INSTITUTE OF CORNISH STUDIES

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*Cover illustration: 'By the Committee Boat: Are you Ready?'
by W. H. Bartlett. Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1890,
it shows the start of a race from the 1896 swimming matches in St Ives
(courtesy of David Tovey)*

CORNISH STUDIES

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EIGHTEEN

edited by
Philip Payton

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Introc

The 'New Cornish Studies' project is on how and where one locates its progeny – the 'new Cornish historical science' – that emerged in the early 2000s, sought to investigate and elucidate as to discuss its implications for Cornwall.

In some respects, the project has and the Cornish are increasingly 'Britishness', from the formation of expansion of an Imperial 'British' United Kingdom of the twenty-first century has brought together scholars from archaeology, linguistics, and political science, and methodologies, both quantitative and history and biography. Reflexive analysis has also acknowledged its normative studying Cornwall and the Cornish identity in the contemporary world, Cornish aspirations – and has sought these in the light of academic debate, subtle appreciation of diversity with as culturally and temporally, a school but positively demands recognition – each worthy of separate, comparative

Although much of this debate (by no means exclusively) under the practitioners of 'New Cornish Studies' upon community engagement – v calls 'Impact' – and have endeavoured. This has meant, sometimes, publication

- Nance R. M. Nance, *An English-Cornish Dictionary* (Marazion, 1952).
 OM 'Orgio Mundi', Edwin Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama* (London, 1859 [reprinted New York/London, 1968]), vol. i, 1-219.
 PA Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'Pascon agan Arluth: the Passion of Our Lord', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1860-61, Appendix 1-100).
 PC 'Passio Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi', Edwin Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama* (London, 1859 [reprinted New York/London 1968]), vol. i, 221-479.
 RC *Revue Celtique*.
 RD 'Resurrexio Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi', Edwin Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama* (London, 1859 [reprinted New York/London, 1968]), vol. ii, 1-199.
 SA *Sacrament an Alter*, text quoted from an unpublished edition by D. H. Frost, *Sacrament an Alter: Part II* (St David's College, 2003).
 TH John Tregear, *Homelyes xiii in Cornysche* (British Library Additional MS 46397) [text quoted from a cyclostyled text published by Christopher Bice [s.l.] 1969]).

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The Three Epitaphs of Dolly Pentreath

Matthew Spriggs and Richard Gendall

'Hail mousehole! birth place of Old Doll Pentreath'¹

Dolly (or Dorothy) Pentreath's iconic status in Cornish Studies is scarcely in doubt today, portrayed on postcards and tea-towels in her home village of Mousehole, subject of fine china reproductions, and painted by famous Cornish artists such as John Opie and Richard Thomas Pentreath. She was the subject of scholarly disquisitions in early volumes of the Society of Antiquaries of London's journal *Archaeologia* in 1776 and 1779 by the antiquary Daines Barrington (1727/28-1800). He 'discovered' her in 1768. Dolly was later memorialised in a stone monument in the wall of Paul Churchyard erected by a nephew of the Emperor Napoleon.² Her fame is sometimes misunderstood. It is not that – as often claimed – she was the last speaker of Cornish, but that she was the last recorded fluent native speaker of it, brought up in the language since birth.³ Claims that she was a fraud, or was not really a fluent speaker seem based more on the class prejudice of the writers of the time rather than any actual evidence.⁴

She was baptised Doaryte Pentreath at Paul parish church on 16 May 1692, the second of six children of Nicholas Pentreath, a fisherman, and his second wife Jone.⁵ Dolly was a poor fish seller or 'back-jowster', her poverty perhaps exacerbated by the fact that she never seems to have married and gave birth to an illegitimate son, John, in 1729.⁶ In an apparent attempt to provide some retrospective legitimacy, this son had her burial at Paul recorded under the name of Dorothy Jeffery on 27 December 1777, using the surname presumably of his putative father. The son, also unmarried, died within a year of her, and was buried at Paul as John Jeffery on 4 October 1778.⁷

Other Cornish speakers outlived her, including her friend William Bodinar (1711–89), but he had learned the language in his youth from older fishermen so was not technically a native speaker. Daines Barrington records that there were two other women present in 1768 who could understand Dolly, when she abused him 'very heartily' in 'an angry tone of voice for two or three minutes, and in a language that sounded very like Welsh'. But these women admitted that 'they could not speak it readily; but that they understood it, being only ten or twelve years younger'. They were thus 'hearers' rather than speakers of the language. Daines Barrington would have had some knowledge of Welsh from his time as a judge in north Wales and used the Welsh form of her name, 'Pentraeth', in his writings.⁸

Dolly's Cornish fluency is confirmed by a 1772 letter to Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter and President of the Society of Antiquaries, sent from Castle Horneck, Madron, presumably by its owner Walter Borlase (1694–1776), although the author's name is not given, and quoted by Daines Barrington. The letter states: 'She does indeed at this time talk Cornish as readily as others do English.'⁹ The historian Richard Polwhele (1760–1838) noted that in 1797 a Mousehole fisherman told him that William Bodinar 'used to talk with her for hours together in Cornish: that their conversation was understood by scarcely any one of the place, that both Dolly and himself could talk in English'.¹⁰ Writing to Daines Barrington in Cornish and English on 3 July 1776, before Dolly's death, Bodinar noted that 'there is not more then four or five in our town/ can talk Cornish now/ old people four score years old/ Cornish is all forgot with young people'.¹¹ Dolly died aged 85 just over a year later and Bodinar, the youngest of the group in 1776 when he was 65, died aged 78 in 1789.¹²

Dolly herself claimed to have been a monoglot Cornish speaker until she was 20. This claim seems exaggerated, but it is clear that the language of the family home was Cornish. Dolly claimed 'she was sent with fish to Pensance at twelve years old, and sold them in the Cornish language, which the inhabitants in general (even the gentry) did then well understand'.¹³ This claim of Dolly's that Cornish was still generally spoken in the Penzance area in or around 1704 can be confirmed from Edward Lhuyd's visit and other sources of the time.¹⁴ In later life Dolly remained a pauper, 'maintained partly by the parish, and partly by fortune-telling, and gabbling of Cornish'.¹⁵

The 'Tompson' and Collins epitaph

There are doubtless many Cornish patriots that can recite at least the English version of Dolly Pentreath's pretended epitaph, where her advanced age was first claimed:

Old Doll Pentreath, one hundred ag'd and two,
Deceas'd, and buried in Paul Parish, too: –
Not in the Church, with people great and high,
But in the Church-yard doth old Dolly lie.

This is the English verse translation by Reverend John Collins, 'late of Penryn', of a Cornish original sent in a letter from Truthan in St Erme to Reverend Richard Polwhele on 8 December 1789. It was first 'officially' published in Polwhele's 1806 *The Language, Literature, and Literary Characters of Cornwall*, part of his massive *History of Cornwall* published in parts between 1803 and 1808, and reissued in 1816.¹⁶ Slight variations in wording and punctuation have been regularly published ever since, very rarely attributed to Collins.

The Reverend John Collins (1742–97) was from a long line of clergymen with holdings in St Erme, and was Vicar of Ledbury in Herefordshire.¹⁷ He was distantly related by marriage to Polwhele. From the same Collins' letter Polwhele gave the supposed Cornish original:

Coth Doll Pentreath cans ha deau;
Marow ha kledyz ed Paul plêu: –
Na ed an Egloz, gan pobel brâs,
Bes ed Eglos-hay, coth Dolly es.

He also provided a literal translation:

Old D _____ P _____ one hundred and two;
Dead and buried in Paul parish: –
Not in the Church, with folks great,
But in Church-yard, Old D _____ is.

Polwhele then writes:

The author of these verses ... is a Mr Tompson, a native of Truro, and by profession, what we call in Cornwall, an engineer, – that is, a maker of engines for the use of the mines; to which trade he was bred, under his father, and, in his youth, much employed by Mr Pendarves.¹⁸ I met him, at Plymouth-Dock, in 1789; [*The old man, hearing my name announced to him, saluted me, instantly, with the motto of my family.] where he was engaged in superintending the raisers and hewers of stone, under Mr. Paulby. If now living, he must have nearly approached his hundredth year. He is a worthy, and honest old man, – of some knowledge, and much humour; and knows more, I believe,

of the Cornish language than the old lady, whom he has celebrated, ever knew.¹⁹

In the quoted letter, Collins refers to the author as 'my friend Tompson'.²⁰

A second Cornish version

In a footnote to Collins' verse translation Polwhele, clearly peeved, records

I was surprised to see Mr. Collins's translation of this epitaph in 'The Beauties of Cornwall', p. 492, whence it has been copied in several of the public prints. That I should have been anticipated, in a variety of instances, was not to be wondered. But I expected, that this communication of my friend, would have been confined to myself. Its escape, however, was by mere accident.²¹

The Beauties of Cornwall by John Britton and Edward Wedlake Brayley was published in 1801, indeed pipping Polwhele to the post with a slight variant of Collins' verse. The only significant difference is line 2, which reads:

Both born and in Paul Parish buried too.

But more interesting than this is the printing above it of a different version of the Cornish original:

Coth Dol Pentreath canz ha Deaw
Marir en Bedans en Powl pleu
Na en an Eglar ganna Poble brâz
Bet en Eglar Hay Coth Dolly es!

Although its first publication was in the *Beauties of Cornwall* in 1801,²² an identical English and a Cornish version very close to it can be found earlier in the manuscript of John Skinner's 1797 tour to Cornwall, different only in having Mahir for Marir, and Pobl for Poble.²³ The variant English ('Both born and In Paul Parish buried too ...') and the different Cornish (henceforth Version 2) were, like the Polwhele version, also subsequently reprinted many times.

The fact that there are two different versions of the Cornish language version of this epitaph has not often been previously remarked.²⁴ A Welsh translation appears to belong to a much later period, first appearing in the *Cambrian Journal* in 1861 but with no identification of the translator.²⁵ The history of the separate paths of transmission of these versions 1 and 2 thus

remains uninvestigated. Nor has any information on the epitaph's claimed author 'Mr Tompson', an engineer of Truro, ever been produced beyond that in Polwhele's original publication of version 1 of the epitaph. Thirdly, no-one to our knowledge has ever assessed the standard of Cornish fluency demonstrated by the poem, although as we have seen Polwhele claimed that Tompson's Cornish was considerably more accomplished than Dolly's own would have been. The rest of this article attempts to follow up on these unasked questions and lines of enquiry. It will also consider the history of the third and only truly physical epitaph for Dolly, that much-photographed monument now placed in the Paul Churchyard wall. This was originally erected by the Reverend John Garrett, vicar of Paul, and Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, the distinguished Celtic and Basque linguist in 1860, and subsequently corrected and moved.

Both versions of Tompson's epitaph have been much re-published. Version 1 appeared in at least 13 publications before the anniversary of Dolly's death in 1877.²⁶ Excluding various Britton and Brayley reprints, version 2 appeared in no fewer than 6 iterations.²⁷ The ultimate source for Version 1 is clearly Polwhele's 1806 publication, although this is usually forgotten or unacknowledged by those quoting it later.

Mr Tompson was William Thomson

Examination of Admiralty records relating to Plymouth Docks during the 1780s reveals 'Mr Tompson' to be William Thomson (his own spelling), an employee of Mr Thomas Parlbay (not Paulby) who had a series of lucrative contracts to reconstruct the Docks at that time. One of the contracts was to work on the Mast Yard, and it was Thomson's solution to a problem there that has provided the identification of the Cornish author. On 16 January 1786, from 37 Duke Street at the Dock, William Thomson wrote:

Having been employed several years in the Dock Yard and chiefly for some time past near the Mast Pond my thoughts have often been engaged on some means of destroying the Gribble or small worms, that do so much damage to the Mast and other large Timbers laid up there and I have I hope hit upon a method that seems likely to effect the desired purposes and which (so far as I know) has not been thought of by any other Person.²⁸

The solution involved the use of quicklime to dislodge the worms. Although Thomson's experiment was approved, we could find no record as to its success or otherwise in Admiralty records.²⁹

Thomson was not a government employee at the Docks, as he does not occur in the Dockyard paybooks, but clearly a subcontractor employed – as Polwhele noted – by Thomas Parlby.³⁰ The 'Tompson' family (otherwise spelled Thomson, Tamson or Tomson in records) of Truro had a long history in mining. William's grandfather John Tomson (John 1) and his uncle Thomas were mentioned in a 1699 document relating to Carnkye Bal in Illogan. They were to be paid £500 for erecting an engine to draw water from the mine's two engine shafts.³¹ John 1's wife Grace, already a widow, died in 1728 and was buried at Truro St Mary's Church, now the Cathedral. Their son and William's father, William Thomson, was baptised at Kenwyn and buried at Truro St Mary's (1684–1747). This William 1 was also a mining engineer according to Polwhele. William 1's elder brother Thomas, baptised 1675, was also mentioned in relation to Carnkye Bal in 1699.³²

Our William Tamson (his name in the Kenwyn registers) was baptised on 23 March 1718, one of five children. The others were Loveday (1716–24), James (1721–60), John (1722–?after 1789) and Elizabeth (1724–26). William was married in 1758 or earlier but we have not been able to find a record of his marriage, nor the name of his wife.³³ Three children are recorded for this marriage, a daughter Elizabeth Thomson who died in 1758, presumably as an infant, a second Elizabeth who also died young (1763–67) and John, baptised in 1767. They were all baptised and/or buried at Kenwyn. The chronology makes it possible that the engineer Tompson referred to by Polwhele could in fact be William's brother John, still alive in 1789 if the Sally Thompson buried in Truro in that year was his wife Sarah. But the letter of an ingenious William Thomson, associated with the Mast Yard where Parlby had contracts, having worked at the Docks for some years but yet not appearing as a direct employee of the Dockyard makes it almost certain that he is our man.

The Cornish language was last heard around Truro in about 1650, and had long retreated to the extreme west of Penwith and the Lizard peninsula by the time William Thomson was born in 1718. Cornish had ceased to be a community language by about 1736 when William Gwavas was able to speak to some of the last few native speakers of St Just, St Keverne, Paul and Sennen.³⁴ It is extremely doubtful, therefore, that Thomson would have had any traditional knowledge of Cornish, given where he grew up. There is a possibility that he may have learned some Cornish during his youth, however. For instance, we know of one John Nancarrow, born in 1734 in St Agnes but brought up in West Cornwall, including from 1746 in Ludgvan where his father was a mining engineer. John junior also worked in the mines. He 'had learned the Cornish language from the country people during his youth and can now converse in it', according to the report of Daines Barrington who had been informed of this in 1777 by James Phillips, a London printer and bookseller. Phillips also mentioned 'an inhabitant of Truro, whose name

Mr Phillips does not now recollect' as being able to converse in Cornish.³⁵ Polwhele was convinced that this Truronian must have been 'Mr Tomson, who wrote a Cornish epitaph on Dolly Pentreath in 1778'.³⁶

Both John Nancarrow and James Phillips (the latter originally from Redruth) were Quakers and may have met when Nancarrow attended a Quaker yearly meeting in London in 1771. Phillips' father, William Phillips, although originally Welsh, had been the manager of Chacewater mine in Redruth. The mining connection continued, as James Phillips was the publisher of William Pryce's *Mineralogia Cornubiensis* in 1778.³⁷ Presumably Phillips knew, at least by hearsay, of William Thomson from his mining connections.

It is possible that William Thomson had contacts among the Cornish savants researching the language during the eighteenth century, but William Gwavas and Thomas Tonkin were both dead by the time he reached the age of 25. He was a contemporary of William Borlase (1695–1772) and Borlase's relative by marriage William Pryce (1735–90), both of whom had interests in both mining and the Cornish language.³⁸ William Borlase was a close friend of the father of Reverend John Collins, Edward Collins the vicar of Breage and later St Erth.³⁹ Borlase had sight of the manuscript of Tonkin's *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica* – later in the possession of and published in abridged form by Pryce – 'from Mr Collins of St Erth, who had procured it for him (as well as I recollect) from the heirs of Thomas Tonkin Esq; by the Reverend Mr James Walker, Vicar of St Agnes'.⁴⁰

Early published sources on Cornish and on Dolly Pentreath

In the twelve years from Dolly's death in 1777 to the Reverend Collins' letter to Polwhele of December 1789 the major published sources of Cornish words available to any patriotic Cornishman, beyond dialect survivals, would have been from the word list contained in William Borlase's *Antiquities ... of Cornwall* (first edition 1754, second edition 1769) and beyond that from Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* of 1707 – a major source of Borlase's vocabulary.⁴¹ William Pryce was yet to publish his abridged version of Tonkin's *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica*, which became available the following year, late in 1790.⁴²

Interest in and general knowledge about Dolly Pentreath had resulted from Daines Barrington's aforementioned two papers in *Archaeologia* of 1776 and 1779, and 'the Cornish Wonder' John Opie (1761–1807) had painted her portrait just before her death when he must have been about 16 years old.⁴³ The *Universal Magazine* for January 1781 published an article about Dolly and reprinted Barrington's 1773 article, under the signature of 'Alphabeta'

of Berkeley Square, London. This was accompanied by the earliest printed image of Dolly, originally drawn by Richard Scaddon (1720–1802), titled ‘Dorothy Pentreath of Mousehole in Cornwall, the last Person who could converse in the Cornish language’.⁴⁴ These references establish that Thomson need not have had any personal knowledge of Dolly in order to write her epitaph.

Thomson's Cornish

Richard Polwhele met Thomson in 1789, when the latter was around 70 to 71. As noted earlier, Polwhele was impressed by his seeming knowledge of Cornish – although the only evidence provided of this apart from the epitaph is that at their meeting Thomson was able to quote the Polwhele motto in Cornish, *Karenza whelas Karenza, love worketh (or seeketh) love*.⁴⁵ It is possible that Thomson penned Dolly's epitaph at Polwhele's instigation or at least did so as a response to his interest, rather than soon after Dolly's death as later claimed by Polwhele.⁴⁶ This would explain the seeming coincidence of Polwhele meeting Thomson earlier in the year (1789) in which he was sent the epitaph by Collins. It would also explain Polwhele's displeasure at the publication of version 2 and of a variant of Collins' English verse version in the Britton and Brayley publication of 1801.

How competent in fact are versions 1 and 2 in representing real knowledge of the language in its Late or Modern form? Not much at all, it appears.⁴⁷ Perhaps most glaring is the lack of mutation in *Poble bráz* or *pobel brás* in either version, which should have been *poble vrás*. The circumflex over the ‘a’ is ultimately taken from Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*. Lhuyd used â to show vowel length only, and it can stand for [IPA: ɛ], [IPA: ɛ̃] and [IPA: æ]. Both versions also misuse *coth* as a prefix, in imitation of Welsh *hên*.⁴⁸ Cornish also has *hên* and it could have been used in this context if it had been known to Thomson. As a prefix *coth* can only be used in compounds such as *cothwas, the old boy* (Ordinalia, *Passio Christi*) and *cotheneb, olden times* (John Tregear).

In version 1 *kledyz* and *plêu* are both ultimately perhaps taken from Lhuyd, but *ed* between the two is misapplied. *En* becomes *et* or *ed* only before vowels in the definite article and possessive adjectives. It is correctly used in the phrase *ed an eglos* but should be *ed an eglos-hay* rather than *ed eglos-hay* as in version 1. *Eglos-hay* may have been a current form for churchyard in eighteenth-century Cornish but is not otherwise attested. It is more probably an invention or literal translation. *Eglos* is indeed Cornish for church but in Late or Modern Cornish had already become *egliz* or *eglez* (Nicholas Boson, John Boson, Edward Lhuyd; but note *eglos* in William

Rowe]. *Gan* occurs in Middle Cornish in *Passio Christi* and also in William Jordan; the usual Late Cornish form would be *gen*.

The Cornish of version 2 is even less competent than version 1. As well as the shared errors noted above, it also brings in several additional infelicities. *Marir* (or *Mahir*) *en Bedans* could have been meant for something like *marow en bédh, dead in the grave*. Alternatively, it recalls the words of William Hals' version of the Creed, *maraws hag bethens, dead and buried*. This had been published in Hals' *Complete History of Cornwall* under the parish of Creed in 1750, so may have been available to the author.⁴⁹ *Powl pleu* is a forced word order to achieve a rhyme between *Deaw* [Lhuyd: *déau*, IPA: dɛ:ʷ] and *pleu* [Lhuyd: *plêu*, IPA: plɛ:u] where the vowels are not in fact identical. *Ganna* is not Cornish in this context. It could have been in imitation of Welsh *gyda, in*, but what might have been intended was *gen a/an, with the*. If so then *poble* should have undergone mutation to become *boble*. *Gana* as a word does occur in *ganawhy, with you*. *Bet en* again represents a misapplied and misunderstood use of the phenomenon whereby *en* becomes *et* before vowels in the definite article and possessive adjectives. As a word *bet* occurs in Lhuyd's *betanurma* where it is a form of *biz, until* and should here be *byz, but*. *Eglar* could be extracted from the place-name Eglarooze in St Germans in the far east of Cornwall, where it reflects colloquial pronunciation. The remarks on *eglos-hay* refer equally to *Eglar Hay* here.

The forced rhyme *Deaw* or *deau/pleu* and forced word order of *Powl Pleu* suggest that book-learning rather than natural rhyme was behind the two versions of this epitaph.

Both versions suggest the marks of an ‘educated’ gentleman using scraps of Cornish from published sources, poorly understood. The writer ‘D’ had already come to a similar conclusion in the second decade of the nineteenth century. He wrote:

I look to Mr. Tomson to have been an ingenious man, who having a taste for such studies, had made himself master of the best remaining pieces in Cornish. This is certainly a far more rational account, than to imagine with some, that he was a rarely gifted individual, in whom the Cornish language had survived after the death of the humble inhabitant of Mousehole. Mr Tomson might even have been able to converse in it; but there would have been nothing extraordinary in it, as thousands can speak Latin and other languages, which they have acquired only from books. As to the epitaph, I do not entirely rest on conjecture; for all the words in it, with the exception of one only, are to be found in *Borlase's Vocabulary*. *Hay* is a well known Saxon word, which signifies *an inclosure*, and has long been incorporated with the Cornish.⁵⁰

This is not quite correct. All of the words of version 1 except **hay** and also **kledyz** can be found in the same spelling in Borlase's 1769 word list. Lhuyd had published **kledh**, *ditch*, and it is possible that an attentive reader of his *Archaeologica Britannica* could have formed a past participle from that word with the form **kledyz**.⁵¹ If not then it provides possibly the only evidence of some traditional knowledge of Cornish in the poem, as **kleithez**, *buried*, occurs in John Boson's version of the Creed, and is found as **klyethes** in a manuscript in the Morrab Library compiled or copied by Reverend Henry Usticke (1720–69), at one time William Borlase's curate at St Just and from 1755 until his death vicar of Breage.⁵²

Version 2 includes the phrase **Marir en Bedens**, possibly inspired by Hals' published version of the Creed, but **Eglar**, *church*, seems colloquial – albeit colloquial in East Cornwall. **Marir en Bedens** could conceivably be merely a garbled version of Thomson's original **Marow ha kledyz**.

At the time of writing the epitaph and until after about 1859 with Norris' publication of the *Ordinalia* there would have been very few people around with enough knowledge of Cornish to correct Thomson.⁵³ This would also explain why both versions have been published repeatedly over the last two centuries, usually without comment. At least Canon Williams, soon to become the author of the *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*, attempted some exegesis of the individual words in 1861, even though he did not provide any comment on the standard of Cornish represented.⁵⁴

Three myths about Dolly Pentreath

Various myths have grown up around these two versions of Dolly's epitaph. The first is of course that she was 102 when she died. Dolly exaggerated her own age. In 1772 she had claimed to be 86, which would have made her birth around 1686 rather than 1692. Had she indeed died in 1788 as was later claimed, first of all by Richard Warner in 1809 and later in Hitchen and Drew's 1817/1824 *History of Cornwall*, she would indeed have been 102 on her own calculation.⁵⁵

It was widely assumed that one or other version of the epitaph was placed on a memorial marking Dolly's grave, although as a pauper her grave would most likely have been unmarked. This erroneous belief was still current in Mousehole in about 1856, as reported by Edwin Dunkin, and was retailed to Reverend Fred W. P. Jago in 1881 by a Mr Trewavas of Mousehole, then in his 88th year.⁵⁶

Another equally erroneous idea was that the epitaph itself was a joke perpetrated upon John Britton in 1800 by a local 'wag' during his visit to Cornwall. In 1855 this story was reported as being 'now pretty well known'

by G. Arthur Festing.⁵⁷ Subsequently John J. A. Boase of Penzance claimed to be able to put a name to the wag's face. He wrote:

the real author was Mr. John Scaddon, schoolmaster, Penzance ... When Mr. Britton was in the West collecting materials for his well-known work *The Beauties of England and Wales*, Mr. Scaddon, among other more trustworthy information, told him that an epitaph in Cornish was to be found in Paul Churchyard, and on Mr. Britton expressing a desire for a copy, he undertook to procure it for him; and to save his credit concocted, with the assistance of Pryce's *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Cornish Language*, the lines to the memory of Doll Pentreath. The ingenious fabrication was discovered in time to prevent Mr. Britton giving them to the world.⁵⁸

Of course, as we have seen, John Britton did indeed provide the first publication of the epitaph but we know of its existence from at least 1789, long before Britton ever visited Cornwall. The presumably mythical schoolteacher John Scaddon may be a garbled memory of Richard Scaddon, the artist, whose etching of Dolly Pentreath was – as already noted above – published in the *Universal Magazine* in 1781.⁵⁹

'The one a Frenchman and the other an Irishman':⁶⁰
the third epitaph

The epitaph on Dolly's memorial in the wall of Paul Churchyard currently reads:

HERE LIETH INTERRED
DOROTHY PENTREATH
WHO DIED IN
1777.

SAID TO HAVE BEEN THE
LAST PERSON WHO CONVERSED
IN THE ANCIENT CORNISH,
THE REGULAR LANGUAGE OF
THIS COUNTY FROM THE
EARLIEST RECORDS
TILL IT EXPIRED IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
IN THIS PARISH OF
SAINT PAUL.

THIS STONE IS ERECTED BY
 THE PRINCE
 LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE
 IN UNION WITH
 THE REVD JOHN GARRET
 VICAR OF ST PAUL
 JUNE 1860
 HONOUR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER
 THAT THY DAYS MAY BE LONG UPON
 THE LAND WHICH THE LORD THY GOD
 GIVETH THEE EXOD. XX. 12.

GWRA PERTHI DE TAZ HA DE MAM
 MAL DE DYTHIOW BETHENZ HYR WAR
 AN TYR NEB AN ARLETH DE DEW
 RYES DEES. EXOD. XX. 12.

On the other side of the monument, facing the Church, it states:

DOROTHY PENTREATH
 WHO CONVERSED
 IN ANCIENT CORNISH
 DIED IN
 1777
 THIS STONE IS ERECTED BY
 THE PRINCE
 LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE
 AND THE
 REVD JOHN GARRETT
 1860

The quotation from Exodus 20 verse 12 also occurs in Deuteronomy 5, verse 16 as the fifth Commandment, and it was in this latter context that it has come down to us from eighteenth-century Cornish translations.

Was Dolly better served by this third epitaph in Cornish, in terms of its linguistic competence? Probably not. It comes from the Ten Commandments as written by William Gwavas in the so-called Bilbao Manuscript, which was in the Prince's possession in some time before 1859.⁶¹ In the manuscript it reads:

Gwrâ perthi, de Taz
 ha de Mam, mal de

dythiow bethenz hy'r an Ty'r neb an Arleth
 de Dew es Ryes dees.

It seems to be Gwavas' 'correction' of a version of the fifth Commandment by John Keigwin, as just such a version with Gwavas' corrections in the left margin occurs in a manuscript in the British Library.⁶² It reads:

Gwrâ worry de Taz, ha de Mam, mal, de
 Dêthio bẽns pel var an Tĩr neb an
 Arleth de Deu es Reiz dez.

Gwavas offered *hyula/perthi* for worry, *bethens* for *bẽns*, and *hier* or *hir* for *pel* among the marginal notes.

John Keigwin (1642–1716) was at least a native speaker of Cornish, unlike Gwavas, and it is not clear that the 'corrected' version was an improvement. Keigwin was himself an educated man, and was trying to reproduce what he imagined to be a more 'classical' form of Cornish, taken from the earlier written forms of the plays of the late Medieval period. This has led to much – not wholly justified – criticism of his own Cornish expression.⁶³

Canon Williams also provided some analysis in the *Cambrian Journal* for 1861 for this third epitaph, giving what he considered to be a proper rendition as:

Gwra perthy dhe dās ha'th vam
 Mal y fy'dh dhe dhydhyow hir
 War an tir, neb an Arluth dhe Dhew
 A rōs dhyso.

In addition he included a Welsh version, suggesting perhaps that he was also the author of the unattributed Welsh translation of version 1 of Thomson's epitaph in the same article.⁶⁴ Williams observed: 'The Cornish texts of the two epitaphs are of the latest form, and consequently very much corrupted: they are of little importance in a philological point of view.'⁶⁵

Some further analysis of Gwavas' text is worthwhile:⁶⁶

gwra, do 2nd person singular is a correct imperative from William Jordan.

perthi, respect, honour 2nd person singular is also an imperative in its own right, cf. *parthy* in Thomas Tonkin, equivalent to Welsh *parchu*. William Gwavas elsewhere has *parthi mateyrn honour (the) king*, 2nd person plural.

De, *thy* is found in Thomas Boson, the *e* being obscure.

taz, *father* is so found in John Boson and William Gwavas [**tâz**]. This should have been mutated to **daz/dâz** after **de/dha**.

mam, *mother* is elsewhere so found only in William Jordan,, or when unstressed as the element of another word such as **mamguenen**, *stock of bees* (William Jordan). However it should have been mutated to **vam/vabm**.

mal, *so that may* is correct. It is only found as such in William Gwavas, **malla** in John Tregear, **mala** in William Rowe, **mol** in Thomas Boson, and **moll** in William Borlase. It should have been followed by an infinitive **boaz**, as **mal** and **bethenz/bethens/bedhanz** cannot be used together.

Bethenz, *may they be*, seems to have been adapted from Edward Lhuyd's **bedhanz**, otherwise only found in William Jordan and earlier sources as **bethens**.

dythiow, *days*, in this spelling is otherwise unattested. William Jordan has **dythyow**. John Boson uniquely used the termination **-iow** in **dethiow** and the form here might be a copying from his work.

hyr, *long*, has been taken from the *Ordinalia*, being found as **heer** in William Rowe and **heere**, **here** in Tonkin's vocabulary in the Bilbao Manuscript.

tyr, *land* has also been taken from the *Ordinalia* in this spelling, occurring as **tyre** in William Jordan, **teere** elsewhere in William Gwavas, **tir** in John Tonkin and John Boson.

Neb an Arleth de Dew ryes dees, *which the Lord thy God giveth thee*. A William Gwavas copy of John Boson's version has **an Tir es res these gen guz Arleth Dieu**. This is correct for the period although **neb** normally became **leb**.

ryes is a past participle, *given*, which cannot be used like this; *gave* would have to be **rôz** or **a rôz**, but this would have to have been written after **neb/leb** as **leb rôz**. Even this would not be a typical Modern Cornish construction or even correct syntax. Compare the good constructions of Thomas Boson **en tereath neb a regue de Arlith**

due ry dez, *in the land that the Lord thy God gave thee*, John Boson **es res the'es gen guz Arleth Deiu** which is literally *that has been given to thee by the Lord thy God*, and William Rowe **en powe reg an Taze da Deew ry theeze**.

1860–1887: years of contestation

As soon as the Bonaparte-Garrett memorial was erected it caused controversy, in part because of its assertion that Dolly was the last Cornish speaker, but also because it seems that its original placement was the result of a misunderstanding as to near which churchyard gate Dolly's remains were buried. In correspondence with Reverend Fred Jago, Bernard Victor, grandson of George Badcock who was the undertaker who superintended Dolly's funeral and made her coffin, wrote that the monument was placed in the wall of the churchyard 'below the *upper* gate, but it should have been placed below the *lower* gate, so *there* was the mistake by the person who gave the information' to the Prince.⁶⁷ Victor noted that he had heard stories about Dolly direct from his grandfather, who died when Bernard was nearly 15, and from other old people who had known Dolly directly.

Another error was the date of Dolly's death, originally given on the monument as 1778 rather than 1777. This presumably relied on Polwhele's incorrect statement that she died in January 1778.⁶⁸ Jago published his correspondence with Bernard Victor and the details of his investigations into the correct position of Dolly's grave in 1882. Further details of her life contained in correspondence from Victor were published by Jago in 1887. Bernard Victor died at Mousehole on 16 July 1890, about a month before his 73rd birthday, the last almost direct link to Dolly herself.⁶⁹

Both the error of the date of Dolly's death and that of the memorial's placement in 1860 were finally corrected on 17 August 1887, apparently following a request by the Prince to Bernard Victor to undertake the task. The work was done by Mr J. S. Tregenza and his men, who chiseled 7 instead of 8 on the memorial and moved it 47 feet to its current location. In preparing the new place for the monument a Mr Penrose dug behind the wall at the appointed spot and encountered a grave thought to be that of Dolly herself, including remains of her coffin and either two or three teeth remaining in the lower jaw of the roughly 5 feet 2 inches long skeleton. An interested crowd soon gathered. Happily, Dolly was not fully exhumed nor her bones removed. She remains there still, hopefully at peace, behind her much-photographed monument.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Dolly's competence in Cornish is attested by Daines Barrington, by Walter Borlase, by a Mousehole fisherman interviewed by Polwhele twenty years after her death, and perhaps less certainly by later oral traditions in the area. The various versions of her epitaph were not written by persons with much, if any, traditional knowledge of the Cornish language. Polwhele adjudged William Thomson to be a more accomplished Cornish speaker than Dolly herself, but he was scarcely qualified to judge. The evidence of versions 1 and 2 of the epitaph suggest instead merely book-learning as the source of Thomson's knowledge. William Gwavas, whose version of the Fifth Commandment is the only Cornish on the present-day monument at Paul, did at least encounter native speakers, including John Keigwin. But, like other savants of the time, he trusted more to earlier written sources than to living speakers for 'correct' Cornish and so changed Keigwin's version of the Commandment.

Dolly was not 102 years old when she died as claimed in versions 1 and 2. Nor was she the last person who could converse in the Cornish language, as claimed on the memorial marking her resting place. But the claim that she was the last recorded fluent native speaker of the language remains justified by the most reliable evidence to hand. Her place in history was fully understood by those who gathered in Mousehole in 1877 on the 100th anniversary of her death. It can be argued that on that occasion many of the seeds of the current Cornish revival were sown.⁷¹ We do indeed owe Dolly a lot.

Notes and references

1. Taken from *The Works of Peter Pindar, Esq.* [John Wolcot] (London, 1830), p. 145. The following line is 'The last who jabbered Cornish, so says Daines'.
2. Many of the details given here of Dolly's life come from M. Spriggs' entry on her in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), hereafter *DNB*.
3. This was fully recognised by F. W. P. Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall* ... (Truro, 1882), pp. 340–1. It was reiterated by R. M. Nance, 'Further Note on Dolly Pentreath', *Old Cornwall* 2/11 (1936), pp. 9–10 and by P. A. S. Pool, *The Death of Cornish* (Penzance, 1982), pp. 25–8. Pool also reproduced Opie's painting of Dolly in that volume.
4. See for instance "D" in *Classical Journal* 42 (1818–20), pp. 27–8 who writes: 'I readily allow the claims of Dolly to some jargon that was not English; but with her habits and situation in life, it is ridiculous to suppose, that she could have been the depository of the true Cornish.' Almost a century later similar sentiments were expressed by 'E.W.C.' (E. Whitfield Crofts) in his volume *Cornish Notes and Queries*, edited under the pen-name of 'Peter Penn' (London, 1906), pp. 111–12, where he calls her a 'fraud'.

5. This was convincingly established by W. Treffry Hoblyn, 'The Probable Parentage of Dorothy Pentreath', *Old Cornwall* 2/11 (1936), pp. 7–9.
6. The Paul baptism register in the Cornwall Record Office (CRO), Truro, reads for 1729, 'Oct. 18 John, base child of Dolly Pentreath'.
7. Information from the parish registers in the CRO. We have examined Pentreath and Jeffery family entries in Paul and surrounding parish registers and can see no other likely explanation, as there is no otherwise 'missing' John Jeffery likely to have been buried in 1778.
8. D. Barrington, 'On the expiration of the Cornish Language', *Archaeologia* 3 (1776), pp. 278–84 (the quotations are on p. 282) and 'Mr. Barrington on some additional information relative to the continuance of the Cornish language', *Archaeologia* 5 (1779), pp. 81–6; see *DNB* for details of Daines Barrington's life.
9. Barrington, 'On the expiration of the Cornish Language', p. 283; Milles (1714–84) was President of the Society 1769–84, see *DNB*. Some details of the life of Walter Borlase, long-time Vicar of Madron, are given in Peter Pool's biography of Walter's brother, the antiquary William Borlase; see P. A. S. Pool, *William Borlase* (Truro, 1986).
10. R. Polwhele, *The Language, Literature, and Literary Characters of Cornwall*, (*History of Cornwall*, vol. 5) (London, 1806), pp. 19–20.
11. Barrington, 'Mr. Barrington on ... the continuance of the Cornish language', p. 83; see also P. A. S. Pool and O. J. Padel, 'William Bodinar's letter 1776', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall (JRIC)* n.s. 7(3) (1975–6), pp. 231–6. The passage in Cornish as corrected by Pool and Padel reads: 'na ges moye vel pager pe pemp en dreau nye/ ell clapia Corno(a)ck leben/ poble coath pager egance blouth/ Cornoack ewe oll neceaves yen poble younk'.
12. Pool and Padel, 'William Bodinar's letter', p. 232.
13. Letter from Castle Horneck, quoted by Barrington, 'Mr. Barrington on ... the continuance of the Cornish language', p. 283.
14. See M. Spriggs, 'Where Cornish was spoken and when: a provisional synthesis' in P. Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies: Eleven* (Exeter, 2003), pp. 253–4. Since that publication Spriggs has identified British Library (BL) Add. Ms. 51,020 as being the original or a copy of a letter from John Hickes of Trevithick in St Ewe referring to Edward Lhuyd's 1700 visit to Cornwall. Hickes noted that 'Mr Keigwin who best understands our Cornish Language of any living & in yt Town ye Coman Language is Cornish': the town referred to is Mousehole, not Penzance as Spriggs had it in 2003, p. 254.
15. Letter from Castle Horneck quoted in Barrington, 'On the expiration of the Cornish Language', p. 283.
16. Polwhele, *Characters of Cornwall*, p. 43; see G. C. Boase and W. P. Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, vol. II (Truro, 1878), pp. 510–11 for details of the various editions.
17. J. Polsue, *Lake's Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, vol. 1 (Truro, 1867), pp. 351–3 gives an account and genealogy of the family. Polsue and other published accounts seem erroneous in suggesting only a later transfer of the Truthan property to the Collins family. See for instance, C. S. Gilbert, *An Historical ... Survey of the County of Cornwall*, vol. I (Plymouth, 1817), p. 827. The subscriber list to W. Pryce, *Mineralogia Cornubiensis* (London, 1778, unpaginated), lists Edward Collins of Truthan and Rev. J. B. Collins, 'Rector of Camborne'.

18. It is not clear who this Mr. Pendarves was. The main lines of the Pendarves family had died out soon after Thomson's birth. For West Cornwall the *West Cornwall Burial Index* in the RIC lists only three male Pendarves who died later in the century: Thomas of Gwinear (1756), William of Helston (1780) and the former vicar of Paul, Henry Pendarves (1739).
19. Polwhele, *Characters of Cornwall*, p. 43.
20. Quoted by Polwhele, *Characters of Cornwall*, pp. 43–4.
21. Polwhele, *Characters of Cornwall*, footnote p. 44.
22. J. Britton and E. W. Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. II (London, 1801), p. 492; see biographies of these authors in *DNB*.
23. For the version in the manuscript of Skinner's Tour see BL Add. Ms. 28,793, fol. 131. This was recently published in J. Skinner (edited and introduced by R. Jones), *West Country Tour* (Bradford on Avon, 1985), p. 75.
24. The exception to this statement as is so often the case was Henry Jenner who noted the variant version in the Skinner manuscript, then numbered as fol. 62, in his *Handbook of the Cornish Language* (London, 1904), p. 41.
25. See "Llallawg", 'Cornwall and the Cornish Language', *Cambrian Journal* 4 (1861), p. 118. The Welsh reads:
 Hên Ddôl Pentraeth, cant ha dwy;
 Marw a chladdedig yn mhlwyf Paul;
 Nid yn yr eglwys gan (gyda) bobl frâs,
 Ond yn mynwent yr eglwys, hên Ddoli sydd.
 According to *Welsh Biography Online*, "Llallawg" was clergyman and antiquary, Thomas James (1817–79). He was Vicar of All Saints, Nethertong, in the West Riding of Yorkshire when he published this article: <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-JAME-THO-1817.html>, accessed 2 May 2010.
26. Examples include: Fortescue Hitchens and S. Drew, *History of Cornwall*, vol. I (Helston, 1815–17), p. 229 and also vol. I (Helston, 1824), p. 229, quoting Polwhele; "D", *Classical Journal* 42 (1818–20), p. 30; Anon., *Letters from West Cornwall written in the year 1826* (London, 1861), pp. 23–7, taken from Hitchens and Drew; J. Thomas, *Guide to the Mount's Bay*, 3rd edn (Penzance, 1831), p. 72 (change from version 2 in the 2nd edn); Cyrus Redding, *An Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall* (London, 1842), p. 127, from Polwhele; J. S. Courtney, *A Guide to Penzance* (Penzance, 1845), p. 85; T. J. Llewelyn Prichard, *Heroines of Welsh History* (London, 1854), p. 186, quoting Redding; Edwin Dunkin, *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series I (5 January 1856), p. 17, "from an old work on Cornwall"; J. T. Blight, *A Week at the Land's End* (London, 1861), pp. 42–3, quoting Polwhele; J. O. Halliwell, *Rambles in Western Cornwall* (London, 1861), p. 166 (English only); "Llallawg" 'Cornwall and the Cornish Language', p. 118; Cyrus Redding, *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series II (22 August 1868), p. 187 claiming erroneously that the epitaph was "only circulated in Ms" until his 1842 version; and R. N. Worth, *West Country Garland* (London, 1875), pp. 86–7 with **pobell** for the original **Poble** and hybrid English version.
27. Examples include: J. A. Paris, *A Guide to the Mount's Bay*, 2nd edition (London, 1824), p. 115 (epitaph not given in the first edition of 1816); J. Trenhaile, *Recreations in Rhyme* (London, 1834), p. 241 (English only), in his poem on Dolly Pentreath which was reprinted several times according to Boase and Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, pp. 785–6; W. Penaluna, *An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall* (Helston, 1838), p. 149, English only but refers to Polwhele's account; Thomas

- Joseph Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs* (London, 1857), p. 219, English version only; John Wilkins, *Gentleman's Magazine* (May 1866), p. 691; Editor, *Notes and Queries* 4th Series II (8 August 1868), p. 133, English version only taken from Pettigrew.
28. See National Archives, Kew, ADM174/20 Warrants (letters from the Admiralty to the Plymouth Dock Commissioner), 1784–6, pp. 548–9 for Thomson's letter.
29. ADM 174/119, Letters from Plymouth Dock Commissioner 1783–87, 22 January 1786 is approval for the experiment; 8 December 1785 was approval for work at the Mast Yard; 12 February 1786 reported on Parlbay and Templar completing the cross wall of the Mast Pond.
30. Spriggs searched both the Ordinary and Extraordinary pay lists for Thomson: ADM106/3006; ADM42/747,745, 890, 896, 899, 897, 900, 901, 902, 904, 907; ADM174/21, 22, 120, 174, 400. He did find William and John Spriggs, bricklayers in the Dockyard at that time, and from a Looe family.
31. See Allen Buckley, *The Story of Mining in Cornwall* (Fowey, 2005), p. 78. The original document is in the RIC, Ms HA/16/17.
32. Information on the Thomson family is from the *International Genealogical Index* (IGI), Cornwall Family History Society (CFHS) indexes in Truro, and parish registers in the CRO.
33. A William Thompson married Cecilia Peters 28 October 1751 at St Gluvias, and William Thompson (Bishop's Transcripts: Thomson) married Mary Laity on 31 July 1754 at St Hilary (information from the IGI and CFHS indexes). Either of these may be him.
34. References are given in Spriggs, 'Where Cornish was spoken', p. 255.
35. Quotation from Barrington, 'Mr. Barrington on ... the continuance of the Cornish language', p. 84. Other details of the Nancarrow family are taken from C. C. Jeffery, 'The Nancarrows: a forgotten Cornish engineering family', *Old Cornwall* 9/10 (1984), pp. 493–6 and 'John Nancarrow Junior', *Old Cornwall* 10/1 (1985), pp. 31–5.
36. Polwhele, *Characters of Cornwall*, p. 19; it is the only mention by Polwhele of the date of when the epitaph was meant to have been written.
37. Jeffery, 'John Nancarrow Junior', p. 32.
38. See discussion of all four men in *DNB*.
39. See footnote 17 for details of the family.
40. Barrington, 'Mr. Barrington on ... the continuance of the Cornish language', p. 84 quoting from a note on the manuscript, then in the hands of Phillips, who was trying to sell it on behalf of Pryce. See the discussion of the attempts to sell this manuscript in Alan Pearson, 'William Pryce, M.D. (1735–1790)', *Old Cornwall* 7/9 (1971), pp. 388–96. What remains of the original manuscript of *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica* is now in the RIC. Matthew Spriggs is preparing a paper on its history.
41. W. Borlase, *Antiquities Historical and Monumental of the County of Cornwall*, 2nd edn (London, 1769); E. Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica* (Oxford, 1707).
42. W. Pryce, *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica* (Sherborne, 1790).
43. J. M. Peter, 'John Opie RA, 1761–1807', *JRIC* n.s. 2 (1953–56), pp. 47–62.
44. "Alphabeta", 'Observations on the Decay and Cessation of the CORNISH LANGUAGE ...', *Universal Magazine* (January 1781), pp. 21–2. "Alphabeta" got the Vicar of Paul to check the burial register to determine that 'Dorothy Jefferz [sic] alias Pentraeth (her maiden name) was buried Dec 27 1780'.

- as to the identity of the person buried on that date is conclusive. One wonders if the writer was in fact Horace Walpole, a resident with Cornish links of 'Berkly-Square' in London from where the letter was addressed in December 1780? See his entry in *DNB*. For Scaddon see C. Staal, 'Richard Scaddon – a Cornish Painter', *JRIC* n.s. 7(1) (1973), pp. 15–20.
45. The motto seems to have been first published in the St Clements section of William Hals, *The Complete History of Cornwall, Part II being the Parochial History* (Exeter, 1750). Only Part II, Advent to Helston, was ever published. It was quoted from Hals by Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall*, vol. I (London, 1838), p. 206. It was known to the earlier Cornish writers such as Gwavas and Tonkin and so must date to at least near the beginning of the eighteenth century. For instance, it occurs in the George Borlase Manuscript in the RIC, dated to 1733 and representing Cornish material from Gwavas transcribed for Thomas Tonkin. Robert Morton Nance suspected that most of the known Cornish language family mottoes were a result of the printing of Lhwyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* in 1707, 'the Cornish grammar in which gave a short vogue to the disappearing language' and led to some of the gentry approaching scholars such as William Gwavas for a suitable motto: see 'Cornish Family Mottoes', *Old Cornwall* 1 (April 1925), pp. 18–21. The quotation comes from pp. 18–19.
 46. Polwhele, *Characters of Cornwall*, p. 19.
 47. Discussion of Late or Modern Cornish grammar and detailed sources for the Cornish authors that are referred to in this section can be found in R. Gendall, *A Student's Grammar of Late and Modern Cornish* (Tregliff Vean[Menheniot], 2004). IPA refers to the symbols used in the International Phonetic Alphabet.
 48. See the 1861 Welsh translation in footnote 25 for an example.
 49. See William Hals, *The Complete History of Cornwall*. It was quoted from Hals by Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall*, vol. I, p. 252. Hals' original manuscript is extant as BL Add. Ms. 29,762, with the Creed occurring on fol. 38r.
 50. *Classical Journal* 42 (1818–20), p. 30. 'Borlase's Vocabulary' in Borlase, *Antiquities Historical and Monumental*, pp. 413–64.
 51. Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*, p. 244. Lhuyd almost invariably used -yz for the common ending, William Jordan used -ys and -ez was standard among most late native writers; see Gendall, *A Student's Grammar*, p. 91.
 52. For *kleithez* see O. J. Padel, *Cornish Writings of the Boson Family* (Redruth, 1975), p. 56. The original manuscript in Gwavas' hand is in the Morrab Library, Penzance. John Boson (1655–1730) corresponded with Gwavas in the period 1709–20, see M. Spriggs, 'The Boson Family' entry in *DNB*. For *kyethes* see the manuscript labeled *Cornish Recipes* in the Morrab Library, described by A. Hawke, 'A new Cornish Manuscript', *Cornish Studies* (1st series) 14 (1986), pp. 5–14. Both of these manuscripts came to the Morrab from representatives of the Borlase family.
 53. Edwin Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1859). Vol. II contains a 'Sketch of Cornish Grammar' and an extensive vocabulary.
 54. Quoted in 'Llallawg', 'Cornwall and the Cornish Language', pp. 118–19. The book referred to here is Robert Williams, *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* (Llandovery, 1865).
 55. See Barrington, 'On the expiration of the Cornish Language', p. 283 for her supposed age in 1772. Richard Warner, *A Tour through Cornwall in the Autumn of 1808* (Bath, 1809), p. 357 may be the source for the Hitchens and Drew statement that she died in 1788: F. Hitchens and S. Drew, *History of Cornwall*, vol. I (Helston, 1817/1824), p. 228.
 56. E. Dunkin, *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series I (5 January 1856), p. 17; F. W. P. Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect*, pp. 332–3.
 57. In *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series XII (22 December 1855), p. 500.
 58. J. J. A. Boase, *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series XVIII (3 May 1856), pp. 359–60; the story is repeated in J. O. Halliwell, *Rambles in Western Cornwall* (London, 1861), p. 166. The work by Pryce referred to is W. Pryce, *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica*.
 59. See footnote 44.
 60. The quotation is from Bernard Victor's letter to F. W. P. Jago of 22 May 1882, part of an exchange of letters on the true location of Dolly's grave, which Victor asserted was some distance from where the 1860 memorial had been placed. The quotation in full reads: 'It is not to be said that the monument is in its right place because it was put there by the order of Prince LL. Bonaparte, or by the Rev. John Garrett – the one a Frenchman and the other an Irishman' (in Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect*, p. 337).
 61. See report of the manuscript in Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, vol. II, pp. 471–2, where it is noted that it had been purchased by Bonaparte 'a few years ago from the descendants of Mr. Scawen'; see also L. L. Bonaparte, 'Cornish Literature', *Gambrian Journal* 4 (1861), pp. 241–5. Norris is clearly in error on this point. It seems instead that the manuscript was purchased from a bookseller: Henry Jenner, who examined it in Bilbao in 1924, noted a receipt for it from Rodda, the Penzance bookseller, for 8/6d and gave the date as 1860; see his 'The Cornish Manuscript in the Provincial Library at Bilbao in Spain', *JRIC* 21(4) (1925), pp. 421–37. I presume that 1860 is a misreading for 1850, given that Norris had seen it prior to 1859. The Bilbao manuscript is Biblioteca de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia, Bilbao, Spain, Ms. Bnv-69. There is a photocopy in the RIC.
 62. BL Add. Ms. 28,554, folio 112r.
 63. See M. Spriggs, John Keigwin entry in *DNB*.
 64. See footnote 25.
 65. In 'Llallawg', 'Cornwall and the Cornish Language', footnote on p. 120; Williams gives a slightly different version of the Commandment in R. Williams, 1865, p. 396, Llandovery.
 66. See footnote 47 for sources and conventions.
 67. Letter from Bernard Victor to Rev. F. W. P. Jago, 2 May 1882, quoted in Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect*, p. 337. Jago notes in a footnote on that page that the lower gate is the one that opens into the path leading to the chancel door of Paul Church.
 68. Polwhele, *Characters of Cornwall*, p. 19.
 69. Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect*, pp. 333–41; F. W. P. Jago, 'Dolly Pentreath', *The Western Antiquary* VII (2) (July 1887), pp. 25–6. In the manuscript of the planned 2nd edition of Jago's *English-Cornish Dictionary* in the RIC is further as yet unpublished correspondence between Victor and Jago concerning Dolly. The originals of the published correspondence, with additional material in them that was not published, occur in another bound Jago manuscript volume in the RIC, entitled *English-Cornish Dictionary as it Went Through the Press, Also Original Letters About Dolly Pentreath*. The date for Victor's death is taken from the proof copy of Jago's

book, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall* ..., in M. Spriggs' possession, annotated by Jago himself with this information on p. 341.

70. W. E. Baily, 'The Supposed Remains of Dolly Pentreath', *Report and Transactions of the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society for 1887-88*, n.s. II (1884-88), pp. 365-7; further details are provided in *The Cornish Telegraph* (25 August 1887), unsigned article, 'Dolly Pentreath'.
71. See, 'The centenary of the Old Cornish language held at Paul 26 Dec 1877', *The Cornish Telegraph* (1 January 1878), p. 3; Henry Jenner's role on that occasion and significant events that led on from the event are discussed in R. M. Nance, "Gwas Myghal" and the Cornish Language Revival', *Old Cornwall* 2/8 (1934), pp. 1-5.