

## "WILLIAM OF WORCESTER," DEVON'S EARLIEST TOPOGRAPHER.

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

(Read at St. Marychurch, July, 1886.)

THE personality of William of Worcester need not concern us much. His claim to our notice is that of being the earliest writer on Devonshire topography, for his jottings were made more than four centuries ago. Still we may well preface to the record of his local notes a few particulars concerning himself.\*

William's father was a man of family and position—another William, likewise surnamed "of Worcester;" and his mother Elizabeth Bottoner, who came of a wealthy mercantile family. Commonly known as William of Worcester, our author is also known as William Bottoner, and seems himself to have preferred this latter appellation. Born at Bristol in 1415, he studied at Oxford, where he is said to have become famous for his knowledge of history, medicine, and astronomy, and to have made sundry acceptable classical translations. Probably a little learning went a long way. His Latin does not impress us with a very high opinion, at any rate, of his linguistic attainments. He became seneschal, secretary, physician, and friend of Sir John Fastolf, and eventually his executor. His declining years he spent in Bristol, occupying his leisure in gardening, and in collecting topographical notes touching his native city. He appears to have died in 1484.

\* Much to my regret, when I had made considerable progress with this paper, I found that my friend, Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, had intended to take up the subject, and had made preparations accordingly. I should have preferred therefore to leave it in his hands; but he has decided to stand aside, and, with a kindness which I cannot too heartily acknowledge, has placed at my disposal his own materials, including some works of great rarity.

The *Itinerary* of William of Worcester is a rough common-place book, wherein he entered things which struck him while on his journeys, and noted such items of information as he gathered from all manner of persons, and thought worthy of preservation. He was a fourteenth-century topographical Captain Cuttle, and made notes whenever and wherever opportunity served. His own observations appear to have been taken with a fair amount of care; but in other particulars we are continually being reminded of the fallibility of hearsay evidence. With the exception of a few passages in very quaint English, the *Itinerary* is written in rugged mediæval Latin, with an occasional resort to a word in the vernacular when the pseudo-classical equivalent was not handy. The MS. is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and has only once found its way into print in anything like a complete form, when edited by Nasmith in 1778. This volume has now become very scarce, and as a consequence the writings of William of Worcester are very little known, save the Bristol part of the *Itinerary*, of which an excellent edition was published nearly fifty years since by Mr. Dallaway.

The present paper contains all the passages of William's work relating to Devon. These are mostly connected with a journey made by him to St. Michael's Mount in 1478, when he was in his 64th year. The Latin original is given as contained in Nasmith, and on the opposite pages will be found a translation which it has been sought to make fairly literal. The variations in the names of places in the original are very curious; in the translation they are given in the modern form.

Mr. Nasmith's transcript is not free from errors. Some are easily detected, but others give considerable difficulty. The MS. is written in a peculiarly-crabbed hand; and, as anyone can see, the style of our author is not the clearest. His jottings, however, embody such a large amount of valuable information touching mediæval Devon, that they are worth some little pains. Hence they have been somewhat freely annotated. All explanatory words introduced into the text are enclosed in brackets; the editorial character of the notes will be apparent. Omitted passages are indicated by dots. I cannot congratulate myself upon having solved all the knotty points that present themselves; but the reproduction of the original Latin will enable those who are interested in the subject to draw their own conclusions, and to correct any slips.



## THE ITINERARY.

*Incipiunt notabilia per W. Worcestre scripto in viagio de Bristolia ad Montem Sancti Michaelis in anno Christi 1478.*

\* Aqua, quæ currit per Kyrton, incipit apud Orford per 5 miliaria ex parte occidentali de Kyrton, et currit per Orford et Old Kyrton, necnon ad Newton per 3 miliaria de Kyrton, et per Bramfordpyne per unum miliare de Newton, et tunc cadit in aquam Excestriæ prope villam in pontem, et tunc currit cum aqua Excestriæ usque portum Hamons de Upson per 3 miliaria de Excestre.

*In kalendario martirologii monasterii de Newnam prope Axmyster, ubi dominus Cobham habet pulchrum manerium.*

Dominus Thomas Broke, quondam dominus de Cobham, 12 die augusti.

Thomas de Brytton, episcopus Exoniensis 26 die septembris.

Walterus Stapulton, episcopus Exoniensis 15 die octobris. 1445. Walterus Bonvyle.

Thomas Holbroke, chevalier, 15 die novembris obiit.

Domina Johanna, domina de Cobham, Regenaldi Baybroke, 13 die januarii.

Reginaldus Mann, primus fundator Newnam, 20 die januarii.

Dominus Johannes Ryly miles, 10 die marcii.

Johannes Hewn 3<sup>ius</sup>, 8 die julii obiit.

Johannes Grauntsin, episcopus Exoniensis, obiit 16 die julii.

Nicholaus Bonevyle miles 4 die Augusti.

Willelmus Cheyny miles 6 die Augusti obiit.

Sancta Whyte, Candida, virgo jacet apud ecclesiam Whytechyrch per . . . miliaria de Cherde, et dedicatur die Pentecosten.

Sancta Regina, id est Reyn, virgo in ecclesia prope Crockgyn in comitatu Somersetiæ.

Aqua quæ currit per villam Lamport habet originem ultra Shyrbern villam per tria miliaria, et currit per villas Yeville, Yeldchestre et Lamport usque Myghell-borough, et ibi currit in flumen villæ Tanton, et insimul transit per pontem de Brygewater.

## THE ITINERARY.

*The beginning of the notes written by William of Worcester on his journey from Bristol to St. Michael's Mount, in the year of Christ 1478.*

The water which runs by Crediton [the Creedy] begins at Orford, five miles westward of Crediton, and runs by Orford and Old Crediton, and also to Newton [St. Cyres], three miles from Crediton, and by Brampford Pyne, one mile from Newton, and then it falls into the water of Exeter, near the town at the bridge, and then it runs with the water of Exeter to the haven-port of Topsham, three miles from Exeter."\*

*In the martyrs' kalendar of the monastery of Newenham, near Axminster, where Lord Cobham has a fair manor.*

Lord Thomas Broke, late lord of Cobham, twelfth day of August.

Thomas de Bitton, bishop of Exeter, 26th day of September.

Walter Stapledon, bishop of Exeter, 15th day of October.

1445. Walter Bonville.

Thomas Holbroke, knight, died 15th day of November.

Lady Johanna, lady of Cobham, Reginald Baybroke, 13th day of January.

Reginald Mohun, first founder of Newenham, 20th day of January.

Lord John Ryly, knight, 10th day of March.

John Hewn the third, died 8th day of July.

John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, died 16th day of July.

Nicholas Bonville, knight, 4th day of August.

William Cheyny, knight, died 6th day of August.

Saint White (Candida), virgin, lies in the church of Wytechurch, . . . miles from Chard, and dedicated the day of Pentecost.

Saint Queen, that is Reyn [Fr. *reine*] virgin lies in a church near Crewkerne, in the county of Somerset.

The water which runs by the town of Langport has its rise three miles beyond the town of Sherborne, and runs by the towns of Yeovil, Ilchester, and Langport to Boroughbridge, and there it runs into the river of Taunton town, and together they pass by the bridge of Bridgewater.

\* Orford here is possibly Washford, which lies to the north of Crediton; Old Crediton is a name unknown to me; Brampford Pyne is manifestly a twinned jumble of *Brampford Speke* and *Upton Pyne*.



*In kalendario monasterii Newnham per 1 miliaria de Axmyster.*

Sanctus Robertus, abbas Cisterciensis, 29 die aprilis.

Sanctus Hugo, abbas Cisterciensis, 29 die aprilis.

Dedicacio ecclesiae de Newnham 18 die aprilis, in honore beatae Mariae.

Translacio spiniae coronae domini die 11 augusti.

Sanctus Malachius, monachus de Hibernia, Episcopus, 5 novembris obiit.

Johannas Fastolf, chevalier non de Anglia, obiit . . .

*Sancti sequentes secundum informacionem fratris Johannis Burges ordinis praedicatorum Excestriae.*

Sanctus Walfricus sacerdos jacet in ecclesia . . . inter Yeville et Crokehorn.

Sanctus Brandwellanus, filius regis, confessor, jacet in ecclesia villae de Branston, per 8 miliaria de Axmyster, et per 4 miliaria de le south-see.

Sancta Sativola, virgo canonizata, jacet in ecclesia Sancti Volae civitatis Exoniae ultra pontem\* orientalem.

Sanctus Walterus, monachus ordinis Bekeherlewyn in Normannia, sed natus de civitate Norwici, et ducens religiosam vitam in monasterio de Cowwyke ultra portem occidentalem Excestriae per dimidiam miliaris et est canonizatus, ut in legenda vitae suae inscribitur, quod natus fuit in civitate Norwici.

*Ecclesia monasterii Newnam ordinis Sancti Benedicti.*

Longitudo ecclesiae Newnam continet 100 steppys; et ejus latitudo, videlicet brachiorum continet 76 steppys; et longitudo chori continet 40 steppys.

Castellum de Excestre fundatum per dominum Rothmonde baronem dictae civitatis.

Ecclesia cathedralis Excestriae primo fundata per Athelstanum regem Angliae.

. . . . .

Myned portus proximus ultra Bryggewater versus Devonshyre.

Combe portus id est Ilfercombe.

Barstable portus sequitur.

. . . . .

\* Clearly a miscript or misprint for portem.

*In the kalendar of the monastery of Newenham, one mile from Axminster.*

Saint Robert, Cistercian abbot, 29th day of April.

Saint Hugh, Cistercian abbot, 29th day of April.

Dedication of the church of Newenham, 18th day of April, in honour of the blessed Mary.

Translation of the Lord's crown of thorns, 11th of August.

Saint Malachi, monk of Ireland, bishop, died 5th November.

John Fastolf, knight, not of England, died . . .

*The following saints after the information of Brother John Burges, of the Dominican order, Exeter.*

Saint Wulfric, priest, lies in the church [of Haselbury] between Yeovil and Crewkerne.

Saint Brandwell, king's son, confessor, lies in the church of the town of Branscombe [?], eight miles from Axminster, and four miles from the south sea.

Saint Sidwell, canonized virgin, lies in the church of Saint Sidwell, beyond the east gate of the city of Exeter.

Saint Walter, monk, of the order of Bekeherlewyn, in Normandy, but born in the city of Norwich, and leading a religious life in the monastery of Cowick, half a mile beyond the west gate of Exeter, is canonized, and it is written in the legend of his life that he was born in the city of Norwich.

*The church of the monastery of Newenham, of the order of St. Benedict.*

The length of the church of Newenham contains a hundred steps; and its breadth, that is to say [with the] transepts, contains seventy-six steps; and the length of the choir contains forty steps.\*

The castle of Exeter was founded by Lord Rougemont, baron of the said city.†

The church of the cathedral of Exeter was first founded by Æselstan, king of England.

The port of Minehead comes next beyond Bridgewater towards Devonshire.

Combe port, that is Ilfracombe.

Barnstaple port follows.

\* Worcester's steps are generally considered equivalent to twenty inches. This would make the dimensions of Newenham Abbey Church—length, 166 ft. 8 in.; breadth, 126 ft. 8 in.; length of choir, 66 ft. 8 in.

† A very amusing blunder. The name of the site—the "red hill"—converted into that of the founder.



1420. 5 nonas Julii, dominus Edmundus Lacy, sacrae theologiae professor, ab ecclesia Herford consecratus episcopus exoniensis per mortem domini Johannes Kateryk; qui Edmundus obiit apud Chiddlegh 10 Septembris, anno Christi 1455.

1288. Ecclesia nova sedis cathedralis Exoniensis est de novo fundata a Petro episcopo dictae sedis.

*Ecclesiae de Excestre.*

Rex Athelstanus est fundator primus hujus ecclesiae.

Longitudo navis 100 steppys }  
Longitudo chori 90 steppys } 190 gradus.

Longitudo brachiorum ecclesiae 90 steppys.

Spacium inter columpnas 10 steppys.

Longitudo claustrum continet 66 steppys ex parte orientali.

Longitudo de le new chapiter-howse a nova orientali fenestra facta per Georgium Nevyle episcopum 30 steppys.

Item quaelibet fenestra in le ovyrhistory continet 5 vel 6 pagettas anglice panys; et quaelibet fenestra in le elis ecclesiae continet 5 pagettas pulchras.

Et toto ecclesiae desuper est archuata, pulcherrimo modo.

Pons Excestriae super Ex-water continet 16 archis.

Longitudo pontis praedicti continet 200 steppys meos computatos.

Ab Excestre usque Seynt Mary Otteray x miliaria.

Et ab Otteray usque Axmyster x miliaria.

Et ab Axmyster usque Taunton 12 miliaria.

Castrum de Excestre vocatur castellum Rugemond.

Pons de Honyton-clist-water per 3 miliaria de Excestre.

Fons dictae aquae incipit in Exmore ex parte boreali et orientali per circa x miliaria et cadit in mare apud Exmouth havyn.

Exmouth havyn distat ab Excestre versus meridiem videlicet 6 miliaria.

1420. 11th of July, Lord Edmund Lacy, professor of holy theology, from the church of Hereford, was consecrated bishop of Exeter upon the death of Lord John Catryk, which Edmund died at Chudleigh, Sept. 10th, in the year of Christ 1455.

1288. The new church of the see of the cathedral of Exeter, is newly founded by Peter, bishop of the said see.\*

*The [cathedral] church of Exeter.*

King Ædelstan is the first founder of this church.

Length of the nave 100 steps } 190 paces.

Length of the choir 90 steps }

Length of the transepts of the church 90 steps.

Space between the columns ten steps.

The length of the cloisters contains sixty-six steps eastward.

The length of the new chapter house to the new east window, made by George Neville, bishop, thirty steps.†

Item every window in the clerestory contains five or six lights, and every window in the aisles of the church contains five fair lights.

And the whole of the church is vaulted over in the fairest fashion.

The bridge of Exeter [Old Exe Bridge] above Exe-water contains sixteen arches.

The length of the aforesaid bridge contains 200 steps of my reckoning.‡

From Exeter to St. Mary Ottery ten miles.

And from Ottery to Axminster ten miles.

And from Axminster to Taunton twelve miles.

The castle of Exeter is called the castle of Rougemont.

The bridge of Honiton-clist-water three miles from Exeter.

The spring of the said water begins in Exmoor about ten miles to the north-east, and it falls into the sea at Exmouth haven.§

Exmouth haven distant from Exeter towards the south, that is to say six miles.

\* That is, by Bishop Quivil, the great master-builder of the present edifice, who commenced, and largely carried out, the transformation of the previous Norman structure.

† The dimensions given reduced to the 20-inch scale are: nave, 166 ft. 8 in.; choir, 150 feet; transepts, 150 feet; space between columns, 16 ft. 8 in.; cloisters, 109 feet; chapter house, 50 feet.

‡ Or 110 yards.

§ It really rises at Black Down, but the direction is given fairly.



Pons fluminis villæ Seynt Mary Otteray, qui distat a villa de Excestre eundo versus Axmyster et Taunton.

Incipit fons ejus apud Otreyford, per 4 miliaria in parte boreali de Seynt Mary Otrey, et cadit in portu Otyrmouth havyn, et sic dicta aqua currit per terram circa novem miliaria.

Axmyster villa distat ab Excestre 20 miliaria.

Ax-water currit per villam Axmyster, ubi est pons magna, et incipit ejus fons per 4 miliaria in boreali et orientali ultra villam Axmyster per 8 miliaria, et cadit in mari apud portum vocatum Seton-havyn per distantiam 5 miliarium ab Axmyster ex parte meridionali.

Castellum de Excestre.

Castellum de Wodbery castel scitum circa sex miliaria de Excestre ex parte orientali et meridionali, stat.

Sylla vocata Islond continet in longitudine IIII. miliaria et latitudo 4.

Seynt Mary island continet in longitudine 4 miliaria et latitudine 4 miliaria; pertinet abbati Tavystock.

Insula Rascow pertinet abbati Tavystock, continet in longitudine 3 miliaria, et in latitudine 3 miliaria, inculta cum cuniculis et avibus vocatis pophyns.

*Nominia principalium fluminum in Cornubia.*

Thamar aqua famosissima in Cornubia.

Tavy incipit a . . . et vadit per Tavystok.

Plym incipit in Dertmore per 14 miliaria in parte boreali, et vadit usque portum villæ Plymton.

Erm magnum flumen incipit in Dertmore, et currit usque villam . . . de le south see.

Yalm water incipit in Dertmore, et vadit ad villam . . . per 18 miliaria . . .

Avyn water incipit in Dertmore, et vadit per . . . in portum . . .

The bridge of the river of the town of St. Mary Ottery, which is distant from the city of Exeter thence towards Axminster and Taunton.

Its spring begins at Otterford, four miles northward of St. Mary Ottery, and it falls into the port of Ottermouth haven, and thus the said water runs through the land about nine miles.

Axminster town distant twenty miles from Exeter.

Axe-water runs by the town of Axminster, where there is a great bridge, and its spring begins four miles to the north-east, eight miles beyond the town of Axminster, and it falls into the sea at the port called Seaton haven, by the distance of five miles from Axminster southward.\*

Castle of Exeter.

The castle of Woodbury castle is situated about six miles from Exeter on the south-east. It stands

The island called Scilly contains in length four miles and breadth four.

Saint Mary island contains in length four miles and in breadth four miles. It belongs to the abbot of Tavistock.

The island of Tresco belongs to the abbot of Tavistock. It contains in length three miles and in breadth three miles. Uncultivated, with conies and birds called puffins.†

*Names of the chief rivers in Cornwall. ‡*

Tamar, the most famous water in Cornwall.

Tavy begins at . . . and goes by Tavistock.

Plym begins in Dartmoor, fourteen miles to the northward, and goes to the port of the town of Plympton.

Erme, a great river, begins in Dartmoor, and runs to the town . . . of the south sea.

Yealm-water begins in Dartmoor, and goes to the town . . . eighteen miles.

Avon-water begins in Dartmoor, and goes by . . . into the port . . .

\* In a straight line the whole course of the Axe from rise to embouchure would be about twenty miles, but the actual length is double this. The source is more than twice the distance given.

† These puffins played an important part in the financial history of Scilly. In 1345 Ralph de Blanchminster held the island under the Duchy of Cornwall, as of the honour of Launceston, by the annual rent of 300 puffins, at Michaelmas; and a century later Scilly was held by Sir John Colshill, of whom more anon, by the annual render of 50 puffins, or 6s. 8d.

‡ Our author here evidently includes Devon under this head, but elsewhere recognises the two counties as distinct. Most of the distances given in this list are approximately accurate.



Dert aqua magna incipit in Dertmore, et est major flumen omnium fluminum, et currit per Toteness per spacium xx miliariorum de fonte, et deinde currit usque Dertmouth havyn.

Tengmouth, id est Kenton, aqua incipit in Dertmore, et currit per xx miliaria, per . . . et cadit in mare apud Tengmouth.

Exwater incipit apud Exmore per 30 miliaria ex parte boriali Excester, currit per Bamton, qui distat usque Kyrton per spacium 15 miliariorum, a villa Kyrton usque civitatem Excetyr currit per spacium 7 miliariorum, et ab Excetyr currit usque Topsam, sunt 3 miliaria, et de Topsam currit usque villam Exmouth-havyn per spacium vi miliariorum, et ibi cadit in mare meridionale.

Sancta Morwinna virgo jacet in ecclesia [quæ] stat per 11 miliaria de Seynt Nichtons, ubi duo fontes duorum fluminum oriuntur, viz. Thamar flumen qui seperat Cornubiam et Devoniam, et terminat apud le havyn de Salt-ash juxta Plymouth per tria miliaria, et dictum flumen Thamar currit per Lanceston prope tria miliaria dictæ villæ, et de Ferywater vocat. Calstokyath per tria miliaria de Tavystok usque Kaergroyn, et deinde usque portum Salt-ash, ubi cadit in portu maris, in tota currit circa 40 miliaria: et alterum flumen vocatur Torge et currit per Haderlee Toryton Bydyford; et cadit in mare apud portum sive Hamonem de Appuldore-port, et sic currit per terram in circuitu per estimacionem 40 miliaria ex parte boriali.

Flumen aquæ de Newbrygge per 5 miliaria ultra Taystock vocatur Lyner et ejus fons incipit . . .

Lyscard x miliaria usque

Tavystock, et a dicta villa usque

Okynham 16 miliaria, et a dicta villa . . .

Dart, a great water, begins in Dartmoor, and is the chief river of all the rivers [of Dartmoor], and runs by Totness for the space of twenty miles from its source, and thence it runs to Dartmouth haven.

Teignmouth, that is Kenton, water\* begins in Dartmoor, and runs for twenty miles, by . . . and falls into the sea at Teignmouth.

Exe-water begins at Exmoor, thirty miles to the northward of Exeter; runs by Bampton, whence the distance to Crediton is by the space of fifteen miles; from the town of Crediton to the city of Exeter it runs by the space of seven miles; and from Exeter it runs to Topsham, being three miles; and from Topsham it runs to the town of Exmouth-haven, for the space of six miles, and there it falls into the south sea.†

Saint Morwenna, virgin, lies in a church [Morwenstow], which is situated eleven miles from Stoke St. Nectans [Hartland], where from two springs two rivers rise, namely, the river Tamar, which divides Cornwall and Devon, and ends at the haven of Saltash, next Plymouth by three miles, and the said river Tamar runs by Launceston, near three miles from the said town, and from the Ferrywater called Calstockyath,‡ three miles from Tavistock, to Cargreen, and thence to the port of Saltash, where it falls into the seaway—in all it runs about forty miles. And the other river is called the Torridge, and it runs by Hatherleigh, Torrington, and Bideford, and it falls into the sea at the port or haven of Appledore port, and thus it takes a circuit through the land northward by estimation forty miles.

The river of the water of Newbridge five miles beyond Tavistock [is] called Lynher, and its source begins§

Liskeard ten miles to

Tavistock, and from the said town to

Okehampton sixteen miles, and from the said town . . .

\* A very curious blunder, the Kenne, whence Kenton, falls into the Exe.

† Here again is another remarkable slip. Crediton is by the Creedy, not the Exe. The distances are so much more exact that it is probable the error is Worcester's own, and not his informants'. Perhaps the real fault is in his style, and he did not mean to convey that Crediton was actually on the Exe. Indeed he gives the Creedy *ante*.

‡ This seems to mean simply that there was a ferry at what is now Calstock, and therefore an accustomed route between Devon and Cornwall. Probably the ferry was at or near the site of Gunnislake New Bridge, which Leland in the following century records as then built.

§ Vide *post*.



Tavy aqua sub monasterio Tavystoke currit; incipit in forest Dartemore scita per duo miliaria ex parte orientali villæ de Tavystoke; sed dicta aqua sive fons incipit in dicta foresta ultra 8 miliaria villæ Tavystoke, et vadit per abbatiam de Bokelond per 4 miliaria de Tavystok, et inde per parochialem ecclesiam de Beereferrys ubi les sylver mynes fodiuntur, et abinde cadit in aquam de Tamar infra spacium miliaris supradicti portus.

Pons aquæ Lyners vocat Newbryge distat ex parte meridionali et orientali de Tavystoke per 5 miliaria, id est a villa de Liscard eundo versus monasterium Tavystoke.

Okynhampton.

Styklpath distat a Okynton 8 miliaria, et ibi est fons vocatus Tow-water, et incipit per tria miliaria ex parte meridionali, et vadit per mare septemtrionale per Ydy usque Barstaple.

Zeele villa sequitur prope Stykylpath per unum miliare. Crokornwylle distat per 10 miliaria de Okynhampton inter dictam villam et Crokyniwelle, et distat ab Excestre 10 miliaria.

Excestre civitas.

*Informacio Thomæ Peperelle de Tavystoke notarii publici.*

Sanctus Ramonus episcopus Hiberniæ jacet in scrinio in ecclesia abbatiæ de Tavystoke inter chorum et capellam Beatæ Mariæ; et ejus dies translacionis agitur 5 die januarii, vigiliæ epiphaniæ, et ejus dies obitus agitur die 28 Augusti.

Sanctus Barnocus, anglice Barnoc, heremita jacet apud Bramton per 4 miliaria ex parte norwest de Berstaple; fuit filius regis Calabriæ; ejus dies agitur 7 die januarii.

Castrum quadratum de Lydiford fundatum fuit antiquis annis preteritis per primores Cornubiæ tunc conver . . .

Pons profundissimus tocus Angliæ sub ponte et strictus . . .

Tavy-water runs by Tavistock monastery. It begins in the forest of Dartmoor, which lies two miles to the eastward of the town of Tavistock; but the said water or spring begins in the said forest eight miles beyond the town of Tavistock, and it goes by the abbey of Buckland Monachorum, four miles from Tavistock, and thence by the parish church of Beer Ferrers, where the silver mines were digged;\* and thence it falls into the water of Tamar, within the space of a mile from the before-mentioned port.

The bridge of Lynher-water,† called Newbridge [is] distant five miles to the southward and eastward of Tavistock—that is from the town of Liskeard going towards Tavistock monastery. Okehampton.

Sticklepath [is] distant three miles from Okehampton, and there is the spring called Taw-water, and it begins three miles to the southward, and it goes to the northern sea by Ydy [? Egges(ford)] to Barnstaple.

[South] Zeal, the next town near Sticklepath, by one mile. Crockernwell [is] distant ten miles from Okehampton, between the said town and Crockernwell, and [is] distant from Exeter ten miles.‡

Exeter city.

*Information by Thomas Peperelle§ of Tavistock, notary public.*

Saint Rumon,|| an Irish bishop, lies in a shrine in the abbey church of Tavistock, between the choir and the Lady Chapel; and his translation day is kept on the fifth day of January, the vigil of the Epiphany, and his obit day is kept on the 28th day of August.

Saint Barnoc, the hermit, lies at Braunton, four miles north-west of Barnstaple. He was the son of a king of Calabria. His day is kept on the seventh day of January.

The square castle of Lydford was anciently founded, in years gone by, by the chief men of Cornwall, then conver—

The bridge, the deepest in all England under the bridge, and narrow. . . .

\* Beer silver lead mines were of importance in the reign of Edward I.

† The Notter, crossed near its head at "Newbridge" by the road from Callington to Liskeard. Worcester apparently did not hear it called by this name.

‡ From Okehampton on we have a note of the road between that place and Exeter. The confused reference to Crockernwell is evidently intended to mean that place is equidistant between Okehampton and Exeter.

§ The Peperells are found in the next century in good positions in Plymouth.

|| Tavistock abbey was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Rumon.



Flumen pontis altissimi sub castro de Lydyford per sex miliaria de Tavystoke, et 6 usque Tokynton; currit de Dertmore fons ejus per 10 miliaria ex parte boriali maris prope villam Seynt Nyghtow, et currit usque aquam portu de Plymouth.

Castrum prenobile de Okehampton prope villam Okehampton per 12 miliaria de Tavystoke versus orientam et Excestriam, quondam Thomæ Curteny comitis Devoniae, edificatum per Thomam primum comitem.

Fons fluminis de Okehampton currit sub castro supradicto, incipit apud Cremere in Thertmore et currit usque Lydiford\* villam et ad Barstaple, incidem in mare boriale portus Barstaple.

*Memorandum de ortu foncium et aquarum fluminum in comitatu Cornubiæ et Devoniae.*

Excestre aqua incipit . . .

Tyngmouth flumen, aqua proxima versus Myghellmont incipit apud . . .

Flumen Deerso, quod vadit ad hamonem villæ Totenese et sic usque Dartemouth.

Flumen Plymouth.

Flumen Tavystoke incipit circa 3 miliaria ex parte boriali Tavystoke, cadit in Ashwater.

Flumen Plinmouth.

Flumen pontis Riale incipit in parte boriali Launceston per tria miliaria, cadit in Ashwater: prima aqua Tamar, ubi est passagium per decem miliaria ad mare meridionale.

Insula parva, anglice a rok, vocata Edestone, scita south et north ex opposito Plymouth, aliter dicta le forland de Raume opyn upon Plymmouth, et jacet in the narrow-see per circa 15 miliaria.

\* Probably an error in transcription or the press. Bideford seems the place intended.

The river of the highest of bridges (by the castle of Lydford, six miles from Tavistock, and six to Okehampton) runs from Dartmoor, its source, ten miles northward of the sea near the town of Stoke St. Nectan, and it runs to the water of the port of Plymouth.\*

The famous castle of Okehampton, near the town of Okehampton, twelve miles from Tavistock, towards the east and Exeter, heretofore of Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, built by Thomas, first earl.

The source of the river of Okehampton [which] runs by the before-mentioned castle, begins at Cranmere in Dartmoor, and it runs to Bideford town and to Barnstaple, and falls into the north sea at the port of Barnstaple.

*Memorandum of spring heads and river waters in the counties of Cornwall and Devon.*

Exeter-water begins . . .

Teignmouth river, the next water towards St. Michael's Mount, begins at . . .

The river Dart, that goes to the haven of the town of Totnes, and thus to Dartmouth.

River Plymouth.†

River Tavistock begins about three miles to the northward of Tavistock, falls into Ash-water.‡

River Plinmouth.†

River Bridgerule begins three miles north of Launceston, falls into Ash-water: the first water of Tamar, where is a passage of ten miles to the north sea.

. . . . .

A little island, in English a rock, called Eddystone, is situated south and north opposite to Plymouth, otherwise called the foreland of Rame open upon Plymouth, and it lies about fifteen miles in the narrow sea.

. . . . .

\* That is, it falls into the Tamar.

† There seems a distinction intended here; and the oldest form as seen in *Domesday* is not Plympton, but Plintona.

‡ The only river at Tavistock is the Tavy, but that does not fall into Ash-water, in which we are probably to identify the Carey, which flows through Ashwater parish to the Tamar above Poulston Bridge; and though not the first, is certainly the first important tributary of that river. But the "river" of Bridgerule is as far to the north of the Carey as Tavistock to the south.



Insula Sancti Nicholai in portu de Plymouth scita continet in longitudine . . . et in latitudine . . .

Et ibi est capella Sancti Nicholai fundata.

Sanctus Juncus jacet in ecclesia de Plynt prope villam de Loo, per 6 miliaria de Fowey, et 14 miliaria de Plynton.

1457 circa, Nicholaus Radford, manens apud Pogh-hylle circa 4 miliaria de Kyrton, juris peritissimus, de concilio domini Bonevyle contra Thomam Corteney comitem Devoniae fuit occisus per Thomam filium comitis seniore, in loco seu domo dicti Radulphi; et dictus Thomas filius postea comes fuit, et fuit capitaneus apud Wakefeld, ubi Ricardus dux Ebor, Georgius comes de Richemond . . . fuere occisi.

*Versus in tabula ecclesiae Tavystok.*

Cum sine spe timor, mox desperatio torquet,  
Et nisi spes timeat, subita presumptio damnat,  
Ergo timor sine spe, nec spes valet obsque timere,  
Sic inferre potest, hic amat, ergo timet,  
Est amor ergo timor, sed non convertitur inde.

Ordulphus dux Cornubiae tempore Edgari regis fundavit monasterium de Tavystoke.

*Versus in kalendario ecclesiae Tavystoke.*

Quo quis a dextris te percute sive sinistro  
Hic perempti sunt pirati sine numero et 12 apud Sulham.

*In kalendario ecclesiae monasterii Tavistoke.*

Sanctus Petrocus confessor, 4 die junii.

Sanctus Nin martir, die 15 junii.

1264. Sancti Simonis de Monte-forti die 4 Augusti.

Sancti Adelwaldi episcopi, die 2 augusti.

Sancti Elidii episcopi, 8 die augusti, jacet in insula Syllys.

Dedicacio ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae de Tavystoke, 21 die augusti.

Sancta Elena Regina, die 25 augusti.

Sanctus Genosius, die 25 augusti.

The island of Saint Nicholas,\* situated in the port of Plymouth, contains in length . . . and in breadth . . . and there a chapel of St. Nicholas is founded.

St. Juncus lies in the church of Pelynt, near the town of Looe, six miles from Fowey, and fourteen miles from Plympton.

About 1457 Nicholas Radford, dwelling at Poughill, about four miles from Crediton, a most skilful lawyer, of the party of Lord Bonville against Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, was killed by Thomas, eldest son of the earl, at the dwelling-place of the said Radford,† and the said Thomas the son was afterwards earl, and was a captain at Wakefield, where Richard Duke of York, George Earl of Richmond . . . were killed.

*Verses on a tablet of the church of Tavistock.*

Despair with speed tormenteth hopeless fear ;  
When hope is fearless comes presumption near ;  
Nor fearless hope, nor hopeless fear, avail apart—  
If a man loves, straight fear is in his heart.  
In love man fear discerns ; though fear to love ne'er turns.

Ordulf, duke of Cornwall, founded the monastery of Tavistock, in the time of King Edgar.

*Verses in the kalendar of the church of Tavistock.*

What matter whether thou art killed on the right or the left.  
Here were slain pirates uncounted, and twelve at Sulham.‡

*In the kalendar of the church of Tavistock monastery.*

Saint Petrock, confessor, 4th day of June.  
Saint Nin, martyr, 15th day of June.  
1264. Saint Simon de Montfort,§ 4th day of August.  
Saint Æthelwald, bishop, 2nd day of August.  
Saint Elid, bishop, 8th day of August, lies in the Scilly Isles.  
Dedication of the Church of St. Mary of Tavistock, 21st day of August.  
Saint Helen, queen, 25th day of August.  
Saint Genosius, 25th day of August.

\* Of late years Drake's Island ; once St. Michael's, and again Tristram's.

† This took place at Radford's house at Upcotts, in part still standing ; and the incident is fully set forth in the Paston letters, where some of the same phrasing is employed. Worcester had associations with the Pastons.

‡ I cannot suggest the reference. The Norsemen who burnt Tavistock can hardly be meant. Sulham is unknown to me as a Devon name.

§ *i.e.* the famous Earl of Leicester of the Barons' War.



Sanctus Rinnom episcopus, die 30 augusti.

Nō + memoria de sancto Hermeto, 28 die augusti.

Nō + memoria de sancto Aidiano martire, 8 die Septembris.

Nō + Sancto Maurio cum sociis vi. m<sup>l</sup>. iii<sup>c</sup>. xxvi.

Longitudo ecclesiæ monasterii Tavystoke continet preter capellam Beatæ Mariæ 126 steppys: et ejus latitudo continet cum 14 steppys latitudinis navis ecclesiæ 21 steppys.

Longitudo navis dictæ ecclesiæ tantum usque ad chorum continet 60 steppys.

Longitudo chori 42 steppys: longitudo capellæ cum transitu circa 36 steppys.

Longitudo ecclesiæ parochialis Tavystoke continet 90 steppys; et ejus latitudo continet 26 steppys.

. . . . .

Insulæ de Scilly sunt sub approtasmento Pii papæ anno 1462, 6 idus julii anno 3<sup>o</sup> pontificatus Pii papæ, ad instanciam abbatis Tavystoke, et domini Johannis Colfylle militis, domini principalium insularum, et dictus abbas est rector dictarum insularum.

. . . . .

Pons magnus est scitus super aquam Tamar, est scitus inter Kylhampton et Lancelton super le Freshwater.

Pons vocatus Polston-brygge scitus super flumen Tamarwater, sequitur per unum miliare de Lancelton ex parte orientali, continet circa 6 arches, per patriam edificatus.

Item pons vocatus Greston-brygge scitus super aquam Thamar per tria miliaria ex parte orientali de Lancelton in medio patriæ.

Pons vocatus Hautes-brygge proxime sequitur super aquam Thamar prope villam Dyrnynton, per unum miliare ex parte orientali de Derynton.

De Hawtys-brygge usque Kellyngton villam sunt 5 miliaria, et aqua fluminis Thamar transit usque Seynt Germain, et deinde usque Kaergrowne, et de Kaergrowne usque Asth, ubi cecidit in mare inter Plymoth et Saltash.

Memorandum quod aqua Thamar incipit apud fontem inter villam Seynt Nyghtens et Torynton.

Saint Rumon, bishop, 30th day of August.

Nō + memory of Saint Hermet, 28th day of August.

Nō + memory of Saint Aidan, martyr, 8th day of September.

Nō + Saint Maurice [with] his fellows 6326.

The length of the church of Tavistock monastery, beyond the Lady Chapel, contains 126 steps; and its breadth contains, with fourteen steps the breadth of the nave of the church, twenty-one steps.

The length of the nave of the said church, up to the choir, contains sixty steps.

The length of the choir forty-two steps; the length of the [Lady] chapel, with the retro-choir, about thirty-six steps.

The length of Tavistock parish church contains ninety steps, and its breadth contains twenty-six steps.\*

The islands of Scilly are under ordinance of Pope Pius, the 20th July, in the year 1462, in the third year of the pontificate of Pope Pius, at the instance of the abbot of Tavistock, and the lord John Colville, knight, lord of the chief islands, and the said abbot is rector of the said islands.

The great bridge is situate upon Tamar-water; it is situate between Kilkhampton and Launceston, on the Freshwater.†

The bridge called Polston bridge is situate upon the river Tamar-water, a mile on from Launceston, eastward. It contains about six arches [and was] built by the country.

Item the bridge called Greston bridge is situate upon Tamar-water, three miles to the eastward of Launceston, between the countries [Devon and Cornwall].

The bridge called Horse bridge comes next upon Tamar-water, near the town of Derryton, one mile to the eastward of Derryton.

From Horse bridge to the town of Callington is five miles, and the water of the river Tamar passes to St. Germans,‡ and thence to Cargreen, and from Cargreen to Saltash, where it falls into the sea between Plymouth and Saltash.

Memorandum that Tamar-water begins at a spring between the towns of St. Nectans and Torrington.

\* These dimensions are: Abbey church, length, 209 feet; breadth, 35 feet; length of nave, 100 feet; length of choir, 70 feet; lady chapel and retro-choir, about 60 feet. Parish church: length, 150 feet; breadth, 43 feet 8 inches.

† There seem to have been local names for parts of the larger rivers in frequent use.

‡ This is of course an error.



*Memorandum de lez havyns Cornubiæ.*

A Pensans usque Plymmouth havyn, et specialiter pertinentes ad havyn de Falmouth sunt 147 portus et crykes.

Inprimis circa villam Falmouth sunt 147 havyns infra spacium 70 miliaria a Tavystoke versus occidentem usque portum Markysew versus occidentem et Pensans.

A Low havyn distat usque Weymouth Saltash 11 miliaria.

A Saltash usque Corgrowne tria miliaria.

Corgrowne prope\* Stavystoke abbotys . . . ibi sunt salmones per duo miliaria de Corgroyn.

Plymouth.

Distat par 3 miliaria de Saltash usque Plymouth.

*Hic finit lez havyns de Cornewayles.*

Item from Patyscoo havyn to Barstaple.

Item from Barstaple to Ilfercombe.

Item from Ilfercombe to Briggewater.

A Wellynton usque Culmyton 10 miliaria.

A Colmyton usque Excestre 10 miliaria.

Excestre.

A Excestre ad Montem Michaelis, prima villa Baytyns ad Crokornwell 10 miliaria.

A Crokornwell to Okynton-castell 10 miliaria.

De Okynton usque Launceston 10 miliaria.

1. Mount Mygell ultra Excestre 100 miliaria.

4. Sanctus Michaelis de Brenton, ubi est capella per 2 miliaria ultra Tavykstoce versus Lanceston.

Fxcetyr xx m to

Okynton, and 15 m to

Lanceston, et est pons vocat. Polston bryge per unam miliare citra Lanceston, ubi Cornubia incipit.

Calstoketrach proper per unum miliare voc. Howtesbrygge per 4 miliaria de Kellyngton.

\* Prope is used here, as occasionally elsewhere, in a very loose fashion.

*Memorandum of the Cornish havens.*

From Penzance to Plymouth haven, and specially appertaining to the haven of Falmouth, are 147 ports and creeks.

First about the town of Falmouth are 147 havens within the space of seventy miles from Tavistock towards the west, to the port of Marazion towards the west and Penzance.

From Looe haven the distance to Weymouth\* Saltash eleven miles.

From Saltash to Cargreen three miles.

Cargreen, near Tavistock abbey . . . there are salmon two miles from Cargreen.

Plymouth.

Distance, three miles from Saltash to Plymouth.

*Here end the havens of Cornwall.*

Item from Padstow haven to Barnstaple.

Item from Barnstaple to Ilfracombe.

Item from Ilfracombe to Bridgewater.

From Wellington to Cullompton ten miles.

From Cullompton to Exeter ten miles.

Exeter.

From Exeter to Michael's Mount, first town Baytyns [?], to Crockernwell ten miles.

From Crockernwell to Okehampton castle ten miles.

From Okehampton to Launceston ten miles.

1. Michael's Mount beyond Exeter a hundred miles.

4. Saint Michael of Brent Tor, where [there] is a chapel, two miles beyond Tavistock, towards Launceston.

Exeter twenty miles to

Okehampton, and fifteen miles to

Launceston, and [there] is a bridge called Polston bridge one mile this [Devon] side of Launceston, where Cornwall begins.

Calstoketrach,† near by a mile [the bridge] called Horse bridge, four miles from Callington.

\* There is some error here. No local name occurs at all resembling Weymouth. Can Tavymouth be meant? or was Plymouth the original word? This however seems improbable from its subsequent mention.

† This may be intended as a contraction of Calstock tractetus = Calstock ferry.



Plymouth 20 miliaria de Okyngton.

Plymton est castell, ys 3 miliaria de Plymton citra Plymouth.

Longitudo ecclesiæ collegii de Kyrton, per 7 miliaria ex parte boriæ Excestræ cum capella Beatæ Mariæ, videlicet continet 120 de steppys meis.

Latitudo ecclesiæ cum elys et brachiis dictæ ecclesiæ continet 50 steppys de mea mensura.

Latitudo navis ecclesiæ cum duabus Elys continet 30 steppys.

Item sunt 6 archus in navi ecclesiæ cum pulcra ovyrstorye.

Item navis ecclesiæ continet circa 14 de steppis meis.

. . . . .

Veneris predicto, jantavi apud Taunton, . . . et applicui ad noctem ad villam de . . . per 12 miliaria de Taunton,

Sabbati 12 die septembris, jantavi apud Kyrton, ubi est Collegium.

Sabbati predicti applicui ad villam Okenton ubi est castellum comitis Devoniae, pernoctando ibidem.

Dominica 13 die septembris, de Okenton usque villam de Launceston cum castro, et pernoctavi tota die et nocte.

Locutus fui de doctore Ewen et certis cronicis.

. . . . .

Dominica 20 septembris, equitavi de Bodman usque villam Lastidyelle, et applicui usque villam Bokehenney et . . . et Fowey loquendo et pernoctando cum Roberto Bracey.

Lunæ 21, equitavi per Lyscard apud Ferram, et applicui per le moore vocat Dertmore, et per aquam vocatam le Hach . . . et applicui usque abbathiam Tavystoke, pernoctando.

Martis 22, post meridiem equitavi de Tavystoke per villam Seynt Mary Otery, loquendo cum M . . . Cornewayle pres-

Plymouth twenty miles from Okehampton.

[At] Plympton is a castle; Plympton is three miles this [the Devon] side of Plymouth.

The length of the collegiate church of Crediton (seven miles northward of Exeter) with the Lady Chapel; that is to say, it contains one hundred and twenty of my steps.

The breadth of the church, with the aisles and transepts of the said church, contains fifty steps of my reckoning.

The breadth of the nave of the church, with the two aisles, contains thirty steps.

Item there are six arches in the nave of the church, with a pretty\* clerestory.

Item the nave of the church contains [in breadth] about fourteen of my steps.†

Friday aforesaid [Sept. 11], I breakfasted at Taunton, and came at night to the town of [Bampton?] twelve miles from Taunton.

Saturday, the twelfth day of September, I breakfasted at Crediton, where is a College.

Saturday aforesaid, I came to the town of Okehampton, where is a castle of the earl of Devon, abode there the same night.

Sunday, the 13th day of September, from Okehampton to the town of Launceston (with a castle) and abode there all day and night.

I spoke concerning Dr. Ewen and certain chronicles.‡

Sunday, the 20th September, I rode from Bodmin to the town of Lostwithiel, and came to the town of Bodinneck and . . . and Fowey. Talked and abode the night with Robert Bracy.§

Monday, 21st, I rode by Liskeard to Ferram, and came by the moor called Dartmoor, and by the water called the Hach . . . and came to the Abbey of Tavistock: abode the night.

Tuesday, 22nd, after noon, I rode from Tavistock by the town of St. Mary Ottery. Spoke with M. Cornewayle, priest,

\* Leland's frequent "praty" suggests this rendering.

† These dimensions would be: length, 200 feet; breadth, 83 ft. 4 in. (with transepts); nave and aisles, 50 feet; of nave about 24 feet.

‡ This would be fairly literal, but did not Worcester mean that he had a chat with Dr. Ewen and certain cronies?

§ This was Worcester's cousin.



bitero, et potando, et ad noctem pernoctavi apud villam Axmyster et abbatiam de newnam.

Mercurii 23 septembris, equitavi per villam Charde usque Taunton, jantando ibidem . . . et pernoctavi . . .

Insula Lindey, in le seebord in Severn, jacet in le south parte de Caldey per 21 miliaria in mari, et continet in longitudine 3 miliaria, et in latitudine 3 miliaria, non est populata.

*Informacio cujusdam ferryman marinarum custodientis anglice le ferry, id est cundo et redeundo cum parva cimba ex transverso aquarum de Avyn et Frome, venientibus de Bristollia apud Rownam.*

Ab insula Holmys usque Londay insulam duo kennyns, id est twey . . . continet quilibet kennyng 20 miliaria, 40 miliaria.

*Pontes Cornubiæ a villa Excestre transeundo versus usque le mount.*

Brygge Excet vocat Exbrygge.

Oklynton-brygge per 20 miliaria de Excestre.

Lydford-brygge per 6 miliaria de Okynton.

Hawtys-brygge per 8 miliaria de Lydford.

Launceston-brygge borialis super aquam Thamar, ubi Hawtys-brygge.

Ad Barstaple-ward Conlyng-brygge\* per 3 miliaria de Excestre.

Credy-brygge distat a Conlyng-brygge per 2 miliaria.

Barstaple-brygge distat a Credy-brygge per 20 miliaria.

Bydyford-brygge distat de Barstaple 7 miliaria de le Mount Myghell.

\* A misscript or misprint for Cowley bridge ; i.e. n for u.

and drank, and at night abode the night at the town of Axminster, and abbey of Newenham.\*

Wednesday, 23rd September, I rode by the town of Chard to Taunton; breakfasted at the same place... and abode the night...

The island of Lundy, on the Severn sea board, lies in the south part, twenty-one miles in the sea, from Caldey, and contains in length three miles, and in breadth three miles. It is not peopled.

*The information of a certain sea ferryman keeping (English) the ferry, that is by going and returning with a little boat across the waters of Avon and Frome, for those passing from Bristol to Rownam.*

From the island of Holm to Lundy island two kennings,† that is two . . . each kenning containing twenty miles, forty miles.

*The Cornish bridges crossed in going from the city of Exeter towards the Mount.*

Bridge of Exeter, called Exe bridge.

Okehampton bridge, twenty miles from Exeter.

Lydford bridge, six miles from Okehampton.

Horse bridge, eight miles from Lydford.

Launceston bridge, north upon Tamar-water, where is Horse bridge.

Cowley bridge, three miles from Exeter towards Barnstaple.

Creedy bridge, two miles distant from Cowley bridge.

Barnstaple bridge, twenty miles distant from Creedy bridge.

Bideford bridge, distant from Barnstaple seven miles towards the Mount Michael.

\* A very puzzling passage. Ferram *may* mean Beer Ferrers, and "the Hach" *may* be Hatch Mill on the Tavy. If Worcester had crossed the Tamar at Horse Bridge or Calstock ferry, he would have taken Callington on his way. There is no stream that I am aware of in the locality called Hach, but it is easy to understand a mistake with the name of the mill. There is a place called Hatches at Calstock. The gap after Hach makes the solution still more difficult. If Worcester really did ride from Fowey to Tavistock in one day, he could not have idled on the road, for the distance by the shortest route would be some thirty miles. But this is a very small matter when compared with the next day's performance, of riding after midday from Tavistock to Newenham, with a halt en route at Ottery, which would be something like fifty-five miles as the crow flies. There seems to be no doubt that he crossed Dartmoor, and that apparently on the Monday; and probably the solution of the mystery is the substitution of Tavistock Abbey for the place where he really "put up." If this were Buckfast Abbey, then "the Hach" might be Ashburton's "ash burn."

† Kenning = "eye flight," the distance covered at sea by an average eye.