⁵⁰ but the late retention of alternative Cornish names for several of the more important centres such as Bodmin (Bosvenna), Padstow (Lodenek), Fowey (Couwhath—perhaps a misprint for Fouwhath?) and Helston (Hellas) suggests that enough Cornish-speakers had reason to go to those centres that such names were retained in memory.⁵¹

It may be that fishermen moving from port to port kept Cornish going longer in coastal areas after it had died out in the more inland districts along the main road route to the west, via Launceston, Bodmin, Truro, Camborne, Redruth, St Erth and on to Penzance in Madron parish.⁵² Perhaps the relatively late attestation of Cornish in Minster parish in the east, incorporating the fishing port of Boscastle, in 1349 and 1355⁵³ was because of regular contact by sea with Cornish-speaking ports further west such as Lodenek?

Before presenting a provisional synthesis of the current evidence for where Cornish was spoken and when, there are two perennially popular linguistic issues which need to be addressed. The first is the suggestion that Cornish was spoken during the medieval period in parts of South Devon, and the second concerns the claim that John Moreman, the vicar of Menheniot in the east of Cornwall, was ministering to a Cornish-speaking flock at the time of the Reformation in the 1530s.

WAS CORNISH SPOKEN IN DEVON?

The answer to this baldly stated question is clearly a qualified yes, in that prior to the Anglo-Saxon conquest of eastern Dumnonia during the seventh and eighth centuries, the language of Devon would have been a form of Brittonic similar to that from which historical Cornish subsequently derived. But how long did British speech survive in Devon? On the evidence of place-names, not long enough to be recorded. For instance, there are something like 1,300 place-names of the form *tre-* in Cornwall, but only 3 in Devon.⁵⁴ Other Celtic place-names are rare. The Cornish expelled by Athelstan from Exeter would have been identifiable by their language (see above), but whether any other British communities survived in Devon by that late date is unknown. Todd notes of Celtic place-names in the fertile South Hams area of south-west Devon that 'there are virtually none'.⁵⁵

Despite this, there has been an oft-repeated claim that Cornish survived in the South Hams area between the Plym and the Dart until the fourteenth or sixteenth centuries. Polwhele wrote in 1806 that 'The Cornish language was current in a part of the South-hams, (which I have called East-Cornwall) in the time of Edward the First; and long after, in all the vicinities of the Tamar. In Cornwall, it was universally spoken.' He had earlier opined that although English had become fashionable among the Devonian upper classes, 'the inferior classes adhered firmly to their old vernacular tongue. Not that the Cornish-British was abandoned by every Devonian of rank or education: It was certainly spoken in Devonshire by persons of distinction, long after the present [Saxon] period'.⁵⁶

There was some discussion of the issue of Cornish speech in Devon in the pages of *The Western Antiquary* during 1882, when E.S. Radford asked for corroboration of the assertion by one 'G.A.' (possibly Grant Allen) in *Cornhill Magazine* of November 1881 'that Welsh was spoken in remote parts of Devonshire as late as the reign of Elizabeth'. W.S. Lach-Szyrma also asked for clarification of the South Hams statement, but nothing was forthcoming in response to either of these questions which extended the trail back past Polwhele.⁵⁷ The

source of G.A.'s statement is almost certainly Isaac Taylor's 1865 *Words and Places*, where he states: 'In remote parts of Devon the ancient Cymric speech feebly lingered on till the reign of Elizabeth'.⁵⁸ He does not reference Polwhele in this work, although some later Cornish publications are quoted which might provide an indirect source, but one has to wonder whether Elizabeth was simply a slip for Edward here?

The matter is complicated by a further reference to Cornish being spoken in Elizabethan Devon. The culprit here is Nicholas Boson (1624–1708), who in *Nebbaz Gerriau dro tho Carnoack* (*A few words about Cornish*) wrote concerning the Cornish motto of the family of Harris of Hayne found on a coat of arms engraved on silver 'of above a hundred year's [sic] old'. Hayne itself is at Stowford in Devon, although the family seat was near Penzance, and the Devon connection led Boson to conclude that 'so late (it seems) Cornish was in use in that County, & now it is almost disus'd in this'.⁵⁹ Stowford, however, is a bit far north to be considered part of the South Hams.

The source of Polwhele's statement remains obscure, but as *Nebbaz Gerriau* was first published in 1879 the Boson statement may have influenced Jenner and others who further repeated references to Elizabethan-age Cornish in Devon.⁶⁰ Obscure or not, however, there is no good evidence of British speech surviving to the fourteenth century anywhere in Devon.⁶¹ The fertile South Hams district abuts an area of Cornwall which shows overwhelming and early English settlement, probably by the ninth century (see below). Cornish was only spoken on the Cornish side close to the Tamar into the medieval period in the vicinity of Launceston on place-name evidence, and by Elizabeth's reign it had retreated far to the west.

WHAT LANGUAGE DID JOHN MOREMAN SAY HIS PRAYERS IN?

As ever popular as the claim of Cornish speakers in the South Hams is that of a Cornish-speaking enclave in the parish of Menheniot in East Cornwall lasting until the Reformation. The claim is that the vicar of Menheniot in eastern Cornwall near Liskeard, from 1529 to 1554, Dr John Moreman, was the first to teach the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments in English, with the implication being taken that prior to that date they would have been taught in Cornish. Most recently this has been strenuously championed by Williams,⁶² but it has a much longer history among Cornish language scholars.

The myth appears to have arisen from two sources. First, it may have begun from a too-literal reading of a passage in Carew's 1602 *Survey of Cornwall* that 'the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and

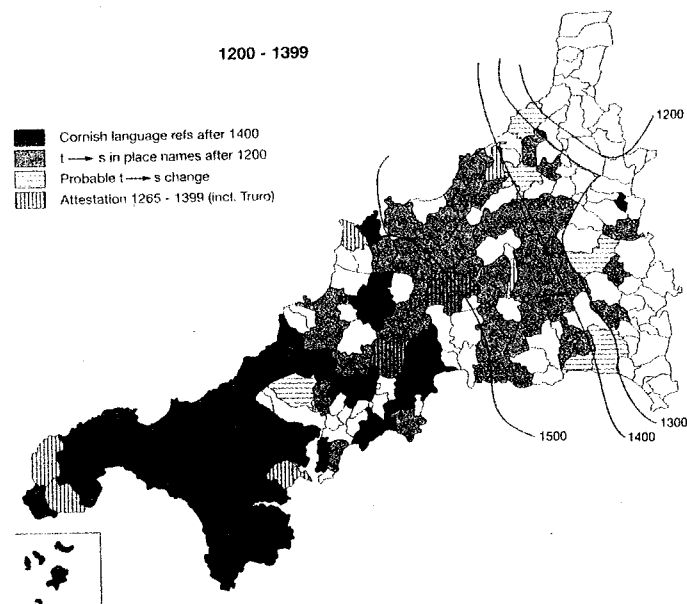
the Ten Commandments have been used in Cornish beyond all remembrance',⁶³ which may possibly have been true in the west of Cornwall at this time but was most unlikely to have been the case for easternmost Cornwall on the evidence of Appendix 1. Secondly, and informed by the first reading, it stems from a misinterpretation of Hooker's account of Moreman which may have first been made by that most inaccurate of Cornish historians, William Hals (1655–1737), and then repeated endlessly by others.⁶⁴

As quoted by Prince, Hooker wrote: 'and (what is very remarkable) that he was the first, in those Days, that taught his Parishioners and People to say the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and the Commandments, in the English Tongue, and did Teach and Catechize them therein'.⁶⁵ Defoe, whose source is presumably Prince, states the matter plainly: 'Dr John Moreman of Southold, famous for being the first Clergyman in England, who ventured to teach his Parishioners the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments in the English Tongue'.⁶⁶ As Nance pointed out, and as would have been clear to readers at the time, these would have previously been given in Latin throughout England.⁶⁷ Indeed, in one of the government's responses to the petitions of the 1549 Prayer Book rebels, the previous language of the prayers is explicitly noted: 'And where ye saie certain Cornish men be offended because they have not their service in Cornish for so much as thei understand no English, whie shulde they nowe be offended more when they understand it not in English, then when they had it in Laten, and understood it not?'.⁶⁸

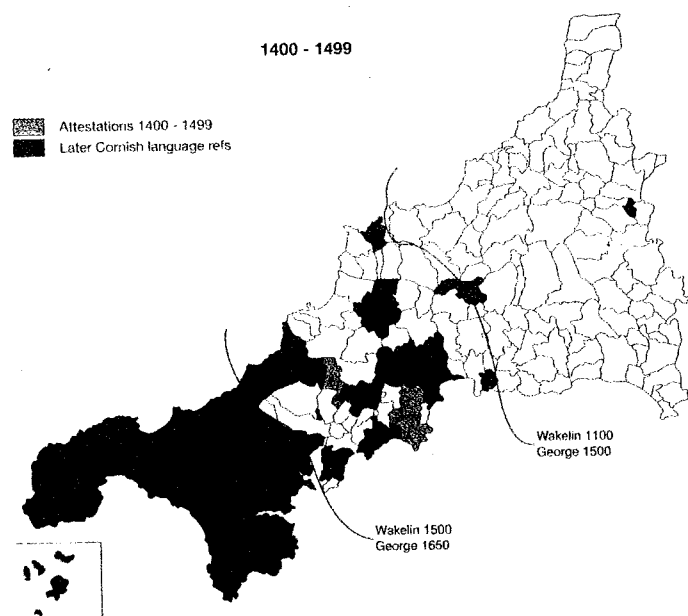
A REVISED VIEW

In the set of maps presented here (Figures 2–6) I have tried to summarize the evidence available to me of the above kinds for a series of time slices from about 1200 to 1800 AD. Figure 7 synthesizes the information contained therein and in Appendix 1. The Williams scenario of Cornish being spoken up to the Tamar border until the 1500s, followed by a catastrophic decline to the west, does not seem at all likely. On the other hand Wakelin's 1975 judgement seems far too harsh in the other direction, given the evidence available. Figure 7 is generally comparable to the 1986 Holmes–George map, not surprisingly perhaps as it is based very much on the same lines of evidence. It is even closer to the Abalain map.⁶⁹ It has been adjusted, however, to take account of the very sharp place-name evidence boundary identified by Dunbar and George in 1997 from near Tintagel to Fowey, which I take to represent a potentially long-standing linguistic boundary, perhaps from about 1300 to 1500 or even slightly later.

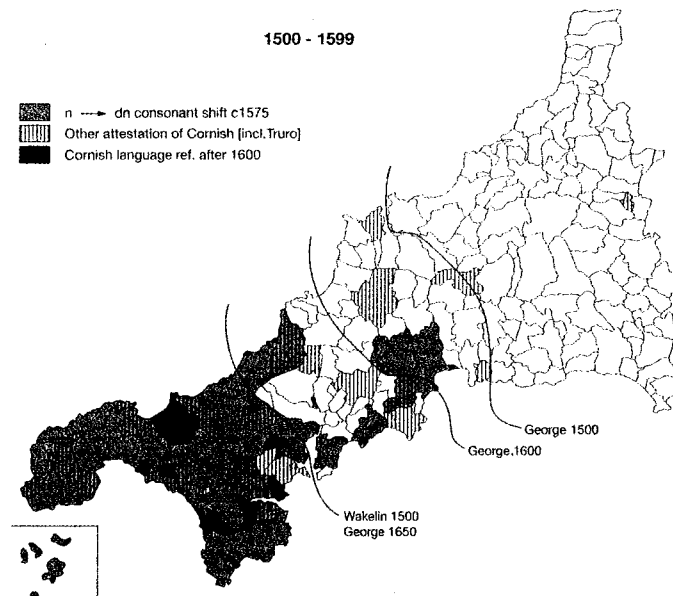
I also take into account the early English-speaking enclaves



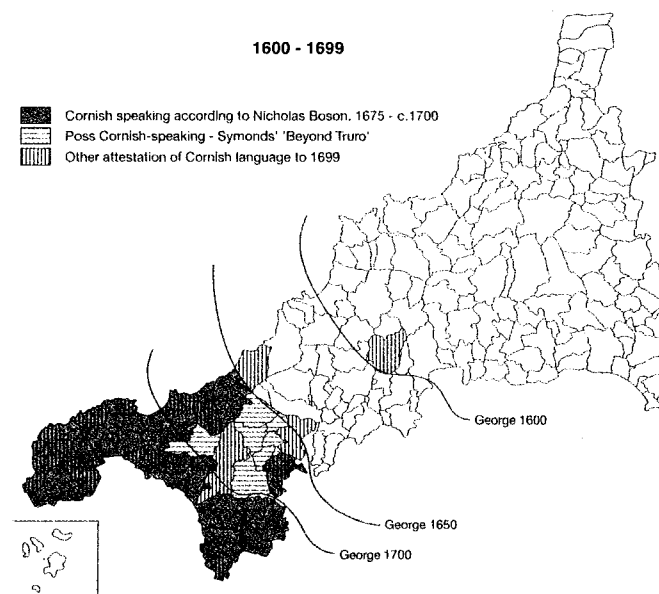
2. Evidence for the Cornish language 1200–1399. The isobars for 1200 to 1500 are from the Holmes–George map of 1986.



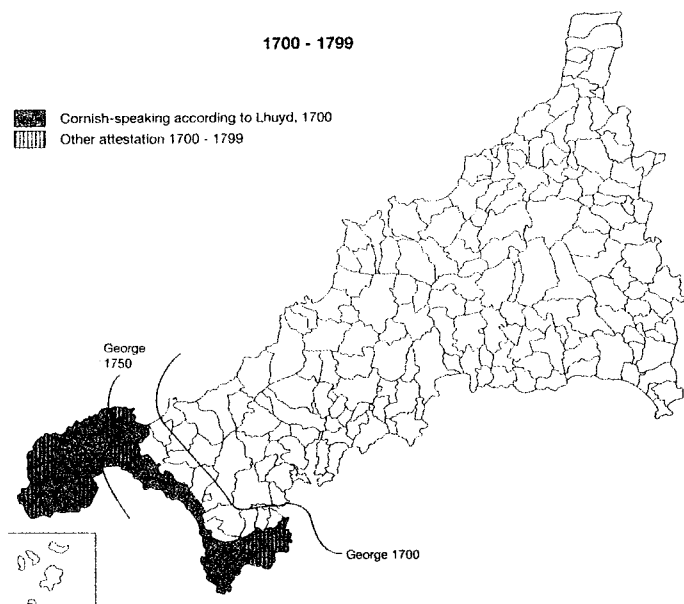
3. Evidence for the Cornish language 1400–1499. Isobars from Wakelin and the Holmes–George map.



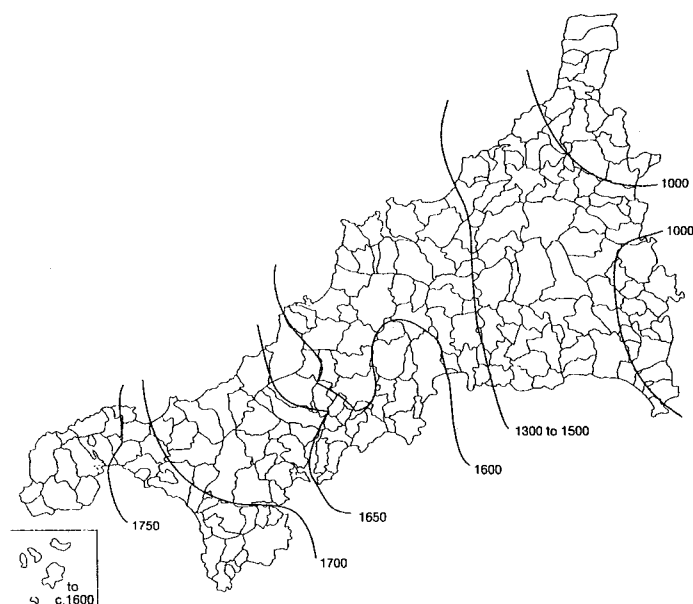
4. Evidence for the Cornish language 1500–1599. Isobars from Wakelin and the Holmes–George map.



5. Evidence for the Cornish language 1600–1699. Isobars from the Holmes–George map.



6. Evidence for the Cornish language 1700–1799.
Isobars from the Holmes–George map.



7. A revised map of where Cornish was spoken and when.

identified by the Dunbar and George map and by earlier researchers, which I see as the boundary at about 1000 AD. The south-eastern enclave was not indicated in the Holmes–George map of 1986, but was alluded to by Holmes in his earlier paper.⁷⁰ But for the area in between the enclaves and the proposed 1300–1500 AD boundary I find the evidence difficult to interpret. I can only refer the reader to Holmes's detailed treatment of the issues involved (see his contribution in this volume). There are clearly post-1300 Cornish-speaking outliers, such as Minster mentioned above, but it is possible that the area where Cornish was spoken retreated significantly soon after the sound shifts of about 1100–1200 AD. I have thus chosen not to give 1100 or 1200 'isobars' of Cornish language speech.⁷¹

West of the adjusted 'Padstow–Fowey' line as indicated by Dunbar and George my view largely parallels that of the 1986 Holmes–George map, but with some significant differences. For instance, Figure 7 diverges from their 1600 AD line by taking into account factors such as loans from Cornish language into the English dialects recently spoken in areas such as St Austell and St Dennis as well as evidence for the *-n* to *-dn* change.⁷² I know of no evidence for Cornish-speaking in places such as Cubert and Crantock at this time which fall to the west of the Holmes–George 1600 AD boundary, and the association of Newlyn East with John Tregear, the translator of Bonner's Homilies, seems less likely than an association with St Allen.⁷³ I follow Thomas in seeing the Scillies as Cornish-speaking until about 1600.⁷⁴ My 1650 line includes St Agnes and Feock, the former because of a Cornish song and other fragments recorded there in 1698 and the latter because of new evidence that Cornish was spoken there after the date of 1640 usually quoted.⁷⁵ On the north coast it is thus to the east of the Holmes–George line. Thomas suggested a 1650 line including an additional five parishes to the north-east but the basis for this is not given in his paper.⁷⁶ My 1700 line seems to me better to reflect the evidence given by Lhuyd that the language survived longest in these coastal areas. It agrees with the 1700 line presented by Thomas on the map already alluded to. Finally, my 1750 line is essentially the same as the Holmes–George line, but theirs seems to exclude Penzance as still Cornish-speaking, whereas it seems to me likely that the language could still have been heard in the town then—at least if Dolly Pentreath had come to market that day—among fishermen in the port.⁷⁷

Some information cited by others as evidence of Cornish speech has not been included. This is either because I have not been able to trace or check the source, or because the evidence does not seem convincing and is open to other interpretation. Jenner refers to

a general reference to Cornish speech in Spanish State Papers of Elizabeth I's reign which I have not yet seen, and also records: 'Some years ago the present writer came upon a letter in the British Museum addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, and dated 1791, the author of which mentions his own father as the only living man who could speak Cornish. Unluckily the reference to the letter has been lost, and there is so much Banks correspondence in the British Museum that it is almost impossible to find it again.'⁷⁸ Julyan Holmes's paper (this volume) refers to the value of documents listing field-names such as those abstracted by Henderson for Vryan in 1698 and St Enoder in 1713, as showing when Cornish was still spoken. He suggests that Cornish field-names will not generally survive the demise of the language in an area for more than a generation. Clearly there is a rich source of information here which I have not been able to address beyond published sources.

At the end of Appendix 2 I list 'Wheal Whiddon' names which include the *-n* to *-dn* ending that occurred in place-names after about 1550–1600.⁷⁹ Although these would seem to help fill in the information on post-1600 Cornish-speaking in the area immediately west and north of Truro, which is one of two concentrations of such names, they are generally much later there than in the other concentration in West Penwith. Holmes (this volume) would exclude such simple mine names from consideration as they could be used to share by association the success of tin mines further west, where the names were first coined. This is even more certainly the case with the examples from Ashburton in Devon!

Some of the information given in Appendix 1 is clearly open to varying interpretations and not all accounts have been given equal weight in constructing Figure 7. Thus the Cornish rhymes recorded in St Agnes in 1698 and 1704 are not taken as evidence of Cornish-speaking there at that time, but rather as solitary remembered pieces in an area where Cornish had not been a living language for perhaps a generation or more.

CONCLUSION

I have called this paper 'a provisional synthesis' because the project described is always going to be one 'under construction'. Some of the evidence we do have is ambiguous and open to other interpretations. New evidence will emerge from further study of manuscript material that may well clarify or refine our knowledge. Further analyses of place-name and surname evidence are clearly needed too. Padel's published work on place-name elements is a precondition for a study of place-name distribution relevant to questions of linguistic geography,

but it is not itself that study. As noted earlier, drawing lines on maps is a somewhat misleading way to summarize the evidence—although it is not at present clear to me how we can better represent the situation. One can only echo the words of the great eighteenth-century Cornish antiquary William Borlase which began this exposition. There are indeed 'deficiencies of history' involved in our quest, and there are no evident truths here to compensate for them. In such circumstances probabilities must suffice, and conjectures—duly hedged about with all necessary qualifications—are indeed no faults.

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APPENDIX 1: REFERENCES TO WHERE CORNISH WAS SPOKEN AT PARTICULAR TIMES

949, Egloshayle: 'the country folk of that district call [it] by the barbaric name Pendavey', 'amongst the Welsh at Pendavey' (quoted in Hooke 1994: 18–19).

c.1175–1200, general: 'St Michael's Mount being "called in the idiom of that province" Dinsol (or the Mount of the Sun)' (Jenner 1904: 9, quoting Ms. Cotton Vespasian A, xiv, a Latin life of St Cadoc).

1193–4, general: 'In both Cornwall and Brittany they speak almost the same

- language as in Wales. It comes from the same root and is intelligible to the Welsh in many instances, and almost in all. It is rougher and less clearly pronounced, but probably closer to the original British speech, or so I think myself' (Gerald of Wales 1978: 231). Original Latin reads: 'Cornubia vero et Armorica Britannia lingua utuntur fere persimili, Cambris tamen propter originalem convenientiam in multis adhuc et fere cunctis intelligibili. Quae, quanto delicata minus et incompressa magis, tanto antiquo linguae Britanniae idiomati, ut arbitror, est appropriata' (quoted in Jenner 1904: 10).
- 1265, Budock:** Founding of Glasney College and Cornish saying 'In Polsethow ywhylyr Anethow' (Glasney Cartulary, quoted in Peter 1903: 4; see also Nance 1951). Glasney is geographically within Budock although it is sometimes said to belong to St Gluvias.
- 1318, Budock:** Master Adam Murymouth exchanged his prebend at Glasney with Master John de Lancelstone at Exeter Cathedral in part because he did not know Cornish ('propter Linguam Parcium Cornubie quam non nostis') (quoted in Peter 1903: 117).
- 1328-9, general:** 'lingua eciam, in extremis Cornubie non Anglicis set Britonibus extat nota' [Furthermore the language known in the extremities of Cornwall is still not English, but British] (Grandisson in Hingeston-Randolph 1894-9 I: 97-8; translation in Orchard 1937). Oliver Padel suggests a better translation is 'There is a language current in the furthest parts of Cornwall, familiar not to the English but to the Britons'.
- 1330s, Warleggan, possibly Lanivet:** Ralph de Tremur was a Cornish-speaking rector of Warleggan (Grandisson in Hingeston-Randolph 1894-9 II: 1180; see also Orchard 1937). He may have come from Tremeer in Lanivet.
- 1336, St Buryan, St Just in Penwith:** Parishioners in St Buryan swore oaths in English, French and 'alii in Cornubico'; Master Henry Marsely, rector of St Just, interpreted and translated the sermon into Cornish for these monoglots (Grandisson in Hingeston-Randolph 1894-9 II: 820-1; see also Orchard 1937).
- 1339, St Merryn:** J. Polmarke licensed to assist the vicar and 'expound the Word of God in the said church in the Cornish language' (Grandisson in Hingeston-Randolph 1894-9 II: 910; translation in Orchard 1937).
- c.1340, St Stephen in Brannel:** Cornish language 'Charter Fragment' on back of a deed of 1340 (BL Add. Charter 19,491; Nance 1932; Toorians 1991).
- 1346, Budock:** Sir Adam de Carletone of Glasney sought an exchange with a rectory in Huntingdonshire, in part because he 'would find his speech better known' there. This is taken by Peter (1903: 116 footnote) to mean that he did not understand Cornish.
- 1349, Minster:** Prior and brethren 'know not the English or the Cornish tongue' (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1909: 29, Edward III, pt II, m. 19; also quoted in Hingeston-Randolph 1894-9 III: lxix).
- 1354-5, Bodmin:** Brother John, among others, appointed a confessor in Cornish and English (Grandisson in Hingeston-Randolph 1894-9 II: 1145-6; see also Orchard 1937).

- 1354-5, Truro:** Roger Tyrela appointed confessor in Cornish (Grandisson in Hingeston-Randolph 1894-9 II: 1145-6; see also Orchard 1937).
- 1355, Minster:** Prior and his fellow-monk 'know not the English or the Cornish tongue' (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1909, Edward III, Vol. 10: 247, 252, referring to 20 and 21 June).
- 1437, St Erme:** Resignation '(in the person of Richard Penpons, literate, his Proctor) of Sir Walter Countersint' in part as he could not speak Cornish: 'atque Linguam vulgarem Cornubicum penitus ignorans' (Hingeston-Randolph 1909: 225).
- 1450, St Ewe:** Vincent Clement resigned benefice 'eo quod ipse ideoma Cornubicum loqui et parochianos in idomate [sic] sui instruere et docere minime sit expertus' (Lacy 1967-9: 73-4), i.e. because he could neither speak Cornish nor keep personal residence.
- 1477, Gorran:** Thomas Marbury resigned the living 'propter idoneatatis defectum et vulgaris lingue ignorantium' (Henderson 1956: 182), i.e. because he could not speak Cornish.
- c.1500, Sancreed:** incident at 'Mirable Play', presumably play in Cornish (CRO X/50/5, quoted in Joyce and Newlyn 1999: 519-20).
- 1504, Camborne:** Dominus Rad Ton writes/copies *Beunans Meriasek*, a play about the patron saint of Camborne. Thomas (1967: 23) notes Richard Ton as priest of Crowan in 1537, and Ric. Tone, priest, buried at Camborne in 1547, from the parish registers.
- 1506, Falmouth area:** Cornish spoken 'in the midst of a most barbarous race, so different in language and customs from the Londoners and the rest of England that they are as unintelligible to these last as the Venetians' (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, Vol. I: 1202-1519, p. 314: Vincenzo Quirini to the Signory, 1506).
- 1512, Gwennap:** J. Busveall of 'Wennepp' hears Michael and Nicholas quarrelling at a place near Poldyth 'in lingua materna, hoc est in Cornysh' (information from Julian Holmes, pers. comm.).
- 1522, Probus:** John Tregian objected in a Star Chamber dispute that: 'There is no such place in Lambrobis as Martyn's Field. There is however a parcel of land called "Gwele Marteyn"' (Henderson Ms. EA, Vol. 2, p. 54, quoting Star Chamber, Henry VIII, XVII no. 209r VIII).
- 1528-31, general:** 'The language of the English, Welch, and Cornishmen is so different, that they do not understand each other. The Welchman is sturdy, poor, adapted to war and sociable [*conversevole*], the Cornishman is poor, rough and boorish [*selvatico*], and the Englishman mercantile, rich, affable, and generous [*nobile*]' (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, Vol. IV, 1527-1533, p. 294: Report of England, made to the [Venetian] Senate by Lodovico Falier, 1531).
- 1532, Breage:** William Godolphin to Thomas Cromwell, 'I received your letter ... to have two proper fellows for the feat of wrestling, and I have sent you two of my household servants who are reckoned the best for that feat ... Their English is not perfect' (L & P, 1532: 1093).
- 1538, general:** 'That all having cure of souls do every Sunday declare in English, or in Cornish where English is not used, all or part of the epistle

or gospel of that day, or else the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed, and Ten Commandments . . . All chantry priests, soul priests, and other stipendiaries to avoid idleness by teaching the children of their parishes their Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed, Ten Commandments with the seven works of mercy in English or Cornish' (Bishop John Voysey's instructions following his 1538 Visitation, given in L & P, 1538: 1106; cf. Blake 1914: 385).

1538, general: 'From the Thames the coast adjoins Picardy, Normandy, and Brittany as far as Brest, and is furnished with good ports, a great necessity for France; and it contains Wales and Cornwall, natural enemies of the rest of England, and speaking a language which is French; for it is "Breton Bretonnant"' (Castillon to Montmorency, L & P, 1538: 1162).

1538, Breage: Godolphin sent Samson and John Herry (mining experts) to Thomas Cromwell, with Herry to interpret 'because their English is very bad' (L & P, 1538: Addenda 1342; not 1324, as quoted by Ellis 1974: 59).

1538, Budock area, Fowey, Goonhilly, Helston, Launceston, Padstow, Paul, Scilly Isles ('Innischawe'), Sennen area: Leland gives names in English and Cornish (Leland 1538 in Smith 1907: 179, 189, 193, 199, 203, 316, 318, 320, 325).

1542, general: 'In Cornwall is two speches: the one is naughty Englyshe, and the other is Cornyshe. And there be many men and women the which cannot speake one worde of Englyshe, but all Cornyshe' (Andrew Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, published 1547; see Furnivall 1870: 120-5).

1545-9, Helston: Document translating Cornish field names into English (Henderson 1928a: 407).

1547, probably Gwennap: 'in Cornishe: deese meese te lader' (come forth thou thief), said to ? Tracy by John Richard during a dispute (Loth 1911: 445; Loth's information from Reverend Taylor, quoting from 'Star Chamber, Henri VIII, 8/171-5').

1549, general: Articles of the rebels, 1549, item 8: 'And so we the Cornyshe men (whereof certen of us understande no Englysh), utterly refuse thys new Englysh [service]' (quoted in Fletcher 1983: 115 from a manuscript in Lambeth Palace Library).

c. 1550, St Columb Major: Padel (1975a: 22) cites surname evidence suggesting that 'Cornish was in use in St Columb in the mid-sixteenth century'.

1555-83, St Allen: John Tregear translated 'Bonner's Homilies' into Cornish. Evidence that he was vicar of St Allen at the time and died in 1583 when his will (now destroyed) was proved at Exeter. (C. Henderson, 'A History of the Parish of St Allen', RIC Henderson Mss. Collection).

c. 1560, general: 'Item that it may be lawfull for such Welch or Cornish children as can speake no English to learne the Praemisses in the Welch tongue or Cornish language' (BL Egerton Ms. 2350, f. 54r, quoted by Jenner 1904: 13).

1572, Lelant: William Hawyshe witnessed 'dew whallon gwa metton in eglos de Laland' [i.e. upon All Saint's day in Lelant church] Agnes Davy was called 'Hore and Horebytyche in Englysche and not in Cornowok' by Cycely

James (Consistory Court Proceedings, Henderson Ms. X: 124, quoted in Rowse 1941: 23; also in Hoblyn 1936).

1579, St Anthony in Meneage, Constantine, Manaccan: Court case brought by Lawrence Rescaden of Manaccan over land in Constantine, where a witness from Constantine talks of his father reading the contents of a deed 'bothe in Inglishe and Cornishe' to the complainant, and another reports John Tregosse of St Anthony as having 'saide unto him in Cornishe' (Henderson 1937: 82-5).

1583, Gorran: William Richards testimony in court case in 1587 that in the 1583 case 'the Complainant caused an interpreter to demande of certaine of the fishermen that could not well speake or understand English' (Whetter 1962: 69, quoting PRO E. 134 30 Eliz. Hil 2 or CRO MTD32/2).

1584, general: 'The Cornish people for the moste parte, are descended of the Britishe stocke, thowgh much entermixed since with the Saxon and Norman bloude: but untill of late yeares retayned, the British speache corrupted, as theirs is of Wales . . . But of the late the Cornishe men have muche conformed themselves to the use of the Englishe tounge, and their Englishe is equall to the beste, especially in the easterne partes; even from Truro eastwarde it is in manner wholly Englishe. In the weste parte of the Countrie, as in the hundreds of Penwith and Kerrier, the Cornishe tounge is moste in use amongst the inhabitantes, and yet (whiche is to be marveyled) thowgh the husband and wife, parentes and children, Master and Servantes, doe mutually communicate in their native language, yet ther is none of them in manner but is able to convers with a Straunger in the Englishe tounge, unless it be some obscure people, that seldome conferr with the better sorte: but it seemeth that in few yeares the Cornishe Language wilbe by litle and litle abandoned' (Norden 1728: 26-7 [1966: 21]; quoted in Price 1976).

1584, Bodmin, Gorran area, Helston, St Ives, Launceston, Mabe, St Michael Caerhayes, Paul, Perranzabuloe, Truro: Norden gives Cornish as well as English names (Norden 1728 [1966]: 27, 28, 34, 38, 40, 44, 47, 50, 66).

1592, Stithians: Death of Dr John Kenall or Kennall, Cornish language scholar (see quotation 1602 below), vicar of Gwennap 1550, rector of Mabyn 1559, of Mawgan 1559, and of St Columb Major 1560 (Venn and Venn 1922; Wakelin 1975: 90 fn), vicar of Wendron 1549 (Whitley 1882: 131). Family home was at Kennal in Stithians.

1595, St Ewe: Clare Gourden and Petronella John talking together both 'in Cornishe and Englishe' (Consistory Court Proceedings, Henderson Ms. X: 176, quoted in Rowse 1941: 23; also in Hoblyn 1936).

1601, Camborne: Statement of the parish bounds includes Cornish phrasing ('Enecis Cusven', alongside Coswin) and hedge name ('a hedge called Keazek vres') suggestive of Cornish being spoken there at that time. By 1613 this phrasing has disappeared (Thomas 1967: 177).

1602 [probably written 1594], general: 'for the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments have been used in Cornish beyond all remembrance. But the principal love and knowledge of this language lived

in Dr Kennall the civilian, and with him lieth buried, for the English speech doth still encroach upon it and hath driven the same into the uttermost skirts of the shire. Most of the inhabitants can speak no word of Cornish, but very few are ignorant of he English; and yet some so affect their own to a stranger they will not speak it, for if meeting them by chance you enquire the way or any such matter, your answer shall be Meea navidna cowzasawsneck, "I can speak no Saxonage!" [actually, I will speak no Saxonage!] (Carew 1602: 127; Halliday 1953: 125ff.).

1603, general: Of Elizabeth I, 'She possessed nine languages so thoroughly that each appeared to be her native tongue, five of these were the languages of peoples governed by her, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scottish, for that part of her possessions where they are still savage, and Irish. All of them are so different, that it is impossible for those who speak the one to understand any of the others' (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, Vol. IX, 1592–1603, p. 565: Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli to the Doge and Senate, April 1603).

1609, St Ives: Agnes Hicks called Elizabeth Clerke a whore in English and Cornish (DRO Ms. cc3/112, witness statements to court case; information from Julyan Holmes, pers. comm.).

1611, Helston: William Jordan wrote or copied Cornish play 'Creacioun of the Worlde' in Helston. The family seat was at Trelill in Wendron (Gilbert 1820: II 770).

1613, Zennor: Parish bounds named in Cornish. First bound 'is named in the Cornish speech Meane-an-Toll' (Henderson 1928b and Pool 1997, quoting CRO ARD/TER/444).

1614, general: (Anon. 1966, quoting Brerewood 1614): Of languages 'Brittish in Wales, Cornewaile, and Britaine of Fraunce' (Chapter 3). In France 'there are two other, which have no affinity with the Roman or Latin; those are the Britan, which seemes not to differ much from our Cornish; & the Biscay' (Chapter 27).

1616, general: 'England is also divided into three great Provinces, or Countries, & every of them speaking a severall and different Language, as English, Welsh, and Cornish; and their language (which is strange) alters upon the sodaine, even as the provinces part: for in this Towne they speake English, and do not understand Welsh, or Cornish, and in the next Towne Cornish, not understading [sic] English or Welsh: but in many things the Welsh and Cornish something agree' (Hopton 1616: 197).

1622, Wendron: will of Francis John alias Trevallack; Grace Rillstone interpreted his last testament given in Cornish and some English (CRO ACP/W/J/288/3, referred to by Pool 1982: 9).

1630, general: 'They have a particular language, called Cornish (although now much worn out of use) differing but little from the Welsh, and the Language of the Britains in France; which argueth their Original to have been out of one nation' (Dodridge 1630: 77–8).

1636 or before, St Just in Penwith, Sennen: Parson Drake's certificate in Cornish, dating to some time between 1582 when the first William Drake became parson of St Just and 1636 when his son, also parson there, died

(different versions in RIC Tonkin Ms. B; BL Add. Ms. 28,554; Nance 1925d).

c.1640, Feock: William Jackman preaching in Cornish: 'The Cornish tongue was so Retain'd in this psh by the old old inhabitants thereof 'till about the yeare 1640 that Mr Wm Jackman elder, Vicar thereof . . . Brother to John Jackman, Vicar of Kenwin and Key . . . was forced for Divers yeare to administer the Sacrament to the communicants in the Cornish tongue, because the aged people did not well understand the English as himselfe often told me' (BL Add. Ms 29,762, fo. 76r; cf. Hals c.1740–3: 133).

After 1640, Feock: 'John Jackman Vicar of this Parish, aged 63 years that dyed about 23 years (Son to John Jackman Vicar of Kenwin & Key) hath often declared to the Writer of these lines & many others, that for many years after his Induction into the Vicaridge, he was necessitated to administer the Sacrament in the Kernawish Tongue to the Aged People of the Parish, As his Predecessors had done, because they did not understand the moderne Teutonick or Mother Tongue to Us' (RIC Tonkin Ms. H). Information is from William Hals c.1702, and suggests death of John Jackman was c.1679. John Jackman in fact died April 1674 (Feock Parish Registers, CRO).

1644, general: 'The language is spoken altogeather at Goon-Hilly & about Pendennis. & at the Lands-End. they speake no english. All beyond Truro they speake the Cornish Language' (BL Add. Ms. 17,062, quoted in Price 1976; see also Symonds 1859).

c.1650, general: 'They have a speech perculiar to themselves, Somewhat agreeing with the Welsh, And that used in Little Brittany in France: And by the opinion of the learned, it is the relict of the language of the Ancient Brittons inhabiting this isle; Who, by sundry invasions were forced to withdraw themselves among the Mountaines of Wales, And hilly country of Cornwall. And some over into France, which part from them is called Brittany. But now that speech with us is much worne out, and English spoken overall: Which, by report, is as good as any in England, Especially At & near the Sea Ports' (Peter Mundy, transcribed by Thomas Tonkin, BL Add. Ms. 33,420, page 94 pen, 105 pencil; see also Mundy 1984: 80).

1656, Sennen: 'another said in Cornish that it was a holy cross and if it were good before it is good now': statement of John Ellis (CRO Ms. SF285/68,69; quoted in Stoye 2002: 182).

1660, St Stephen in Brannel: 1660 tin bounds of the manor of Brannel give names in English and Cornish suggesting to Henderson that Cornish was still spoken at that time, but it could just be a copy of an earlier document. By 1671 and 1696 names conform much more to English usage (Henderson 1927). Hodge (1998: 3–4) paraphrases Henderson. Cornish probably was spoken here until c.1600 (see Figure 7).

1662, general: 'We met with none here but what could speak English; few of the children could speak Cornish; so that the language is like, in a short time, to be quite lost' (Ray 1760: 281; Ray 1846: 190).

1662, St Just in Penwith: Richard Angwin, Cornish language scholar, lived there: 'the only man we could hear of that can now write the Cornish

language' (Ray 1760: 281; Ray 1846: 190; see also Henderson 1931). Angwin died in 1675.

1667, St Just in Penwith: John Ray visited 'Dickan Gwyn' (Richard Angwin) there: 'and had from him some Cornish words. He is esteemed the most skilful Man of any now living in the Cornish language; but being no good Grammarian, we found him very deficient. Another there is, Pendarvis by Name, who is said to be a Scholar, who doubtless must needs have better Skill in the Tongue' (Ray 1760: 279 footnote; Ray 1846: 189 footnote).

c.1669, St Agnes: St Agnes tin bounds of c.1669 named overwhelmingly in Cornish, with compound names such as Wheal-an-fugow Mengouse, said to mean 'The mine of the cave by the stone in the wood' (Jenkin 1928: 437).

1670 or before, Landewednack: Francis Robinson preached in Cornish (see 1678 Scawen quotation). Nance (1935) suggests that this took place in 1670 or earlier. Letter of 1674 claimed Robinson had been 'non-resident this four years and now turned from Minister to Maryner' (RIC Henderson Ms. Vol. XI, p. 102, quoted in Henderson 1958: 283).

1675-1708, general: 'being almost only spoken from the Lands-End to the Mount and towards St Ives and Redruth, and again from the Lizard to Helston, and towards Falmouth: and these parts in the narrowest two Necks of land, containing about twenty Miles in Length, and not quarter or half that Breadth, within which little Extent also there is more of English spoken than of Cornish, for here may be found some that can hardly speak or understand Cornish, but scarce any but both understand & speak English' (*Nebbaz Geriau Dro Tho Carnoack*, 'A Few Words about Cornish', by Nicholas Boson, Ms copy by Rev. Henry Ustick, 1750, in RIC, quoted in Padel 1975b: 24).

1676, Gwithian: 'let not the old woman be forgotten, who died about two years since, who was 164 years old, of good memory, and healthful at that age, living in the parish of Gwithian, by the charity mostly of such as came purposely to see her, speaking to them (in default of English) by an interpreter, yet partly understanding it' (Scawen 1777; Gilbert 1838 IV: 216 fn). She was Chesten or Christian Marchant, born according to Tonkin in St Agnes (RIC Tonkin Ms. B, p. 133).

1678, general: 'some of our old folks also, for we have some among these few that do speak Cornish, who do not understand a word of English, as well as those in Wales, and those may be many in some of the western parts, to whom Mr. Francis Robinson, parson of Landewednack told me, he had preached a sermon not long since in the Cornish tongue, only well understood by his auditory' (Scawen 1777; Gilbert 1838 IV: 216).

1680, St Ives, St Hilary, Madron: 'Sermons in Cornish and English. Preached by Rev. Joseph Sherwood at St Ives, Marazion and Penzance 1680. Ms penes Jonathan Rashleigh' (Boase and Courtney 1882: 1335; Spriggs 1998).

1690s, Mylor: Thomas Tonkin records hearing Cornish song at Carclew, Mylor (RIC Tonkin Ms. B, p. 207).

c.1690s, Sancreed or St Just: William Rowe translated part of Matthew's Gospel into Cornish. He was born in 1660 or 1666 in St Buryan or St Just. His children were mainly baptised in St Just but he seems to have moved to Hendra in Sancreed in 1697-8 (St Buryan, St Just, Sancreed Parish Registers, CRO). Date of death not known. His writings are in BL Add. Ms. 28,554, fo. 97 on; Nance 1936/1937.

1695, general: 'The old Cornish is almost quite driven out of the Country, being spoken only by the vulgar in two or three Parishes at the Lands-end; and they too understand the English. In other parts, the inhabitants know little or nothing of it; so that in all likelihood a short time will destroy the small remains that are left of it. 'Tis a good while since, that only two men could write it, and one of them no Scholar or Grammarian, and then blind with age' (Gibson 1695: 146, quoted in Wakelin 1975: 92). From Bodleian Library Ms. Eng.b.2042, fo. 164r, the source of this information is John Ray (1628-1705), who wrote, probably early in 1694: 'As for ye Cornish (wch is nothing else but the ancient British, differing only in dialect from ye Welsh, as found by comparing many words) it is almost quite driven out of the Countrey, it being spoken only in two or three parishes at the Lands end, by the vulgar, who also can speak English: elsewhere the Cornish understand it not. So that in all likelihood in a few generations more it will quite be lost there being then when we were in the Countrey only two men that could write it, that is Mr Pendarves, & one Dick en Gwyn as they called him; wch last was no scholar or Grammarian & then blind with age.' See also the entries for 1662 and 1667 in this Appendix.

1695, St Just in Penwith: Songs in Cornish by John Tonkin, a tailor of St Just, written according to Jenner (1904: 36) in 1695. They are in BL Add. Ms. 28,554, fo. 130r, 131r,v. See also Nance (1930a, b).

1698, St Agnes: Cornish rhyme collected by Thomas Tonkin from Captain Noel Cater of St Agnes (RIC, Tonkin Ms. B, p. 207; Nance 1925c).

1700, general: 'At our first coming we did not at all understand the people, but now I apprehend most they can say, it is spoaken not only in 2 parishes as in the Last Edition of Cambden, but there are some remains of it, all along the South Coast for nigh 30 miles in Length & I believe on the North Side about 20' (Edward Lhuyd letter to Dr Richardstone, c. 10 September, quoted in Campbell 1976: 38).

1700, general: 'The Cornish is much more corruptly spoken than the Armorican, as being confin'd to half a score parishes toward's the Land's End; whereas [Armorican is] the common language of a country almost as large as Wales' (Edward Lhuyd, letter to Henry Rowlands, 10 March 1700, quoted in Gunther 1945: 441).

1700, general: 'The places in Cornwall that at this day retain the Ancient language, are the parishes of St Just, St Paul, Burrian, Sunnin [Sennen], St Lavan, St Krad [Sancreed], Marva [Morvah], Maddern [Madron, including Penzance], Sunner [Zennor], Trewednok [Towednock], St Ives, Leigian [Ludgvan], Kynwal or (as now pronounced) Gyval [Gulval]; And all along the sea shoar from the Land's end to St Kevern's near the Lizard point.

But a great many of the Inhabitants of those Parishes, especially the Gentry, do not understand it; there being no necessity thereof, in regard ther's no Cornish Man but speaks good English' (Lhuyd 1707: 253). The 'sea shoar' referred to would have included the additional parishes of St Hilary (including Marazion), Perranuthnoe, Breage, Sithney, the coastal portion of Wendron, Gunwalloe, Mullion, Landewednack, Grade, Ruan Minor and St Keverne. Jenner (1904: 18) would add Germoe and Ruan Major, although neither of these is actually coastal.

1700, Penzance (Madron Parish): 'in yt town ye Coman language is Cornish' (BL Add Ms. 51020, fos 60-1). Letter from someone associated with Edward Lhuyd's visit.

1700, St Just: 'The way that I took to get some knowledge of the Cornish Language, was, partly by writing some down from the mouths of the people in the West of Cornwall, in particular in the parish of St Just' (Lhuyd 1707: 222, translated by Tonkin and Gwavas from the Cornish in Pryce 1790: 12 [unpaginated]).

1702, Sennen: an area 'call'd in Cornish Pullen da' (Jones 1702).

1704, Paul: Dated Cornish inscription on a Paul hurling ball (Mayne 1943: 45).

1704, Penzance (Madron): Dolly Pentreath, baptised in Paul in 1692 (Paul Parish Registers, CRO): 'her father being a fisherman, she was sent with fish to Penzance at twelve years old, and sold them in the Cornish language, which the inhabitants in general (even the gentry) did then well understand' (Barrington 1776: 283).

1704, St Agnes: Cornish proverb and rhyme recorded from William Allen of St Agnes by Thomas Tonkin (RIC Tonkin Ms. B; BL Add. Ms. 28,554; Nance 1949).

1705, Paul: Thomas Boson composes inscription for William Gwavas's hurling ball (BL Add. Ms. 28,554, fo. 137; Nance 1925b: 37-8).

c.1706, St Ives: John Hicks reported 'The language of the inhabitants was anciently Cornish, which is not very different from the Welsh . . . This language, within the last fifty years, is almost forgotten, being seldom used by any of the inhabitants, excepting fishermen and tinnerns' (Gilbert 1820 II: 710). Hicks's manuscript is now lost. Dating based on statement that he had carried the Passion Poem from William Scawen to John Keigwin to be translated 24 years earlier. Keigwin's translation is dated 1682 (Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 806, Art. 17).

c.1708, Paul and St Just: Borlase states in 1758 of Cornish that 'about fifty years since it was generally spoken in the parishes of Paul and St. Just, the fishermen and market-women in the former, and the tinnerns in the latter, conversing one with the other for the most part in the Cornish tongue' (Borlase 1758: 315-16).

1710, America: Letter from Gwavas to an unknown correspondent in America in Cornish (BL Add. Ms. 28,554; Nance 1925a: 37).

1710, Penzance (Madron): Gwavas records a folk rhyme: 'James Harry, of Ludgian [Ludgvan], a Mason, now of Penzance, aged abt. 65, told me this rime' (RIC Gwavas Commonplace Book, Gatley Ms. quoted by Nance 1929: 24).

1711, Paul: Letter in Cornish from Oliver Pender of Newlyn to William Gwavas (BL Add. Ms. 28,554; Nance 1926).

1711, Penzance (Madron): Death of James Jenkins 'our Cornish Bard' (see Nance 1948).

1711, St Ives: John Stevens deposition 'when the tenth baskett came to be delivered the fishermen called out Dekka Dekka' (quoted in Matthews 1892: 339-40, 401-5).

1734, St Just, Paul, Sennen: 'ye moderne Cornish yt is known according to pronunciation amongst us at Newlyn, Mousehole, St. Just, and the Land's End' (Bilbao Ms. fo. 16r, Letter of William Gwavas to Thomas Tonkin, Penzance, 26 February 1734).

1736, St Just, St Keverne, Paul, Sennen: 'ye familiar dialect now retained by tinnerns, and ye fishermen in our western parts only, which will be a great satisfacion to them, as dwell in St Just, Paul, Lands End & St. Kevern' (Bilbao Ms. fo. 30r, Letter of William Gwavas to Thomas Tonkin, Newlyn, 1 December 1736; cf. draft or copy in BL Add. Ms 28,554, fo. 20r).

c.1746, Ludgvan: Daines Barrington in 1777 told of John Nancarrow junior, who 'had learned the Cornish language from the country people during his youth, and can now converse in it' (Barrington 1779: 84). He was born in St Agnes in 1734 but brought up largely in West Cornwall, including in Ludgvan from 1746 for some years where he probably learned Cornish. He later settled in Marazion and married there in 1762. Nancarrow migrated to Philadelphia in America in 1774 and was still alive in the United States in 1804 (Jeffery 1984, 1985).

1756, West Cornwall: 'In some few parishes, indeed, near the Land's-end, there is a corrupt dialect of the Cornish tongue even still retained' (Anonymous 1756, quoted by Nance 1933).

1772, Towednack: 'The families of Stevens and Trewhella were among the last to keep up the Cornish language in the parish of Towednack. The late Dr Stevens of Saint Ives told the writer that his great-grandfather, Andrew Stevens of Trevegia, used to take his [Dr Stevens's] grandfather on his knee, and say . . . [Cornish follows]' (Matthews 1892: 404). Nance (1923: 146) states that Andrew Stevens died in 1772.

1776, Paul: William Bodinar wrote a letter in Cornish to Daines Barrington, seen as the last extended piece of Cornish prose (Letter in Society of Antiquaries, published by Pool and Padel 1975/6). Bodinar died in 1789 (Paul Parish Registers, CRO).

1777, Paul: Dolly Pentreath, last fluent native speaker, died (Jago 1882: 333-41; see also Barrington 1776, 1779).

1789, Truro: Polwhele meets engineer Tompson of Truro and considers him to be fluent in Cornish (Polwhele 1806 V: 43-4).

?1789, Paul: Of Mousehole villagers: 'They preserve some of the remains of the old Cornish language; and as they are frequently employed as pilots to Brittany, are understood by the natives there; but as they send their children to English schools the language wears out apace. Their tone of speaking approaches to singing or chanting' (Gough 1789 I: 13). Earlier he

refers to Barrington (1776, 1779) and the information perhaps comes from there.

c.1789, Paul: 'yet my opinion would have been confirmed by what I have heard from a very old man now living at Moushole near Penzance, who, I believe, is, at this time, the only person capable of holding half an hour's conversation on common subjects in the Cornish tongue' (Pryce 1790: 4 [unpaginated]). It is generally believed that this refers to William Bodinar (see under 1776).

1799, St Levan and Newlyn (Paul): Whitaker told of an old man of St Levan and a woman in Newlyn who could speak Cornish (Whitaker 1804: 42).

1800, Newlyn (Paul): 'William Matthews, of Newlyn, near Penzance, who died there about thirty years ago [c.1786], also spoke the Cornish language later and much more fluently than Dolly Pentreath. His son, William Matthews, was also well acquainted with it; he died in the same village about the year 1800' (Gilbert 1817 I: 122).

APPENDIX 2: CONSONANT SHIFTS -N TO -DN, -M TO -BM

St Agnes (Williams 1995: 74): Chytodden; Codna-coos.

St Anthony in Meneage (Williams 1995: 74): Godna.

St Austell (Holmes p.c.): Pedniddon.

Breage (Williams 1995: 73): Chytodden; Pengwedna.

St Buryan (Williams 1995: 74): Codna Willy; Pridden.

Camborne (Williams 1995: 73): Chytodden; Pencobben.

Constantine (Williams 1995: 73): Chegwiddden; Crack-an-Godna; Park-an-Gubman; Park-an-Todden; Park-Cabben; Park-Tobma; Pedn Billy; Penbothidnow; Polgwidden Cove.

Crowan (Williams 1995: 73): The Ladden.

St Enoder (Holmes p.c.): Pednacarne.

St Erth (Williams 1995: 74): Parke an Clibmier.

St Ewe (Williams 1995: 74): Park Todden.

Feock (Wakelin 1975: 77): Chegwiddden 1841 (now Chywine); Pednapill Point 1597 (now Pill Point); Porthgwidden.

Gerrans (Wakelin 1975: 77): Pednvadan.

Gorran (Whetter 1998): Cotna; Luddengarth.

Grade (Williams 1995: 73): Ingewiddden; Polgwidden.

Gulval (Williams 1995: 73): Carnaquiddden.

Gwennap (Wakelin 1975: 77): Mennergwiddden; (Williams 1995: 73): Cascadden.

St Hilary (Williams 1995: 74): Brevadnack; Tolvadden.

Illogan (Wakelin 1975: 77): Tolvadden.

St Ives (Williams 1995: 74): Pedn Olva; Porth Gwiddden.

St Just in Penwith (Williams 1995: 74): Balleswiddden; Cargodna; Cudna Reeth; Leswiddden.

St Just in Roseland (Williams 1995: 74): Marcradden.

St Keverne (Williams 1995: 74): Chywednack; Frogabbin; Gull Gwiddden; Laddenvean; Pednavounder; Pedn-myin; Pedn Tiere; Polpidnick.

Landewednack (Williams 1995: 73): Landewednack; Kilcobben Cove; Peddenporperre.

Lelant (Williams 1995: 73): The Gabmas; Pedndrea; Porth Kidney Sands.

St Levan (Williams 1995: 74): Pednvounder.

Ludgvan (Williams 1995: 73): Menwhidden.

Madron (Williams 1995: 73, 74): Nangidnall; Pednpons; Pedn Venton; Todne Rosemoddress; Trewidden; Street an Dudden (in Penzance).

Manaccan (Anon. 1961): Park Lobben.

St Mawgan in Meneage (Williams 1995: 74): Carlidna.

St Mewan (Henderson 1927, cf. Holmes p.c.): Peden Halvegan.

Morvah (Pool 1990: 62): Gunwiddden.

Mullion (Williams 1995: 73): Lo Cabm; Pedn Crifton.

Mylor (Williams 1995: 73): Crockagodna.

Paul (Williams 1995: 73-4): Park Tuban; Pedn Bejuffin; Pedn Tenjack; Pedn y coanse; Todden Coath.

Perranarworthal (Wakelin 1975: 77): Trewedna; (Williams 1995: 74): Blankednick.

Perranzabuloe (Williams 1995: 74): Codnidne.

Redruth (Williams 1995: 74): Pedn-an-drea.

Ruan Major (Williams 1995: 74): Pednanvounder.

Sancreed (Williams 1995: 74): Chirgwidden; Codnagooth.

Scilly Isles (Holmes p.c.): Pedn an thes 1777; Pednbean 1744; (Williams 1995: 74): Cudedno.

Sennen (Williams 1995: 74): Enys Dodman; Pedden an wollas.

Sithney (Williams 1995: 74): Croc-an-codna; Cudno; Pednavounder; Prospidnack; Taban Denty; Ventonvedna.

St Stephen in Brannel (Henderson 1927): Crouse-widden 1660.

Stithians (Williams 1995: 74): Carnwiddden.

Towednack (Williams 1995: 74): Towednack; Amalwhidden; Beagletodn; Chytodden; Park Gwiddden; Skillywadden.

Truro (Williams 1995: 74): Street Eden.

Veryan (Wakelin 1975: 77): Carn Pednethan; (Holmes p.c.): Penavadan.

Wendron (Williams 1995: 75): Calvadnack; Crackagodna; Roselidden.

Zennor (Williams 1995: 75): Boswednack; Pedn Kei; (Henderson 1928b): Carrack Pedden Mellen 1613.

'Wheal Whidden' names (Brooke 2000). In W. Whidden or Widden forms unless indicated:

St Agnes 1724; 1842 (Wheal Widdon); 1874 (Wheal Withern).

Ashburton [Devon] 1755, 1795; 1724 (Wheal Whitten); 1806 (Wheal Widdon).

Chacewater 1820.

Gulval 1670, 1736.

Gwennap 1827.

St Just in Penwith 1786.

Kea 1836, 1847; 1817 (Wheal Widdin).

Kenwyn 1820.

Lelant 1811.

Madron 1685 (Wheal Whitta).
 St Mewan 1824.
 Morvah 1741, 1820.
 Perranzabuloe 1838; 1733 (Wheal Wider).
 Redruth 1746; 1817 (Wheal Widdin); 1841 (Wheal Wynn).
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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. W. Borlase *Antiquities Historical and Monumental of the County of Cornwall*, London, 1769, p. ix.
2. G. Price (ed.), *Languages in Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 2002, is a good survey of the history of languages in Britain. H. Härke, 'Kings and Warriors: Population and Landscape from Post-Roman to Norman Britain', in P. Slack and R. Ward (eds), *The Peopling of Britain: The Shaping of a Human Landscape*, Oxford, 2002, discusses some of the attendant social processes involved. I am drawing in this section on a discussion of speech community events by M. Ross, 'Social Networks and Kinds of Speech-Community Event', in R. Blench and M. Spriggs (eds), *Archaeology and Language I: Theoretical and Methodological Orientations*, London, 1997, pp. 210–61. For discussions of the notion of colonialism in the pre-modern period I am grateful to Chris Gosden.
3. Price, 2002, Chapter 6.
4. H. Härke, 'Population Replacement or Acculturation? An Archaeological Perspective on Population and Migration in Post-Roman Britain', in H.L.C. Tristram (ed.), *The Celtic Englishes III*, Heidelberg, in press; J. Hines, 'Britain after Rome: Between Multiculturalism and Monoculturalism', in P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble (eds), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*, London, 1996, pp. 256–69; J. Hines, 'Welsh and English: Mutual Origins in Post-Roman Britain?', *Studia Celtica*, 34, 2000, pp. 81–104; H. Kleinschmidt, 'What Does the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" Tell Us about "Ethnic" Origins?', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 2001, 42.1, pp. 1–40.
5. Hines, 1996; Hines, 2000.
6. Hines, 2000, pp. 89–98. The quotation which follows is from p. 88.
7. Hines, 1996, p. 265.
8. Hines, 2000, pp. 98–102. The quotation is from p. 101.
9. Cited in Härke, in press.
10. Price, 2002, Chapter 9.
11. Hines, 1996, pp. 265–6.
12. Kleinschmidt, 2001.
13. W. Stubbs, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis . . . Rolls Series* 90, 1887, p. 148; Translation is in H.P.R. Finberg, 'Sherborne, Glastonbury, and the Expansion of Wessex', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 3, 1953, p. 117. If ethnic cleansing appears too modern a term, perhaps we should resurrect 'driving'? Writing of this same event in 1818, 'D' in his 'Letters on the Ancient British Language of Cornwall', *Classical Journal*, 34–43, 1818–20, p. 442, compared it to 'The driving of the

- inhabitants, as happened during the recent invasion of Portugal by Massena, and the expedition of Napoleon to Moscow'. The result is the same.
14. Finberg, 1953, p. 119; O.J. Padel, 'Place-Names', in R. Kain and W. Ravenhill (eds), *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, Exeter, 1999, p. 93.
 15. Summarized in M. Spriggs, 'The Cornish Language, Archaeology, and the Origins of English Theatre', in press; cf C. Thomas, 'Settlement History in Early Cornwall: I, The Hundreds', *Cornish Archaeology*, 3, 1964, pp. 73–4.
 16. Pertinent references to this period include: D. Hooke, 'Saxon Conquest and Settlement', in Kain and Ravenhill, 1999, pp. 95–104; M. Todd, *The South-West to AD 1000*, London, 1987, Chapter 10.
 17. See J. Angarrack, *Our Future is History: Identity, Law and the Cornish Question*, Padstow, 2002, for a recent overtly Cornish nationalist reading of this history. In his Chapter 5 he alleges some serious and wilful acts of over-interpretation among historians of this period which surely deserve a response from those accused.
 18. W. Scawen, *Antiquities Cornu-Britannick, or Observations on an Ancient Manuscript written in the Cornish Language*. From a manuscript in the Library of Thomas Astle, Esq. No publisher given, 1777, is the only published version, reprinted several times from a lost manuscript early version of the work, most accessibly by D. Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall*, 4 volumes, London, 1838, in Volume IV, pp. 190–221. For details of the extant manuscripts see entry for William Scawen by M. Spriggs in *New Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, in press.
 19. Cf. J.R. Elliott Jr, 'Medieval Rounds and Wooden O's: The Medieval Heritage of the Elizabethan Theatre', in N. Denny (ed.), *Medieval Drama*, London, 1973, pp. 225–6; A.C. Cawley et al., *The Revels History of Drama in English, Volume I, Medieval Drama*, London, 1983, pp. xlii–xliv. W. Hals, *Lhadymer ay Kernow*, BL Add. Ms, 71,057, dictionary entry under 'Gwarry' makes the following interesting claim: 'However in the Latter end of the Reigne off Queen Eliz. Those plays were altogether suppressed by the Cornish Justices of the peace in open sessions by order or rule of Court'.
 20. Gilbert, 1838, Vol. IV, p. 205.
 21. As I argue at some length in Spriggs, in press.
 22. Gilbert, 1838, Vol. IV, pp. 214–15.
 23. F.E. Halliday, *The Legend of the Rood*, London, 1955, p. 11.
 24. G. Price, *The Languages of Britain*, London, 1984, pp. 98–100. N.J.A. Williams, *Cornish Today: An Examination of the Revived Language*, Sutton Coldfield, 1995, p. 169 presents some interesting ideas on this.
 25. Gilbert, 1838, Vol. IV, p. 206.
 26. Gilbert, 1838, Vol. IV, p. 214.
 27. N. Orme, 'Education in the Medieval Cornish Play Beunans Meriasek', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 25, 1993, p. 13.
 28. The first statement occurs in H. Jenner, 'The Cornish Language', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1873–4, p. 178, and is repeated in his

- Handbook of the Cornish Language*, London, 1904, p. 11. The second quotation is from *Handbook*, p. 194. The 1873–4 publication is the first to go into detail on the 'spot references' that enable us to track where Cornish was spoken at particular times. Jenner accepted both the idea that Cornish was spoken in Devon in the medieval period and in Menheniot in East Cornwall in Henry VIII's time (see discussion later in the text).
29. R.M. Nance, 'Hints for Place-Name Study', *Old Cornwall*, 3.6, 1939, pp. 257–60.
 30. This quotation is given in A.S.D. Smith, *The Story of the Cornish Language: Its Extinction and Revival*, Camborne, 1947, p. 6. Smith does not give a source for the quotation.
 31. C. Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History*, ed. A.L. Rowse and M.I. Henderson, Oxford, 1935, p. 144n.
 32. M. Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall*, Leicester, 1975, Chapter 4.
 33. Wakelin's place-name evidence was from an unpublished study by J.E.B. Gover, 'The Place-Names of Cornwall', 1948, typescript in the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro.
 34. M. Wakelin, 1975, pp. 74n and 77n.
 35. J.G. Holmes, 'The Place of Cornish in East Cornwall, 700–1500 AD', unpublished paper presented to the 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies, Galway, Ireland, 1979; K. George, 'How Many People Spoke Cornish Traditionally?', *Cornish Studies*, 14, 1986. See Holmes this volume for further discussion of the issues raised in that paper.
 36. George, 1986, p. 69. O.J. Padel, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names*, Penzance, 1988, pp. 30–1 expresses his reservations about the approach.
 37. H. Abalain, *Destin des Langues Celtiques*, Paris, 1989, p. 170. The map is reproduced in D. Nettle and S. Romaine, *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*, Oxford, 2000, p. 137. It is not clear if this information is directly from Ken George and represents later adjustments to his 1986 views, as the exact source is not indicated. George is thanked in the acknowledgements of Abalain's book. A recent oral tradition may be the source, in the form '1400 Boscastle to Looe', as endpoint towns for each isobar are usually indicated on the map.
 38. Williams, 1995, pp. 77, 79–90. The quotation is from p. 80. A more explicit statement on p. 77 gives the date as 'the middle of the sixteenth century'. In an earlier paper Williams had concluded more cautiously that the Padstow–Fowey line was the Cornish–English frontier in about 1535: N. Williams, 'A Problem in Cornish Phonology', in M.J. Ball et al. (eds), *Celtic Linguistics/Ieithyddiaeth Geltaidd: Readings in the Brythonic Languages. Festschrift for T. Arwyn Watkins*, Amsterdam, 1990, p. 259.
 39. Williams, 1995, pp. 71–5.
 40. P. Dunbar and K. George, *Kernewek Kemmyn: Cornish for the Twenty-First Century*, Cornish Language Board, 1997. N. Kennedy reviewed Williams's book in P. Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies: Four*, Exeter, 1996,

- pp. 171–81. A.P. Grant reviewed Dunbar and George approvingly in P. Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies: Six*, Exeter 1998, pp. 194–9.
41. Dunbar and George, 1997, p. 159.
 42. Padel, 1999; cf. O. Svensson, *Saxon Place-Names in East Cornwall*, *Lund Studies in English* 77, 1987.
 43. Dunbar and George, 1997, p. 158. The map is based on original research by K. George, but the sources consulted are not given.
 44. Padel, 1988, pp. 27–34.
 45. R.M. Nance, 'When was Cornish last Spoken Traditionally?', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. 7.1, 1973, pp. 76–82. R. Lyon, *Cornish: The Struggle for Survival*, Tavas an Weryn, 2001.
 46. H.S.A. Fox and O.J. Padel, *The Cornish Lands of the Arundells of Lanherne, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. *Devon and Cornwall Record Society*, N.S. 41, 2000, pp. cxxv–cxxxvii.
 47. O.J. Padel, 'Cornish Language Notes 3', *Cornish Studies*, 3, 1975, pp. 19–22.
 48. Extracted from T.L. Stoate, *The Cornwall Protestation Returns 1641*, Bristol, 1981, pp. 30–1; T.L. Stoate, *Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes 1660–1664*. Bristol, 1981, p. 127.
 49. D.J. North and A. Sharpe, *A Word-Geography of Cornwall*, Redruth, 1980; D.J. North, 'Towards a Framework for the Analysis of English in Cornwall', *Leeds Studies in English*, N.S. 19, 1988, pp. 203–230; D.J. North, *Studies in the Phonology of West Penwith English*, *Studies in Anglo-Cornish Phonology* 2, Redruth, 1991.
 50. Fox and Padel, 2000, pp. cxxx–cxxxii.
 51. References from John Leland 1538 in L.T. Smith, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543, Parts I to III*, London, 1907, pp. 179, 193, 203; Bosvenna from John Norden 1584, published as J. Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars: A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1966 [orig. 1728], p. 50.
 52. See Map in S.L. Joyce and E.S. Newlyn (eds), *Records of Early English Drama: Cornwall*, Toronto, 1999, p. 462.
 53. See Appendix 1 under 1349 and 1355.
 54. Padel, 1999.
 55. Todd, 1987, p. 274 for the quotation. Todd gives a good summary of the Anglo-Saxon penetration of the area pp. 267–75. W.G. Hoskins, *Devon*, London, 1954, p. 46 states that less than 1 per cent of Devon place-names overall are of Celtic origin.
 56. R. Polwhele, *The History of Cornwall*, Vol. 5, Dorking, 1978 [1806], p. 4. and Vol. 3, Dorking, 1978 [1803], pp. 28–9.
 57. G.A., 'Some English Place Names', *Cornhill Magazine*, 54, 1881, p. 569. For the discussion in *The Western Antiquary*, see I, Jan. 1882, p. 164; I, Feb. 1882, pp. 172, 199; I, March 1882, p. 203.
 58. I. Taylor, *Words and Places*, London, 1864; 2nd expanded edition London, 1865. I have only seen the 4th edition edited by A. Smythe Palmer (London, 1909), but this follows the 1865 edition. In the 1909 edition, the

- quotation is on p. 171. In the much reprinted Everyman edition (London, 1911), it occurs on p. 184
59. The only copy of this manuscript dates from 1750 and is in the hands of Henry Ustick (1720–69). It is now in the Royal Institution of Cornwall. The passage can be found in O.J. Padel, *The Cornish Writings of the Boson Family*, Redruth, 1975, p. 24, with Padel's useful footnotes on p. 35. The text was written at some time between 1675 and 1708, as discussed in M. Spriggs, 'The Reverend Joseph Sherwood: A Cornish Language Will-'O-the-Wisp', in P. Payton, 1998 p. 55. For the family of Harris of Hayne, see A. Pool, 'Harris of Kenegie', *Old Cornwall*, 4.7, 1948, pp. 224–7. The family connection with West Cornwall goes back to at least 1591, and the Cornish motto was perhaps adopted at about that time.
 60. See W.C. Borlase, 'The Ustick Manuscript from the MSS. of Dr Borlase', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 21, 1879, pp. 182–9. Jenner, 1904, p. 11, might just be referring to Taylor's claim, but he had read *Nebbaz Gerriau* in 1877 or 1878 and had then copied about half of it (which would have included the relevant section), even before its publication in 1879: see p. 32.
 61. J. Loth, 'Reste de Brittonique en Devon au XIVE Siècle', *Revue Celtique*, 34, 1913, pp. 180–1, reports a possible instance of Brittonic but (he claims) not Cornish speech from fourteenth century Devon in a boundary document. This is referred to approvingly by Williams, 1995, p. 80, but Oliver Padel has pointed out to me that Loth's 'due Glas' in the bounds of Brentmoor is actually the latin 'duae' (two) and that there are other instances of renderings of latin -ae as -e in these texts. The word thus provides no evidence for the survival of Brittonic speech in Devon.
 62. Williams, 1995, pp. 82–3. For 'Glas' see J.E.B. Gover et al., *The Place Names of Devon*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1931, p. 6 under Glaze Brook.
 63. Quoted in Appendix 1 under 1602.
 64. W. Hals, *History of Cornwall*, BL Add. Ms. 29762. When discussing the late survival of Cornish in Feock parish on fo. 76r, Hals cross references his discussion of John Moreman under Menheniot on fo. 176r where his sources are Prince and Hooker (see below). The implication of his cross-reference, and back reference to Feock and Creed where he gives supposed Cornish forms of the Communion service and the Creed and gives the Carew quote cited earlier (fo. 38r for Creed), is of previous Cornish language use. His next discussion, however, is of the recall of 'all Bookes of the Latine Service' (fo. 178r).
 65. J. Prince, *Damnonii Orientales Illustres, or the Worthies of Devon*, Exeter, 1701, pp. 452–3. He is quoting John Hooker (alias Vowell). *Synopsis of Devon*, BL Harleian Ms. 5827, which I have not consulted. This is also quoted by W.J. Blake, 'The Rebellion of Cornwall and Devon in 1549' (Part 1), *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 18.1, 1910, p. 167. Hooker was a pupil of Moreman in Menheniot in the 1530s: see J. Youings 'The South-Western Rebellion of 1549', *Southern History*, 1, 1979, p. 115, where it is suggested that Moreman was responding to Bishop Voysey's instructions of 1538.

66. D. Defoe, *A Tour Thro' Great Britain*, London, 1742, p. 325. Also in the 1724 edition, p. 86 of Letter III. 'Southold', more correctly South Hole, is in Hartland, Devon.
67. R.M. Nance, 'The Cornish Language in the Seventeenth Century', *Old Cornwall*, 6.1, 1962, pp. 20–6. A.S.D. Smith, *The Story of the Cornish Language*, Camborne, 1947, p. 9, quotes a paper of Nance as stating that 'Some of the statements in Jenner's *Handbook* he would have altered himself if he had brought out a new edition; as I know, from having discussed these points with him'. Nance then goes on to dismiss the idea that Cornish was spoken at Menheniot in Tudor times or across the border in Devon in the late medieval period. Smith gives no details of the source for the paper by Nance.
68. Quoted in Appendix 5, p. 331 of W.J. Blake, 'The Rebellion of Cornwall and Devon in 1549' (Part 2), *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 18.2, 1911, pp. 300–38. D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia: Cornwall*, London, 1814, p. iv citing Hooker also make it clear that he was 'speaking of the kingdom at large' in referring to Moreman's innovation of using English in the service.
69. See footnote 37 above for discussion of Abalain, 1989.
70. Holmes, 1979. These areas of English place-names were first delineated by N.J.G. Pounds, 'Cornwall's Eastern Frontier', *Old Cornwall*, 3.10, 1941, pp. 398–401.
71. Julian Holmes and I were preparing our papers at the same time and I was able to consult his only at a late stage of preparation of this paper. From his paper I note additional examples of the 1100–1200 AD sound shifts which do not occur on my Figure 2 for the parishes of St Breock, Lostwithiel, Roche, and Treneglos. To his own lists I would add St Breward, Budock, Camborne, St Clement, St Columb Minor, Constantine, St Dennis, Gerrans, St Gluvias, Gorran, St Issey, St Just in Roseland, Kenwyn, Ladock, additional examples from Little Petherick and Luxulyan, Newlyn East, Probus, St Stephen in Brannel and Stithians. Only some of these occur in the eastern area with which he is immediately concerned. Additional sources are: C. Henderson, 'Some Old Names on Black-More', *Old Cornwall*, 1.6, 1927, pp. 1–5; P. Hodge, *The History of Cornish in the Parish of St Stephen in Brannel*, Gwincar, 1998; Holmes, 1979 and pers. comm.; R.M. Nance, 'Some Old Cornish Weirs', *Old Cornwall*, 3.6, 1939, pp. 225–8; O.J. Padel, 'Cornish Language Notes 1', *Cornish Studies*, 1, 1973, pp. 57–59; J. Whetter, 'Gorran Historical Notes: Place-Names', *Old Cornwall*, 12.2 1998, 39–40; Williams, 1995, p. 84.
72. The dialect words of interest include *mooldy* (St Ewe, and on north coast east to Gwithian) and *bannel* (only found in St Austell, St Ewe and St Dennis) for the south coast, and *widden* and *pig's crow* (both east to St Agnes) for the north coast; information from North, 1991, pp. 110–14. The *-n* to *-dn* and *-m* to *-bm* shifts on which the 1600 AD boundary is based in Figures 4 and 7 are listed in Appendix 2, with sources.
73. For Tregear see Appendix 1 under 1555–8. The idea that he was associated with Newlyn East comes from P.B. Ellis, *The Cornish Language and its*

- Literature*, London, 1974, p. 65, but no source is given for the statement. This idea is repeated by Williams, 1995, p. 75, again without reference, and is accepted by Dunbar and George, 1997, p. 62. The parish of St Allen is adjacent to Newlyn East. The southern end of the Holmes–George 1600 line was drawn to take in the 1595 reference to St Ewe (see Appendix 1).
74. See A.C. Thomas, *Exploration of a Drowned Landscape*, London, 1985, p. 36, quoted in Dunbar and George, 1997, p. 63. See also C. Thomas, 'A Glossary of Spoken English in the Isles of Scilly', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. 8.2, 1979, pp. 109–47.
75. For this latter point see reference to 'After 1640 Feock' in Appendix 1. The other references referred to in the text can be found there by year concerned.
76. C. Thomas, 'The Irish Settlements in Post-Roman Western Britain: a Survey of the Evidence', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. 6.4, 1972, p. 271.
77. We have good evidence of Cornish being known in Newlyn and Mousehole from this period, areas adjacent to the larger centre of Penzance, presumably where much of the fish from those ports would have been sold. See D. Barrington, 'On the Expiration of the Cornish Language', *Archaeologia*, 3, 1776, pp. 279–84; D. Barrington, 'Mr Barrington on some Additional Information relative to the Continuance of the Cornish Language', *Archaeologia*, 5, 1779, pp. 81–6. See also Appendix 1 under 1756 to 1800 for further references.
78. Jenner, 1904, pp. 13–14, 21. He must have examined the Banks correspondence some time prior to 1874, as he also refers to it in *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1873–4, p. 182, where he states he had examined the letter 'some time ago'. The source for the Spanish State Papers is given as BL Add. Ms. 28,240.
79. From J. Brooke, 'Open Workings', *Old Cornwall*, 12.7, 2000, pp. 22–3.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

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Cover illustration: A.L. Rowse revisits his old Elementary School at Carclaze, near St Austell, Cornwall (reproduced by kind permission of Grindley Studios of Tregrehan).

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