A TOUR THROUGH THE WHOLE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN

DANIEL DEFOE

Letter III. Containing a description of the South Coast of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire and Cornwall.

Letter IV. Containing a description of the North Shore of the counties of Cornwall and Devonshire and some parts of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire

(Edited and annotated by Craig Thornber, October 2022)

Editor's Introduction

The text has been edited to modernize spellings and simplify punctuation where necessary to make the meaning clearer. One hundred and sixty footnotes have been added to explain archaic words and to identify the places and some of the people mentioned, using predominantly information from Wikipedia and marked (W). The book does not have chapters, sections or index. Headings for the different counties have been added. Defoe starts out from London and makes some observations on Middlesex at the outset.

STARTING THE JOURNEY IN LONDON

SIR, I find so much left to speak of, and so many things to say in every part of England, that my journey cannot be barren of intelligence, which waysoever I turn; no, though I were to oblige myself to say nothing of anything that had been spoken of before.

I intended once to have gone due west this journey; but then I should have been obliged to crowd my observations so close, (to bring Hampton Court, Windsor, Blenheim, Oxford, the Bath and Bristol, all into one letter; all those remarkable places lying in a line, as it were, in one point of the compass) as to have made my letter too long, or my observations too light and superficial, as others have done before me.

This letter will divide the weighty task, and consequently make it fit lighter on the memory, be pleasanter to the reader, and make my progress the more regular. I shall therefore take in Hampton Court and Windsor in this journey; the first at my setting out, and the last at my return, and the rest as their situation demands.

As I came down from Kingston, in my last circuit, by the south bank of the Thames, on the Surrey side of the river; so I go up to Hampton Court, now, on the north bank, and on the Middlesex side, which I mention, because as the sides of the country bordering on the river, lie parallel, so the beauty of the country, the pleasant situations, the glory of innumerable fine buildings, noblemen's and gentlemen's houses, and citizens retreats, are so equal a match to what I had described on the other side, that one knows not which to give the preference to. But as I must speak of them again, when I come to write of the comity of Middlesex, which I have now purposely omitted; so I pass them over here, except the palace of Hampton only, which I mentioned in Middlesex, for the reasons above. Hampton Court lies on the north bank of the river Thames, about two small miles from Kingston, and on the road from Staines to Kingston Bridge; so that the road straightening the parks a little, they were obliged to part the parks, and leave the Paddock, and the Great Park, part on the other side the road; a testimony of that just regard that the Kings of England always had, and still have, to the common good, and to the service of the country, that they would not interrupt the course of the road, or cause the poor people to go out of the way of their business, to or from the markets and fairs, for any pleasure of their own whatsoever.

The palace of Hampton Court was first founded, and built from the ground, by that great statesman, and favourite of King Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey; and if it be a just observation anywhere, as is made from the situation of the old abbeys and monasteries, the clergy were excellent judges of the beauty and pleasantness of the country, and chose always to plant in the best; I say, if it was a just observation in any case, it was in this; for if there be a situation on the whole river between Staines Bridge and Windsor Bridge, pleasanter than another, it is this of Hampton; close to the river, yet not offended by the rising of its waters in floods, or storms, near to the reflux of the tides, but not quite so near as to be affected with any foulness of the water, which the flowing of the tides generally is the occasion of. The gardens extend almost to the bank of the river, yet are never overflowed; nor are there any marshes on either side the river to make the waters stagnate, or the air unwholesome on that account. The river is high enough to be navigable, and low enough to be a little pleasantly rapid; so that the stream looks always cheerful, not slow and sleeping, like a pond. This keeps the waters always clear and clean, the bottom in view, the fish playing, and in sight; and, in a word, it has everything that can make an inland; or, as I may call it, a country river, pleasant and agreeable.

I shall sing you no songs here of the river in the first person of a water nymph, a goddess, (and I know not what) according to the humour of the ancient poets. I shall talk nothing of the marriage of old Isis, the male river, with the beautiful Thame, the female river, a whimsy as simple as the subject was empty, but I shall speak of the river as occasion presents, as it really is made glorious by the splendour of its shores, gilded with noble palaces, strong fortifications, large hospitals, and public buildings; with the greatest bridge, and the greatest city in the world, made famous by the opulence of its merchants, the increase and extensiveness of its commerce; by its invincible navies, and by the innumerable fleets of ships sailing upon it, to and from all parts of the world.

As I meet with the river upwards in my travels through the inland country, I shall speak of it, as it is the channel for conveying an infinite quantity of provisions from remote counties to London, and enriching all the counties again that lie near it, by the return of wealth and trade from the city; and in describing these things I expect both to inform and divert my readers, and speak, in a more masculine manner, more to the dignity of the subject, and also more to their satisfaction, than I could do any other way.

There is little more to be said of the Thames, relating to Hampton Court, than that it adds, by its neighbourhood, to the pleasure of the situation; for as to passing by water to and from London; though in summer it is exceeding pleasant, yet the passage is a little too long to make it easy to tie ladies, especially to be crowded up in the small boats, which usually go upon the Thames for pleasure.

The prince and princess, indeed, I remember came once down by water, upon the occasion of her royal highness's being great with child, and near her time; so near, that she was delivered within two or three days after. But this passage being in the royal barges, with strength of oars, and the day exceeding fine, the passage, I say, was made very pleasant, and still the more so, for being short. Again, this passage is all the way with the stream, whereas, in the common passage, upwards, great part of the way is against the stream, which is slow and heavy.

But be the going and coming how it will by water, it is an exceeding pleasant passage by land, whether we go by the Surrey side or the Middlesex side of the water, of which I shall say more in its place.

The situation of Hampton-Court being thus mentioned, and its founder, it is to be mentioned next, that it fell to the Crown in the forfeiture of his eminence the cardinal, when the king seized his effects and estate, by which this and Whitehall, another house of his own building also, came to King Henry VIII; two palaces fit for the Kings of England, erected by one cardinal, are standing monuments of the excessive pride, as well as the immense wealth of that prelate, who knew no bounds of his insolence and ambition, till he was overthrown at once by the displeasure of his master.

Whoever knew Hampton Court before it was begun to be rebuilt, or altered, by the late King William, must acknowledge it was a very complete palace before, and fit for a king; and though it might not, according to the modern method of building, or of gardening, pass for a thing exquisitely fine; yet it had this remaining to itself, and perhaps peculiar; namely, that it shewed a situation exceedingly capable of improvement, and of being made one of the most delightful palaces in Europe.

This Her Majesty Queen Mary was so sensible of, that while the king had ordered the pulling down the old apartments, and building it up in that most beautiful form, which we see them now appear in, her majesty, impatient of enjoying so agreeable a retreat, fixed upon a building formerly made use of chiefly for landing from the river, and therefore called the Water Gallery; and here, as if she had been conscious that she had but a few years to enjoy it, she ordered all the little neat curious things to be done, which suited her own conveniences, and made it the pleasantest little thing within doors that could possibly be made, though its situation being such, as it could not be allowed to stand after the great building was finished; we now see no remains of it.

The queen had here her gallery of beauties, being the pictures, at full length, of the principal ladies attending upon her majesty, or who were frequently in her retinue; and this was the more beautiful sight, because the originals were all in being, and often to be compared with their pictures. Her majesty had here a fine apartment, with a set of lodgings, for her private retreat only, but most exquisitely furnished; particularly a fine chintz bed, then a great curiosity; another of her own work, while in Holland, very magnificent, and several others; and here was also her majesty's fine collection of Delft ware, which indeed was very large and fine; and here was also a vast stock of fine China ware, the like whereof was not then to be seen in England ; the long gallery, as above, was fitted with this china, and every other place, where it could be placed, with advantage.

The queen had here also a small bathing-room, made very fine, suited either to hot or cold bathing, as the season should invite; also a dairy, with all its conveniences, in which her majesty took great delight. All these things were finished with expedition, that here their majesties might repose while they saw the main building go forward. While this was doing, the gardens were laid out, the plan of them devised by the king himself; and especially the amendments and alterations were made by the king, or the queen's particular special command, or by both; for their majesties agreed so well in their fancy, and had both so good judgment in the just proportions of things, which are the principal beauties of a garden, that it may be said they both ordered everything that was done.

Here the fine parcel of limes, which form the semi-circle on the south front of the house, by the iron gates, looking into the park, were by the dextrous hand of the head gardener, removed, after some of them had been almost thirty years planted in other places, though not far off. I know the King of France, in the decoration of the gardens of Versailles, had oaks removed, which, by their dimensions, must have been above an hundred years old, and yet were taken up with so much art, and by the strength of such engines, by which such a monstrous quantity of earth was raised with them, that the trees could not feel their remove; that is to say, their growth was not at all hindered. This I confess, makes the wonder much the less in those trees at Hampton Court gardens; but the performance was not the less difficult or nice, however, in these, and they thrive perfectly well.

While the gardens were thus laid out, the king also directed the laying the pipes for the fountain and *jette d'eau's*; and particularly the dimensions of them, and what quantity of water they should cast up, and increased the number of them after the first design.

The ground on the side of the other front, has received some alterations since the taking down the water gallery; but not that part immediately next the lodgings. The orange trees, and fine Dutch bays, are placed within the arches of the building under the first floor, so that the lower part of the house was all one as a greenhouse for some time. Here stands advanced, on two

pedestals of stone, two marble vases, or flower pots, of most exquisite workmanship; the one done by an Englishman, and the other by a German. Tis hard to say which is the best performance, though the doing of it was a kind of trial of skill between them; but it gives us room, without partiality, to say they were both masters of their art.

The parterre on that side descends from the terrace walk by steps, and on the left a terrace goes down to the water-side, from which the garden on the eastward front is overlooked, and gives a most pleasant prospect.

The fine scrolls and bordure of these gardens were at first edged with box; but on the queen's disliking the smell, those edgings were taken up, but have since been planted again, at least in many places, nothing making so fair and regular an edging as box, or is so soon brought to its perfection.

On the north side of the house, where the gardens seemed to want screening from the weather, or the view of the chapel, and some part of the old building required to be covered from the eye; the vacant ground, which was large, is very happily cast into a wilderness, with a labyrinth, and espaliers so high, that they effectually take off all that part of the old building, which would have been offensive to the sight. This labyrinth and wilderness is not only well designed, and completely finished, but is perfectly well kept, and the espaliers filled exactly, at bottom to the very ground, and are led up to proportioned heights on the top; so that nothing of that kind can be more beautiful.

The house itself is every way answerable on the outside to the beautiful prospect, and the two fronts are the largest, and, beyond comparison, the finest of the kind in England. The great stairs go up from the second court of the palace on the right hand, and lead you to the south prospect.

I hinted in my last that King William brought into England the love of fine paintings, as well as that of fine gardens; and you have an example of it in the cartoons, as they are called, being five pieces of such paintings, as, if you will believe men of nice judgment and great travelling, are not to be matched in Europe. The stories are known, but especially two of them, *viz*. that of St. Paul preaching on Mars Hill to the self-wise Athenians, and that of St. Peter passing sentence of death on Ananias; I say, these two strike the mind with the utmost surprise; the passions are so drawn to the life, astonishment, terror and death in the face of Ananias; zeal and a sacred fire in the eyes of the blessed apostle; fright and surprize upon the countenances of the beholders in the piece of Ananias; all these describe themselves so naturally, that you cannot but seem to discover something of the like passions, even in seeing them.

In the other, there is the boldness and courage with which St. Paul undertook to talk to a set of men, who he knew despised all the world, as thinking themselves able to teach them anything. In the audience, there is anticipating pride and conceit in some, a smile or sneer of contempt in others, but a kind of sensible conviction, though crushed in its beginning, on the faces of the rest; and all together appear confounded, but have little to say, and know nothing at all of it, they gravely put him off to hear him another time; all these are seen here in the very dress of the face; that is, the very countenances which they hold while they listen to the new doctrine, which the apostle preached to a people at that time ignorant of it.

The other of the cartoons are exceeding fine; but I mention these as the particular two which are most lively, which strike the fancy the soonest at first view. it is reported, but with what truth I know not, that the late French king offered a hundred thousand louis d'ors for these pictures; but this, I say, is but a report. The king brought a great many other fine pieces to England, and with them the love of fine paintings so universally spread itself among the nobility and persons of figure all over the kingdom, that it is incredible what collections have been made by English gentlemen since that time; and how all Europe has been rummaged, as we may say, for pictures to bring over hither, where, for twenty years, they yielded the purchasers, such as collected them for sale, immense profit. But the rates are abated since that, and we begin to be glutted with the copies and frauds of the Dutch and Flemish painters, who have imposed grossly upon us. But to return to the palace of Hampton Court. Queen Mary lived not to see it completely finished; and her death, with the other difficulties of that reign, put a stop to the works for some time, till the king reviving his good liking of the place, set them to work again, and it was finished, as we see it. But I have been assured, that had the peace continued, and the king lived to enjoy the continuance of it, his majesty had resolved to have pulled down all the remains of the old budding; such as the chapel, and the large court within the first gate, and to have built up the whole palace after the manner of those two fronts already done. In these would have been an entire set of rooms of state for the receiving, and, if need had been, lodging, and entertaining any foreign prince, with his retinue; also offices for all the Secretaries of State, Lords of the Treasury, and of trade; to have repaired to for the dispatch of such business, as it might be necessary to have done there upon the king's longer residence there than ordinary; as also apartments for all the great officers of the household; so that had the house had two great squares added, as was designed, there would have been no room to spare, or that would not have been very well filled. But the king's death put an end to all these things.

Since the death of King William, Hampton Court seemed abandoned of its patron. They have gotten a kind of proverbial saying relating to Hampton Court, *viz*. that it has been generally chosen by every other prince, since it became a house of note. King Charles was the first that delighted in it since Queen Elizabeth's time; as for the reigns before, it was but newly forfeited to the Crown, and was not made a royal house till King Charles I, who was not only a prince that delighted in country retirements, but knew how to make choice of them by the beauty of their situation, the goodness of the air, &c. He took great delight here, and, had he lived to enjoy it in peace, had purposed to make it another thing than it was. But we all know what took him off from that felicity, and all others; and this house was at last made one of his prisons by his rebellious subjects.

His son, King Charles II may well be said to have an aversion to the place, for the reason just mentioned, namely, the treatment his royal father met with there; and particularly that the rebel and murderer of his father, Cromwell, afterwards possessed this palace, and revelled here in the blood of the royal party, as he had done in that of his sovereign. King Charles II therefore chose Windsor, and bestowed a vast sum in beautifying the castle there, and which brought it to the perfection we see it in at this day; some few alterations excepted, done in the time of King William.

King William, for King James is not to be named as to his choice of retired palaces, his delight running quite another way; I say, King William fixed upon Hampton Court; and it was in his reign that Hampton Court put on new cloths, and being dressed gay and glorious, made the figure we now see it in.

The late queen, taken up for part of her reign in her kind regards to the prince her spouse, was obliged to reside where her care of his health confined her, and in this case kept for the most part at Kensington, where he died; but her majesty always discovered her delight to be at Windsor, where she chose the little house, as it was called, opposite to the castle, and took the air in her chaise in the parks and forest, as she saw occasion.

Now Hampton Court, by the like alternative, is come into request again; and we find his present majesty, who is a good judge too of the pleasantness and situation of a place of that kind, has taken Hampton Court into his favour, and has made it much his choice for the summer's retreat of the Court, and where they may best enjoy the diversions of the season. When Hampton Court will find such another favourable juncture as in King William's time, when the remainder of her ashes shall be swept away, and her complete fabric, as designed by King William, shall be finished, I cannot tell; but if ever that shall be, I know no palace in Europe, Versailles excepted, which can come up to her, either for beauty and magnificence, or for extent of building, and the ornaments attending it.

From Hampton Court I directed my course for a journey into the south west part of England; and, to take up my beginning where I concluded my last, I crossed to Chertsey on the Thames, a town I mentioned before; from whence crossing the Black Desert, as I called it, of Bagshot-Heath, I directed my course for Hampshire, or Hampshire, and particularly for Basingstoke; that is to say, that a little before I passed into the great western road upon the heath, somewhat west of Bagshot, at a village called Blackwater, and entered Hampshire, near Hartleroe.[1]

HAMPSHIRE

Before we reach Basingstoke, we get rid of that unpleasant country, which I so often call a desert, and enter into a pleasant fertile country, enclosed and cultivated like the rest of England; and passing a village or two, we enter Basingstoke, in the midst of woods and pastures, rich and fertile, and the country accordingly spread with the houses of the nobility and gentry, as in other places. On the right hand, a little before we come to the town, we pass at a small distance the famous fortress, so it was then, of Basing, being a house belonging then to the Marquis of Winchester, the great ancestor of the present family of the Dukes of Bolton.[2]

This house, garrisoned by a resolute band of old soldiers, was a great curb to the rebels of the Parliament Party, almost through that whole war; till it was, after a vigorous defence, yielded to the conquerors, by the inevitable fate of things at that time. The old house is indeed demolished; but the successor of the family, the first Duke of Bolton, has erected a very noble fabric in the same place, or near it, which, however, is not equal to the magnificence which fame gives to the ancient house, whose strength of building only, besides the out-works, withstood the battery of cannon in several attacks, and repulsed the Roundheads, three or four times, when they attempted to besiege it. It is incredible what booty the garrison of this place picked up, lying, as they did, just on the great western road, where they intercepted the carriers, plundered the waggons, and suffered nothing to pass; to the great interruption of the trade of the city of London.

[1] Hartley Wintney lies on the A30, east of Basingstoke.
[2] Charles Paulet, 1st Duke of Bolton (c. 1630 - 1699), was the son of John Paulet, 5th Marquess of Winchester. (W)

Basingstoke is a large populous market town, has a good market for corn, and lately, within a very few years, is fallen into a manufacture, *viz*. of making druggets[3] and shalloons,[4] and such slight goods, which, however, employs a good number of the poor people, and enables them to get their bread, which knew not how to get it before.

From hence the great western road goes on to Whitchurch and Andover, two market towns, and sending members to Parliament; at the last of which, the Downs, or open country, begins, which we in general, though falsely, call Salisbury Plain. But my resolution being to take in my view what I had passed by before; I was obliged to go off to the left hand, to Alresford and Winchester.

Alresford was a flourishing market town, and remarkable for this, that though it had no great trade, and particularly very little, if any manufactures, yet there was no collection in the town for the poor, nor any poor low enough to take alms of the parish, which is what I do not think can be said of any town in England besides.

But this happy circumstance, which so distinguished Alresford from all her neighbours, was brought to an end in the year ----,[5] when, by a sudden and surprizing fire, the whole town, with both the church and the market-house, was reduced to a heap of rubbish; and, except a few poor huts at the remotest ends of the town, not a house left standing. The town is since that very handsomely rebuilt, and the neighbouring gentlemen contributed largely to the relief of the people, especially, by sending in timber towards their building; also their Market-house is handsomely built; but the church not yet, though we hear there is a fund raising likewise for that.

Here is a very large pond, or lake of water, kept up to a head, by a strong *batterd'eau*, or dam, which the people tell us was made by the Romans; and that it is to this day part of the great Roman highway, which leads from Winchester to Alton, and, as it is supposed, went on to London, though we nowhere see any remains of it, except between Winchester and Alton, and chiefly between this town and Alton.

Near this town, a little north-west, the Duke of Bolton has another seat, which, though not large, is a very handsome beautiful palace, and the gardens not only very exact, but very finely situate, the prospect and visto's noble and great, and the whole very well kept.

From hence, at the end of seven miles over the Downs, we come to the very ancient city of Winchester; not only the great church, which is so famous all over Europe, and has been so much talked of, but even the whole city has, at a distance, the face of venerable, and looks ancient afar off; and yet here are many modern buildings too, and some very handsome; as the college schools; with the bishop's palace, built by Bishop Morley,[6] since the late wars; the old palace of the bishop having been ruined by that known church incendiary, Sir William Waller,[7] and his crew of plunderers; who, if my information is not wrong, as I believe it is

[3] Heavy felted material used as floor covering. (W)
[4] A lightweight twilled fabric of wool or worsted. (W)
[5] The date is missing in the original. Much of the medieval town was destroyed by a fire in 1689/90 that destroyed 117 houses.
[6] George Morley (1598 - 1684) was Bishop of Worcester and then of Winchester. (W)
[7] Sir William Waller (c. 1597 - 1668) was a soldier and politician, who commanded Parliamentary armies during the First English Civil War but relinquished his commission in 1645. He was MP for Andover in 1640. (W)

not, destroyed more monuments of the dead, and defaced more churches, than all the Roundheads in England beside.

This church, and the schools, also are accurately described by several writers, especially by the *Monasticon*,[8] where their antiquity and original is fully set forth. The outside of the church is as plain and coarse, as if the founders had abhorred ornaments, or that William of Wickham[9] had been a Quaker, or at least a Quietist.[10] There is neither statue, or a niche for a statue, to be seen on all the outside; no carved work, no spires, towers, pinnacles, balustrades, or anything; but mere walls, buttresses, windows, and coins, necessary to the support and order of the building. It has no steeple, but a short tower covered flat, as if the top of it had fallen down, and it had been covered in haste to keep the rain out, till they had time to build it up again.

But the inside of the church has many very good things in it, and worth observation; it was for some ages the burying place of the English Saxon kings; whose relics, at the repair of the church, were collected by Bishop Fox,[11] and, being put together into large wooden chests, lined with lead, were again interred at the foot of the great wall in the choir, three on one side, and three on the other; with an account whose bones are in each chest, whether the division of the relics might be depended upon, has been doubted, but is not thought material, so that we do but believe they are all there.

The choir of the church appears very magnificent; the roof is very high, and the Gothic work in the arched part is very fine, though very old; the painting in the windows is admirably good, and easy to be distinguished by those that understand those things. The steps ascending to the choir make a very fine show, having the statues of King James, and his son King Charles, in copper, finely cast; the first on the right hand, and the other on the left, as you go up to the choir.

The choir is said to be the longest in England; and as the number of prebendaries, canons, &c. are many, it required such a length. The ornaments of the choir are the effects of the bounty of several bishops; the fine altar (the noblest in England by much) was done by Bishop Morley; the roof, and the coat of arms of the Saxon and Norman kings, were done by Bishop Fox; and the fine throne, for the bishop in the choir, was given by Bishop Mews,[12] in his life-time; and it was well it was; for if he had ordered it by will, there is reason to believe it had

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[8] *Monasticon Anglicanum* or 'The History of the Ancient Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales,' collected and published in Latin, by Sir William Dugdale, late Garter King of Arms, in three volumes 1693. (W)

[9] William of Wykeham (1320 or 1324 - 1404) was Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England. He founded New College, Oxford, and New College School in 1379, and founded Winchester College in 1382. He was also the clerk of works when much of Windsor Castle was built. Former pupils of Winchester College are called Wykehamists. (W)

[10] Quietism, was a doctrine of Christian spirituality that, in general, held that perfection consists in passivity of the soul, in the suppression of human effort so that divine action may have full play. It was condemned as a heresy by Pope Innocent XI in 1687. (W)

[11] Richard Foxe (or Fox c. 1448 - 1528) was an English churchman, successively Bishop of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester, Lord Privy Seal, and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. (W)

[12] Peter Mews (1619 - 1706) was an English Royalist theologian. He was appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1672 and in 1684 he was elected Bishop of Winchester, a position which he filled until his death. He was buried in Winchester Cathedral. (W)

never been done. That reverend prelate, notwithstanding he enjoyed so rich a bishopric, scarce leaving money enough behind him, to pay for his coffin.

There are a great many persons of rank buried in this church, besides the Saxon kings, mentioned above; and besides several of the most eminent bishops of the see. Just under the altar lies a son of William the Conqueror, without any monument; and behind the altar, under a very fine and venerable monument, lies the famous Lord Treasurer, Weston, late Earl of Portland, Lord High Treasurer of England[13] under King Charles I. His effigy is in copper armour, at full length, with his head raised on three cushions of the same, and is a very magnificent work. There is also a very fine monument of Cardinal Beaufort,[14] in his cardinal's robes and hat.

The monument of Sir John Coberry[15] is extraordinary, but more, because it puts strangers upon enquiring into his story, than for any thing wonderful in the figure, it being cut in a modern dress; the habit gentlemen wore in those times, which, being now so much out of fashion, appears mean enough. But this gentleman's story is particular, being the person solely entrusted with the secret of the Restoration of King Charles II as the messenger that passed between General Monk[16] on one hand, and Mr. Montague,[17] and others entrusted by King Charles II on the other hand; which he managed so faithfully, as to effect that memorable event, to which England owes the felicity of all her happy days since that time; by which faithful service, Sir John Cloberry, then a private musqueteer only, raised himself to the honour of a knight, with the reward of a good estate from the bounty of the king.

Everybody that goes into this church, and reads what is to be read there, will be told, that the body of the church was built by the famous William of Wickham; whose monument, intimating his fame, lies in the middle of that part, which was built at his expense.

He was a courtier before a bishop; and though he had no great share of learning, he was a great promoter of it, and a lover of learned men. His natural genius was much beyond his acquired parts, and his skill in politics beyond his ecclesiastic knowledge. He is said to have put his master, King Edward III to whom he was Secretary of State, upon the two great projects which made his reign so glorious, *viz*. First, upon setting up his claim to the crown of France, and pushing that claim by force of arms, which brought on the war with France, in which that prince was three times victorious in battle. (2.) Upon setting up, or instituting the

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[13] Richard Weston, 1st Earl of Portland, 1st Baron Weston (1577 - 1634/1635). The earldom was created in 1633. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1621 to 1628 and Lord High Treasurer from 1628 to 1635. He had been created Baron Weston of Nayland in Suffolk in 1628 (W).

[14] Cardinal Henry Beaufort (c. 1375 - 1447), held the offices of Bishop of Lincoln (1398) then Bishop of Winchester (1404) and was from 1426 a Cardinal of the Church of Rome. He was the second son of the four legitimized children of John of Gaunt (third son of King Edward III) by his mistress (later wife) Katherine Swynford. (W)

[15] Sir John Cloberry (c. 1625 - 1688) was an English soldier and politician who sat in the House of Commons at various times between 1660 and 1685. (W)

[16] George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle (1608 - 1670), was a soldier and politician, and a key figure on both sides of the English Civil War, as well as in the Restoration of the monarchy to Charles II in 1660. (W)

[17] Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich (1625 - 1672) was an English landowner, infantry officer, and later naval officer and politician, who an MP at various times between 1645 and 1660. He served Oliver Cromwell loyally in the 1650s, but went on to play a considerable part in the Restoration of King Charles II. (W)

Order of the Garter; in which he (being before that made Bishop of Winchester) obtained the honour for the Bishops of Winchester, of being always prelates of the Order, as an appendix to the bishopric; and he himself was the first prelate of the Order, and the ensigns of that honour are joined with his episcopal ornaments, in the robing of his effigy on the monument above.

To the honour of this bishop, there are other foundations of his, as much to his fame as that of this church, of which I shall speak in their order; but particularly the college in this city, which is a noble foundation indeed. The building consists of two large courts, in which are the lodgings for the masters and scholars, and in the centre a very noble chapel; beyond that, in the second court, are the schools, with a large cloister beyond them, and some enclosures laid open for the diversion of the scholars. There also is a great hall, where the scholars dine. The funds for the support of this college are very considerable; the masters live in a very good figure, and their maintenance is sufficient to support it. They have all separate dwellings in the house, and all possible conveniences appointed them.

The scholars have exhibitions at a certain time of continuance here, if they please to study, in the new college at Oxford, built by the same noble benefactor, of which I shall speak in its order.

The clergy here live at large, and very handsomely, in the close belonging to the cathedral; where, besides the bishop's palace, mentioned above, are very good houses, and very handsomely built, for the prebendaries, canons, and other dignitaries of this church. The deanery is a very pleasant dwelling, the gardens very large, and the river running through them; but the floods in winter sometimes incommode the gardens very much.

This school has fully answered the end of the founder, who, though he was no great scholar, resolved to erect a house for the making the ages to come more learned than those that went before; and it had, I say, fully answered the end, for many learned and great men have been raised here, some of whom we shall have occasion to mention as we go on.

Among the many private inscriptions in this church, we found one made by Dr. Over, once an eminent physician in this city, on a mother and child, who, being his patients, died together, and were buried in the same grave, and which intimate, that one died of a fever, and the other of a dropsy.

Surrepuit natum febris matrem Abstulit Hydrops,
Igne Prior fatis, altera Cessit Aqua.

As the city itself stands in a vale on the bank, and at the conjunction of two small rivers, so the country rising every way, but just as the course of the water keeps the valley open, you must necessarily, as you go out of the gates, go up hill every way. But when once ascended, you come to the most charming plains, and most pleasant country of that kind in England; which continues, with very small intersections of rivers and valleys, for above fifty miles, as shall appear in the sequel of this journey.

At the west gate of this city was anciently a castle, known to be so by the ruins, more than by any extraordinary notice taken of it in history. What they say of it, that the Saxon kings kept their Court here, is doubtful, and must be meant of the West Saxons only; and as to the tale of King Arthur's round table, which, they pretend, was kept here for him, and his two dozen of

knights; which table hangs up still, as a piece of antiquity, to the tune of 1200 years, and has, as they pretend, the names of the said knights in Saxon characters, and yet such as no man can read. All this story I see so little ground to give the least credit to, that I look upon it, and it shall please you, to be no better than a FIBB,

Where this castle stood, or whatever else it was, for some say there was no castle there, the late King Charles II marked out, a very noble design; which had he lived, would certainly have made that part of the country, the Newmarket of the ages to come; for the country hereabout far excels that of Newmarket Heath, for all kinds of sport and diversion, fit for a prince, nobody can dispute; and as the design included a noble palace, sufficient like Windsor, for a summer residence of the whole Court, it would certainly have diverted the king from his cursory journeys to Newmarket.

The plan of this house has received several alterations; and as it is never like to be finished, it is scarce worth recording the variety. The building is begun, and the front next the city carried up to the roof, and covered; but the remainder is not begun. There was a street of houses designed from the gate of the palace down to the town, but it was never begun to be built; the park marked out was exceeding large, near ten miles in circumference, and ended west upon the open downs, in view of the town of Stockbridge.

This house was afterwards settled with a royal revenue also, as an appendage, established by Parliament upon Prince George of Denmark[18] for his life, in case he had outlived the queen. But his royal highness dying before her majesty, all hope of seeing this design perfected, or the house finished, is now vanished.

I cannot omit that there are several public edifices in this city, and in the neighbourhood; as the hospitals, and the building adjoining near the east gate; and towards the north, a piece of an old monastery undemolished, and which is still preserved to the religion, being the residence of some private Roman Catholic gentlemen, where they have an oratory, and, as they say, live still according to the rules of St. Benedict. This building is called Hide-House; and, as they live very usefully and, to the highest degree, obliging among their neighbours, they meet with no obstruction or disturbance from anybody.

Winchester is a place of no trade, other than is naturally occasioned by the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring villages, one with another. Here is no manufacture, no navigation; there was indeed an attempt to make the river navigable from Southampton; and it was once made practicable, but it never answered the expense, so as to give encouragement to the undertakers.

Here is a great deal of good company; and abundance of gentry being in the neighbourhood, it adds to the sociableness of the place. The clergy also here are, generally speaking, very rich, and very numerous.

As there is such good company, so they are gotten into that new-fashioned way of conversing by assemblies. I shall do no more than mention them here; they are pleasant and agreeable to the young people, and sometimes fatal to them, of which, in its place; Winchester has its share of the mirth. May it escape the ill consequences.

[18] Prince George of Denmark and Norway, Duke of Cumberland, (1653 - 1708), was the husband of Queen Anne, who reigned from 1702 to 1714. (W)

The hospital[19] on the south of this city, at a mile distance on the road to Southampton, is worth notice. It is said to be founded by King William Rufus,[20] but was not endowed or appointed till later times by Cardinal Beaufort. Every traveller that knocks at the door of this house, in his way, and asks for it, claims the relief of a piece of white bread and a cup of beer; and this donation is still continued; a quantity of good beer is set apart every day to be given away; and what is left, is distributed to other poor, but none of it kept to the next day.

How the revenues of this hospital, which should maintain the master and thirty private gentlemen, who they call Fellows, but ought to call Brothers, is now reduced to maintain only fourteen, while the master lives in a figure equal to the best gentleman in the country, would be well worth the enquiry of a proper visitor, if such can be named. It is a thing worthy of complaint, when public charities, designed for the relief of the poor, are embezzled and depredated by the rich, and turned to the support of luxury and pride.

From Winchester, is about 25 miles, and over the most charming plains that can anywhere be seen, (far in my opinion) excelling the plains of Mecca, we come to Salisbury; the vast flocks of sheep, which one everywhere sees upon these downs, and the great number of those flocks, is a sight truly worth observation; it is ordinary for these flocks to contain from 3 to 5000 in a flock; and several private farmers hereabouts have two or three such flocks.

But it is more remarkable still; how a great part of these downs comes by a new method of husbandry, to be not only made arable, which they never were in former days, but to bear excellent wheat, and great crops too, though otherwise poor barren land, and never known to our ancestors to be capable of any such thing; nay, they would perhaps have laughed at any one that would have gone about to plough up the wild downs and hills, where the sheep were wont to go. But experience has made the present age wiser, and more skilful in husbandry; for by only folding the sheep upon the ploughed lands, those lands, which otherwise are barren, and where the plough goes within three or four inches of the solid rock of chalk, are made fruitful, and bear very good wheat, as well as rye and barley. I shall say more of this when I come to speak of the same practice farther in the country.

This plain country continues in length from Winchester to Salisbury 25 miles, from thence to Dorchester 22 miles, thence to Weymouth 6 miles, so that they lie near 50 miles in length, and breadth; they reach also in some places 35 to 40 miles. They who would make any practicable guess at the number of sheep usually fed on these downs, may take it from a calculation made, as I was told, at Dorchester, that there were 600,000 sheep fed within 6 miles of that town, measuring every way round, and the town in the centre.

As we passed this plain country, we saw a great many old camps, as well Roman as British, and several remains of the ancient inhabitants of this kingdom, and of their wars, battles, entrenchments, encampments, buildings, and other fortifications, which are indeed very agreeable to a traveller, that has read anything of the history of the country. Old Sarum is as remarkable as any of these, where there is a double entrenchment, with a deep graffe, or ditch, to either of them; the area about 100 yards in diameter, taking in the whole crown of

[19] The Hospital of St Cross (the Holy Cross) and Almshouse of Noble Poverty is a medieval almshouse in Winchester. Hospital in this case is related to hospitality, not a place for treating the sick. It still still has 25 brothers. They belong to either of two charitable foundations: the Order of the Hospital of St Cross (founded c. 1132) and the Order of Noble Poverty (founded in 1445). (W)

[20] Now believed to have been founded by one of William the Conqueror's grandsons, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, the younger brother of Stephen of Blois who became King (1135 to 1154). (W)

the hill, and thereby rendering lie ascent very difficult. Near this, there is one farm house, which is all the remains I could see of any town in or near the place, for the encampment has no resemblance of a town; and yet this is called the borough of Old Sarum, and sends two members to Parliament, who, those members can justly say, they represent, would be hard for them to answer.

Some will have it, that the old city of Sorbiodunum, or Salisbury, stood here, and was afterwards, for I know not what reasons,[21] removed to the low marshy grounds, among the rivers, where it now stands. But as I see no authority for it, other than mere tradition, I believe my share of it, and take it *ad referendum*.[22]

Salisbury itself is indeed a large and pleasant city; though I do not think it at all the pleasanter for that which they boast so much of; namely, the water running through the middle of every street, or that it adds anything to the beauty of the place, but just the contrary; it keeps the streets always dirty, full of wet and filth, and weeds, even in the middle of summer.
The city is placed upon the confluence of two large rivers, the Avon and the Willy, either of them considerable rivers, but very large, when joined together, and yet larger when they receive a third river, *viz*. the Naddir, which joins them near Clarendon Park, about three miles below the city; then, with a deep channel, and a current less rapid, they run down to Christ Church, which is then a port, and where they empty themselves into the sea; from that town upwards, towards Salisbury, they are made navigable too within two miles, and might be so quite into the city, were it not for the strength of the stream.

As the city of Winchester is a city without trade, that is to say, without any particular manufactures; so this city of Salisbury, and all the county of Wilts, of which it is the capital, are full of a great variety of manufactures; and those some of the most considerable in England; namely, the clothing trade, and the trade of flannels, druggets, and several other sorts of manufactures, of which in their order.

The city of Salisbury has two remarkable manufactures carried on in it, and which employ the poor of great part of the country round; namely, fine flannels, and long cloths for the Turkey trade, called Salisbury Whites. The people of Salisbury are gay and rich, and have a flourishing trade; and there is a great deal of good manners and good company among them; I mean, among the citizens, besides what is found among the gentlemen; for there are many good families in Salisbury, besides the citizens.

This society has a great addition from the Gloss, that is to say, the circle of ground walled in adjacent to the cathedral; in which the families of the prebendaries and commons, and others of the clergy belonging to the cathedral have their houses, as is usual in all cities where there are cathedral churches. These are so considerable here, and the place so large, that it is (as it is called in general) like another city.

The cathedral is famous for the height of its spire, which is without exception the highest, and the handsomest in England, being from the ground 410 foot, and yet the walls so exceeding

[21] As a response to deteriorating relations between the clergy and the military at Old Sarum Cathedral, the decision was taken to re-site the cathedral, with the seat of the bishopric being moved to New Sarum, or Salisbury. (W)
[22] Claims that the British hillfort was called Sorviodunum result from misinterpretation of the Roman road network and Sorbiodoni in the Antonine Itinerary. It does not seem to have been occupied by the Roman army at all, although it may simply be that the fort has not yet been located. (W)

thin, that at the upper part of the spire upon a view made by the late Christopher Wren, the wall was found to be less than five inches thick; upon which a consultation was had, whether the spire, or at least the upper part of it should be taken down, it being supposed to have received some damage by the great storm in the year 1703; but it was resolved in the negative, and Sir Christopher ordered it to be so strengthened with bands of iron plates, as has effectually secured it; and I have heard some of the best architects say, it is stronger now than when it was first built.

They tell us here long stories of the great art used in laying the first foundations of this church; the ground being marshy and wet, occasioned by the channels of the rivers; that it was laid upon piles according to some, and upon woolpacks according to others; but this is not supposed by those who know, that the whole country is one rock of chalk, even from the tops of the highest hills, to the bottom of the deepest rivers.[23]

They tell us, this church was 40 years a building, and cost an immense sum of money, but it must be acknowledged that the inside of the work is not answerable in the decoration of things, to the workmanship without; the painting in the choir is mean, and more like the ordinary method of common drawing room, or tavern painting, than that of a church; the carving is good, but very little of it, and it is rather a fine church than finely set off.

The ordinary boast of this building, that there were as many gates as months, as many windows as days, as many marble pillars as hours in the year, is now no recommendation at all. However, the mention of it must be preserved.

As many days as in one year there be, So many windows in one church we see; As many marble pillars there appear, As there are hours throughout the fleeting year; As many gates as moons one year do view. Strange tale to tell, yet not more strange than true.

There are however some very fine monuments in this church; particularly one belonging to the noble family of Seymours, since Dukes of Somerset, (and ancestors of the present flourishing family,) which on a most melancholy occasion has been now lately opened again to receive the body of the late Duchess of Somerset, the happy consort for almost 40 years of his grace the present duke; and only daughter and heiress of the ancient and noble family of Percy, Earls of Northumberland, whose great estate she brought into the family of Somerset, who now enjoy it.[24]

With her was buried at the same time her graces daughter the Marchioness of Carmarthen, being married to the Marquess of Carmarthen,[25] son and heir apparent to the Lord of Leeds, who died for grief at the loss of the duchess her mother, and was buried with her; also her second son the Duke Percy Somerset, who died a few months before, and had been buried in

[23] When huge cracks started to appear in the early 1900s, the Cathedral seemed in danger of complete collapse. Early efforts to underpin its waterlogged foundations failed until William Walker, a deep-sea diver, worked under water every day for six years placing bags of concrete. (W)

[24] In Defoe's time it was Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset, (13 Aug 1662 - 2 Dec 1748), who rebuilt Petworth House the ancient Percy seat inherited from his wife. (W)

[25] In Defoe's time it was Peregrine Hyde Osborne, 3rd Duke of Leeds (1691 - 1731). In 1694, his grandfather, the 1st Marquess of Carmarthen, was created Duke of Leeds. He was one of the "seven immortals" who invited William of Orange to come to England with his wife Mary, daughter of James II, to displace her father on the throne. The eldest son of the family has the Carmarthen title. The family also have the titles of Earl Danby and Baron Osborne. (W)

the abbey-church of Westminster, but was ordered to be removed and laid here with the ancestors of his house; and I hear his grace designs to have a yet more magnificent monument erected in this cathedral for them, just by the other, which is there already.

How the Dukes of Somerset came to quit this church for their burying-place, and be laid in Westminster-Abbey, that I know not; but it is certain that the present duke has chosen to have his family laid here with their ancestors, and to that end has caused the corps of his son the Lord Percy, as above, and one of his daughters who had been buried in the Abbey, to be removed and brought down to this vault, which lies in that they call the Virgin Mary's Chapel behind the altar. There is, as above, a noble monument for a late Duke and Duchess of Somerset in the place already; with their portraits at full length, their heads lying upon cushions, the whole perfectly well wrought in fine polished Italian marble, and their sons kneeling by them; those I suppose to be the father of the great Duke of Somerset, uncle to King Edward IV, but after this the family lay in Westminster-Abbey, where there is also a fine monument for that very duke who was beheaded by Edward VI, and who was the great patron of the Reformation.

Among other monuments of noble men in this cathedral they show you one that is very extraordinary, and to which there hangs a tale. There was in the reign of Philip and Mary a very unhappy murder committed by the then Lord Sturton, or Stourton, a family since extinct, but well-known till within a few years in that country.

This Lord Stourton[26] being guilty of the said murder, which also was aggravated with very bad circumstances, could not obtain the usual grace of the Crown, (*viz*.) to be beheaded, but Queen Mary positively ordered that like a common malefactor he should die at the gallows. After he was hanged, his friends desiring to have him buried at Salisbury, the bishop would not consent that he should be buried in the cathedral, unless as a farther mark of infamy, his friends would submit to this condition (*viz*.) That the silken halter in which he was hanged should be hanged up over his grave in the church, as a monument of his crime; which was accordingly done, and there it is to be seen to this day.

The putting this halter up here, was not so wonderful to me as it was, that the posterity of that lord, who remained in good rank sometime after, should never prevail to have that mark of infamy taken off from the memory of their ancestor.

There are several other monuments in this cathedral, as particularly of two noblemen of ancient families in Scotland, one of the name of Hay, and one of the name of Gordon; but they give us nothing of their history, so that we must be content to say there they lie, and that's all.

The cloister, and the chapter-house adjoining to the church, are the finest here of any I have seen in England; the latter is octagon, or eight square, and is 150 foot in its circumference; the roof bearing all upon one small marble pillar in the centre, which you may shake with your hands; and it is hardly to be imagined it can be any great support to the roof , which makes it the more curious, it is not indeed to be matched I believe in Europe.

[26] Charles Stourton, 8th Baron Stourton (c. 1520 - 1557), an English peer, who was executed for murder. The family survives to this day with the 24th Baron born in 1953. (W)

From hence directing my course to the sea-side in pursuit of my first design, *viz*. of viewing the whole coast of England, I left the great road, and went down the east side of the river towards New-Forest, and Lymington; and here I saw the ancient house and seat of Clarendon, the mansion of the ancient family of Hyde, ancestors of the great Earl of Clarendon,[27] and from whence his lordship was honoured with that title, or the house erected into an honour in favour of his family.

But this being a large county, and full of memorable branches of antiquity, and modern curiosity, I cannot quit my observations so soon, but being happily fixed by the favour of a particular friend at so beautiful a spot of ground as this of Clarendon Park, I made several little excursions from hence to view the northern parts of this county; a county so fruitful of wonders, that though I do not make antiquity my chief search, yet I must not pass it over entirely, where so much of it, and so well worth observation is to be found, which would look as if I either understood not the value of the study, or expected my readers should be satisfied with a total omission of it.

I have mentioned that this county is generally a vast continued body of high chalky hills, whose tops spread themselves into fruitful and pleasant downs and plains, upon which great flocks of sheep are fed, &c. But the reader is desired to observe these hills and plains are most beautifully intersected, and cut through by the course of divers pleasant and profitable rivers; in the course, and near the banks, of which there always is a chain of fruitful meadows, and rich pastures, and those interspersed with innumerable pleasant towns, villages, and houses, and among them many of considerable magnitude; so that while you view the downs, and think the country wild and uninhabited ; yet when you come to descend into these vales you are surprised with the most pleasant and fertile country in England.

There are no less than four of these rivers which meet all together, at, or near the city of Salisbury, especially the waters of three of them run through the streets of the city; the Nadder and the Willy, and the Avon, and the course of these three lead us through the whole mountainous part of the county, the two first join their waters at Wilton; the shire-town, though a place of no great notice now; and these are the waters which run through the canal, and the gardens of Wilton House, the seat of that ornament of nobility and learning, the Earl of Pembroke.[28]

One cannot be said to have seen anything that a man of curiosity would think worth seeing in this county, and not have been at Wilton House; but not the beautiful building, not the ancient trophy of a great family, not the noble situation, not all the pleasures of the gardens, parks, fountains, hare-warren, or of whatever is rare either in art or nature are equal to, that yet more glorious sight, of a noble princely palace, constantly filled with its noble and proper inhabitants; *viz*. the lord and proprietor, who is indeed a true patriarchal monarch, reigns here with an authority agreeable to all his subjects (family); and his reign is made agreeable, by his first practising the most exquisite government of himself, and then guiding all under him by the rules of honour and virtue; being also himself perfectly master of all the needful arts of

[27] Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon (1609 - 1674), was a statesman, diplomat and historian, who served as chief advisor to Charles I during the First English Civil War, and Lord Chancellor to his son, Charles II, from 1660 to 1667. (W)

[28] In Defoe's time it was Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke and 5th Earl of Montgomery (c. 1656 - 1733), styled The Honourable Thomas Herbert until 1683. He was a statesman during the reigns of William III and Mary and later Queen Anne. (W)

family government; I mean needful to make that government, both easy, and pleasant to those who are under it, and who therefore willingly, and by choice conform to it.

Here an exalted genius is the instructor, a glorious example the guide, and a gentle well directed hand the governor and law-giver to the whole; and the family like a well governed city appears happy, flourishing and regular, groaning under no grievance, pleased with what they enjoy, and enjoying everything which they ought to be pleased with.

Nor is the blessing of this noble resident extended to the family only, but even to all the country round, who in their degree feel the effects of the general beneficence; and where the neighbourhood, however poor, receive all the good they can expect, and are sure to have no injury, or oppression.

The canal before the house lies parallel with the road, and receives into it the whole river Willey, or at least is able to do so; it may indeed be said, that the river is made into a canal; when we come into the court-yards before the house there are several pieces of antiquity to entertain the curious; as particularly, a noble column of porphyry, with a marble statue of Venus on the top of it. In Italy, and especially at Rome and Naples, we see a great variety of fine columns, and some of them of excellent workmanship, and antiquity, and at some of the Courts of the Princes of Italy the like is seen; as especially at the Court of Florence; but in England I do not remember to have seen anything like this, which as they told me is two and thirty foot high and of excellent workmanship, and that it came last from Candia, but formerly from Alexandria; what may belong to the history of it any further, I suppose is not known, at least they could tell me no more of it, who shewed it me.

On the left of the court was formerly a large grotto, and curious water-works, and in a house, or shed, or part of the building which opened with two folding doors, like a coach house, a large equestrian statue of one of the ancestors of the family in complete armour, as also another of a Roman emperor in brass, but the last time I had the curiosity to see this house, I missed that part; so that I supposed they were removed.

As the present Earl of Pembroke, the lord of this fine palace, is a nobleman of great personal merit, many other ways; so he is a man of learning, and reading, beyond most men of his lordship's high rank in this nation, if not in the world; and as his reading has made him a master of antiquity, and judge of such pieces of antiquity, as he has had opportunity to meet with in his own travels, and otherwise in the world; so it has given him a love of the study, and made him a collector of valuable things, as well in painting as in sculpture, and other excellencies of art, as also of nature; in so much that Wilton House is now a mere museum, or a chamber of rarities, and we meet with several things there, which are to be found nowhere else in the world.

As his lordship is a great collector of fine paintings; so I know no nobleman's house in England, so prepared, as if built on purpose to receive them; the largest, and the finest pieces that can be imagined extant in the world, might have found a place here capable to receive them; I say, they might have found, as if they could not now, which is in part true; for at present the whole house is so completely filled, that I see no room for any new piece to crowd in, without displacing some other fine piece that hung there before; as for the value of the piece, that might so offer to succeed the displaced, that the great judge of the whole collection, the earl himself, must determine, and as his judgment is perfectly good, the best picture would be sure to possess the place. In a word, here is without doubt the best, if not

the greatest collection of rarities, and paintings, that are to be seen together, in any one nobleman's, or gentleman's house in England. The piece of our Saviour washing his disciples' feet, which they shew you in one of the first rooms you go into, must be spoken of by everybody that has any knowledge of painting, and is an admirable piece indeed.

You ascend the great stair case, at the upper end of the hall, which is very large; at the foot of the stair-case you have a Bacchus large as the life, done in fine Peloponnesian marble; carrying a young Bacchus on his arm, the young one eating grapes, and letting you see by his countenance, that he is pleased with the taste of them; nothing can be done finer, or more lively represent the thing intended; namely the gust of the appetite, which if it be not a passion, it is an affection, which is as much seen in the countenance, perhaps more than any other. One ought to stop every two steps of this stair-case, as we go up, to contemplate the vast variety of pictures, that cover the walls, and of some of the best masters in Europe, and yet this is but an introduction to what is beyond them.

When you are entered the apartments, such variety seizes you every way, that you scarce know to which hand to turn yourself. First, on one side you see several rooms filled with paintings, as before, all so curious, and the variety such, that it is with reluctance, that you can turn from them; while looking another way, you are called off by a vast collection of busts, and pieces of the greatest antiquity of the kind, both Greek, and Romans; among these, there is one of the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius, in bass relief, I never saw anything like what appears here, except in the chamber of rarities at Munich in Bavaria.

Passing these, you come into several large rooms, as if contrived for the reception of the beautiful guests that take them up; one of these is near 70-foot-long and the ceiling 26 foot high, with another adjoining of the same height, and breadth, but not so long. Those together might be called the Great Gallery of Wilton, and might vie for paintings with the gallery of Luxemburg in the Faubourg of Paris.

These two rooms are filled with the family pieces of the house of Herbert, most of them by Lilly,[29] or Vandyke,[30] and one in particularly, out does all that ever I met with, either at home, or abroad, it is done, as was the mode of painting at that time, after the manner of a family piece of King Charles I with his queen, and children, which before the burning of White-Hall, I remember to hang at the east end of the Long Gallery in the palace.

This piece fills the farther end of the great room which I just now mentioned, it contains the Earl of Montgomery, ancestor of the house of Herbert, not then Earls of Pembroke, and his lady, sitting, and as big as the life; there are about them, their own five sons, and one daughter, and their daughter-in-law, who was daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, married to the elder Lord Herbert, their eldest son; it is enough to say of this piece, it is worth the labour of any lover of art to go 500 miles to see it; and I am informed several gentlemen of quality have come from France almost on purpose. It would be endless to describe the whole set of the family pictures, which take up this room, unless we would enter into the roof-tree of the family and set down a genealogical line of the whole house.

[29] Sir Peter Lely (1618 - 1680), was a painter of Dutch origin whose career was nearly all spent in England, where he became the dominant portrait painter at the court. (W)
[30] Sir Anthony van Dyck, (1599 - 1641), was a Flemish Baroque artist who became the leading court painter in England after success in the Southern Netherlands and Italy. (W)

After we have seen this fine range of beauties, for such indeed they are; far from being at an end of your surprise, you have three or four rooms still upon the same floor, filled with wonders, as before. Nothing can be finer than the pictures themselves, nothing more surprising than the number of them; at length you descend the back-stairs, which are in themselves large, though not like the other. However, not a hands breadth is left to crowd a picture in of the smallest size, and even the upper rooms, which might be called garrets, are not naked, but have some very good pieces in them.

Upon the whole, the genius of the noble collector may be seen in this glorious collection, than which, take them together, there is not a finer in any private hand in Europe, and in no hand at all in Britain, private or public.

The gardens are on the south of the house, and extend themselves beyond the river, a branch of which runs through one part of them, and still south of the gardens in the great park, which extending beyond the vale, mounts the hill opening at the last to the great down, which is properly called by way of distinction, Salisbury Plain, and leads from the city of Salisbury, to Shaftesbury; here also his lordship has a hare-warren (as it is called) though improperly; it has indeed been a sanctuary for the hares for many years; but the gentlemen complain that it mars their game, for that as soon as they put up a hare for their sport, if it be anywhere within two or three miles, away she runs for the warren, and there is an end of their pursuits; on the other hand, it makes all the countrymen turn poachers, and destroy the hares, by what means they can; but this is a smaller matter, and of no great import one way or other.

From this pleasant and agreeable day's work, I returned to Clarendon, and the next day took another short tour to the hills, to see that celebrated piece of antiquity, the wonderful Stonehenge being six miles from Salisbury north, and upon the side of the river Avon, near the town of Amesbury. Tis needless, that I should enter here into any part of the dispute about which our learned antiquaries have so puzzled themselves, that several books, and one of them, in folio, has been published about it; some alleging it to be a heathen, or pagan temple, and altar, or place of sacrifice, as Mr. Jones; others, a monument, or trophy of victory; others a monument for the dead, as Mr. Aubury, and the like. Again, some will have it be British, some Danish, some Saxon, some Roman, and some before them all, Phoenician.

I shall suppose it, as the majority of all writers do, to be a monument for the dead, and the rather, because men's bones have been frequently dug up in the ground near them. The common opinion that no man could ever count them, that a baker carried a basket of bread, and laid a loaf upon every stone, and yet could never make out the same number twice. This, I take, as a mere country fiction, and a ridiculous one too; the reason why they cannot easily be told, is, that many of them lie half, or part buried in the ground, and a piece here, and a piece there, only appearing above the grass, it cannot be known easily, which belong to one stone, and which to another, or which are separate stones, and which are joined underground to one another; otherwise, as to those which appear, they are easy to be told, and I have seen them told four times after one another, beginning every time at a different place, and every time they amounted to 72 in all; but then this was counting every piece of a stone of bulk, which appeared at above the surface of the earth, and was not evidently part of, and adjoining to another, to be a distinct and separate body, or stone by itself.

The form of this monument is not only described but delineated in most authors, and indeed it is hard to know the first, but by the last; the figure was at first circular, and there were at least four rows or circles, within one another; the main stones were placed upright, and they were

joined on the top by cross stones, laid from one to another, and fastened with vast mortices and tenants. Length of time has so decay ed them, that not only most of the cross stones which lay on the top are fallen down, but many of the upright also, notwithstanding the weight of them is so prodigious great. How they came thither, or from whence, no stones of that kind being now to be found in any part of England near it, is still the mystery, for they are of such immense bulk that no engines, or carriages which we have in use in this age could stir them.[31]

Doubtless they had some method in former days in foreign countries, as well as here, to move heavier weights than we find practicable now. How else did Solomon's workmen build the battlement, or additional wall to support the precipice of Mount Moriah, on which the temple was built, which was all built of great stones of Parian marble, each stone being forty cubits long, and fourteen cubits broad, and eight cubits high, or thick, which reckoning each cubit at two foot and half of our measure, as the learned agree to do, was 100 foot long, 35 foot broad, and 20 foot thick.

These stones at Stonehenge, as Mr. Camden describes them, and in which others agree, were very large, though not so large, the upright stones 24 foot high, 7 foot broad, 16 foot round; and weight 12 ton each; and the cross stones on the top, which he calls coronets, were 6 or 7 ton, but this does not seem equal, for if the cross stones weighed six, or seven ton, the others, as they appear now, were at least 5 or 6 times as big, and must weigh in proportion; and therefore, I must think their judgment much nearer the case who judge the upright stones at 16 ton, or thereabouts, supposing them to stand a great way into the earth, as it is not doubted but they do; and the coronets, or cross stones, at about two ton, which is very large too, and as much as their bulk can be thought to allow.

Upon the whole, we must take them as our ancestors have done - namely, for an erection, or building so ancient, that no history has handed down to us the original, as we find it then uncertain, we must leave it so. Tis indeed a reverend piece of antiquity, and it is a great loss that the true history of it is not known. But since it is not, I think the making so many conjectures at the reality, when they know they can but guess at it, and above all the insisting so long, and warmly on their private opinions, is but amusing themselves and us with a doubt, which perhaps lies the deeper for their search into it.

The downs and plains in this part of England being so open, and the surface so little subject to alteration, there are more remains of antiquity to be seen upon them, than in other places; for example, I think they tell us there are three and fifty ancient encampments, or fortifications to be seen in this one county, some whereof are exceeding plain to be seen, some of one form, some of another; some of one nation, some of another, British, Danish, Saxon, Roman, as at Ebb-down, Burywood, Oldburgh Hill, Cummerford, Roundway Down, St. Ann's Hill, Bratton Castle, Clay Hill, Stourton Park, Whitecole Hill, Battlebury, Scratchbury, Yanesbury, Frippsbury, Suthbury-Hill, Amesbury, Great Bedwyn, Easterley, Merdon, Aubery, Martinsell Hill, Barbury Castle, and many more.

[31] Stonehenge was constructed from 3000 BC to 2000 BC. In 1923, geologist Herbert H. Thomas, pinpointed the source of one type of the stones, known as dolerite bluestones, to a rocky outcrop known as Carn Meini on high ground in the Preseli Hills of western Wales. More recent work has confirmed and refined the location. (W)

Also, the Barrows, as we all agree to call them, are very many in number in this county, and very obvious, having suffered very little decay. These are large hillocks of earth cast up, as the ancients agree, by the soldiers over the bodies of their dead comrades slain in battle; several hundreds of these are to be seen, especially in the north part of this county, about Marlborough and the downs, from thence to St. Ann's-Hill, and even every way, the downs are full of them.

I have done with matters of antiquity for this county, unless you will admit me to mention the famous parliament in the reign of Henry II, held at Clarendon, where I am now writing, and another intended to be held there in Richard's time, but prevented by the barons, being then up in arms against the king.

Near this place at Farlo was the birth-place of the late Sir Stephen Fox,[32] and where the town sharing in his good fortune, shows several marks of his bounty, as particularly, the building a new church from the foundation, and getting an Act of Parliament past, for making it parochial, it being but a chapel of ease before to an adjoining parish. Also, Sir Stephen built and endowed an alms-house here for six poor women, with a master and a free-school; the master is to be a clergyman, and to officiate in the church, that is to say, is to have the living, which including the school is very sufficient.

I am now to pursue my first design, and shall take the west part of Wiltshire in my return, where are several things still to be taken notice of, and some very well worth our stay. In the meantime, I went on to Langborough a fine seat of my Lord Colerain,[33] which is very well kept, though the family it seems is not much in this country, having another estate, and dwelling at Tottenham-High Cross near London.

From hence in my way to the sea-side I came to New Forest, of which I have said something already with relation to the great extent of ground, which lies waste, and in which there is so great a quantity of large timber, as I have spoken of already.

This waste and wild part of the country was, as some record, laid open, and waste for a forest, and for game, by that violent tyrant William the Conqueror, and for which purpose he unpeopled the country, pulled down the houses, and which was worse, the churches of several parishes or towns, and of abundance of villages, turning the poor people out of their habitations, and possessions, and laying all open for his deer. The same histories likewise record that two of his own blood and posterity, and particularly his immediate successor, William Rufus, lost their lives in this forest. One (*viz*.) the said William Rufus, being shot with an arrow directed at a deer, which the king, and his company were hunting, and the arrow glancing on a tree, changed his course and struck the king full on the breast, and killed him. This they relate as a just judgment of God on the cruel devastation made here by the Conqueror. Be it so or not, as heaven pleases; but that the king was so killed, is certain, and

[32] Sir Stephen Fox (1627 - 1716), of Farley in Wiltshire, of Redlynch Park in Somerset, of Chiswick, Middlesex and of Whitehall, was a royal administrator and courtier to King Charles II. He was a politician, who rose from humble origins to become the "richest commoner in the three kingdoms". He made the foundation of his wealth from his tenure of the newly created office of Paymaster-General of His Majesty's Forces, which he held twice, in 1661 - 1676 and 1679 - 1680. He was the principal force of inspiration behind the founding of the Royal Hospital Chelsea. (W)

[33] Henry Hare, 3rd Baron Coleraine, (1693 - 1749), was an English antiquary and politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1730 to 1734. Longford Castle in Wiltshire was a family property and the 2nd Baron, Henry Hare (1636 - 1708) resided in Tottenham. (W)

they show the tree, on which the arrow glanced, to this day. In King Charles II's time, it was ordered to be surrounded with a pale, but as great part of the paling is down with age; whether the tree be really so old, or not, is to me a great question; the action being near 700 year ago.

I cannot omit to mention here a proposal made a few years ago to the late Lord Treasurer, Godolphin,[34] for re-peopling this forest, which for some reasons I can be more particular in, than any man now left alive, because I had the honour to draw up the scheme, and argue it before that noble lord, and some others who were principally concerned at that time in bringing over, or rather providing for when they were come over, the poor inhabitants of the Palatinate; a thing in itself commendable, but as it was managed, made scandalous to England, and miserable to those poor people.[35]

Some persons being ordered by that noble lord, above mentioned, to consider of measures, how the said poor people should be provided for, and whether they could be provided for, or no, without injury to the public. The answer was grounded upon this maxim, that the number of inhabitants is the wealth and strength of a kingdom, provided those inhabitants were such, as by honest industry applied themselves to live by their labour, to whatsoever trades, or employments they were brought up. In the next place it was inquired, what employments those poor people were brought up to? It was answered, there were husbandmen, and artificers of all sorts, upon which the proposal was as follows.

NEW FOREST in Hampshire was singled out to be the place.

Here it was proposed to draw a great square-line, containing four thousand acres of land, marking out two large highways, or roads through the centre, crossing both ways, so that there should be a thousand acres in each division, exclusive of the land contained in the said cross roads.

Then it was proposed to single out twenty men, and their families, who should be recommended as honest industrious men, expert in, or at least capable of being instructed in husbandry, curing and cultivating of land, breeding and feeding cattle, and the like. To each of these should be parcelled out in equal distributions, two hundred acres of this land, so that the whole four thousand acres should be fully distributed to the said twenty families, for which they should have no rent to pay, and be liable to no taxes, but such as provided for their own sick or poor, repairing their own roads, and the like. This exemption from rent and

[34] Sidney Godolphin, 1st Earl of Godolphin (1645 - 1712), was a leading British politician of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. He was a Privy Councilor and Secretary of State for the Northern Department before attaining real power as First Lord of the Treasury. He was instrumental in negotiating and passing the Acts of Union with Scotland, which created the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707. (W)

[35] In 1612, James I's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Frederick V, the Elector of the Palatinate, which was the leading state in the German Protestant Union. In 1618, the Protestants chose Frederick and Elizabeth to be king and queen of Bohemia. The Hapsburg Emperor, Ferdinand II, invaded and defeated them forcing them into exile in Holland. Spanish and Bavarian forces invaded the Palatinate. Elizabeth became known as "the winter queen". Frederick and Elizabeth had thirteen children, including Prince Rupert of the Rhine, a prominent Royalist cavalry commander in the Civil War, Maurice who was also involved in the war and a daughter Sophia (14 Oct 1630 - 8 June 1714), who became Electress of Hanover. Among her children was King George I of Great Britain. (W)

taxes, to continue for twenty years, and then to pay each £50 a year to the queen; that is to say, to the Crown.

The form of the several farms would be laid out thus. (sketch showing arrangement of plots and with key as follows: a the church, b the shambles, c the market house, d a town hall, e a conduit with stocks, &c. F. the conduits, or wells, G. houses, H. the lands enclosed behind, J. streets of houses for tradesmen.)

To each of these families, who I would now call farmers, it was proposed to advance £200 in ready money, as a stock to set them to work, to furnish them with cattle, horses, cows, hogs, &c. and to hire and pay labourers, to enclose, clear, and cure the land; which it would be supposed the first year would not be so much to their advantage as afterwards; allowing them timber out of the forest to build themselves houses, and barns, sheds, and offices, as they should have occasion; also for carts, waggons, ploughs, harrows, and the like necessary things, care to be token, that the men and their families went to work forthwith according to the design.

Thus, twenty families would be immediately supplied, and provided for, for there would be no doubt, but these families with so much land given them gratis, and so much money to work with, would live very well; but what would this do for the support of the rest, who were supposed to be to every twenty farmers, forty or fifty families of other people; some of one trade, some of another, with women and children? To this it was answered, that these twenty farmers would by the consequence of their own settlements, provide for, and employ such a proportion of others of their own people, that by thus providing for twenty families in a place, the whole number of Palatinates would have been provided for, had they been 20,000 more in number than they were, and that without being any burthen upon, or injury to the people of England; on the contrary, they would have been an advantage, and an addition of wealth and strength to the nation, and to the country in particular where they should be thus seated. For example; as soon as the land was marked out, the farmers put in possession of it, and the money given them, they should be obliged to go to work, in order to their settlement; suppose it then to be in the spring of the year, when such work was most proper; First all hands would be required, to fence, and part off the land, and clear it of the timber, or bushes, or whatever else was upon it, which required to be removed. The first thing therefore which the farmers would do, would be to single out from the rest of their number, everyone three servants, that is to say, two men, and a maid; less could not answer the preparations they would be obliged to make, and yet work hard themselves also; by the help of these, they would with good management soon get so much of their land cured, fenced off, ploughed, and sowed, as should yield them a sufficiency of corn and kitchen stuff, the very first year, both for horse-meat, hog-meat, food for the family, and some to carry to market too, by which to bring in money to go farther on, as above.

At the first entrance, they were to have the tents allowed them to live in, which they then had from the Tower; but as soon as leisure, and conveniences admitted, every farmer was obliged to begin to build him a farm house, which he would do gradually, some and some, as he could spare time from his other works, and money from his little stock.

In order to furnish himself with carts, waggons, ploughs, harrows, wheel-barrows, hurdles, and all such necessary utensils of husbandry; there would be an absolute necessity of wheelwrights, or cartwrights, one at least to each division.

Thus, by the way, there would be employed three servants to each farmer, that makes sixty persons.

Four families of wheelwrights, one to each division, which suppose five in a family, makes 20 persons; suppose four head carpenters, with each three men, and as at first all would be building together, they would to every house building have at least one labourer, four families of carpenters, five to each family, and three servants, is thirty two persons, one labourer to each house building, is twenty persons more.

Thus, here would be necessarily brought together, in the very first of the work 132 persons, besides the head farmers, who at five also to each family are hundred more, in all two hundred thirty-two.

For the necessary supply of these with provisions, deaths, household-stuff, &c. for all should be done among themselves; first, they must have at least four butchers with their families; twenty persons, four shoemakers with their families, and each shoemaker two journeymen for every trade; would increase the number of customers to every trade. This is twenty-eight persons more.

They would then require a hatmaker, a glover, at least two ropemakers, four tailors, three weavers of woollen, and three weavers of linen, two basket makers, two common brewers, ten or twelve shop-keepers to furnish chandlery and grocery wares; and as many for drapery and mercery,[36] over and above what they could work, this makes two and forty families more, each at five in a family, which is two hundred and ten persons; all the labouring part of these must have at least two servants, the brewers more, which I cast up at forty more.

Add to these two ministers, one clerk, one sexton, or gravedigger with their families, two physicians, three apothecaries, two surgeons, less there could not be, only that for the beginning it might be said the physicians should be surgeons, and I take them so; this is forty five persons, besides servants; so that in short, to omit many tradesmen more who would be wanted among them, there would necessarily, and voluntarily follow, to these twenty families of farmers at least six hundred more of their own people.

It is no difficult thing to show that the ready money of £4000 which the government was to advance to those twenty farmers, would employ and pay, and consequently subsist all these numerous dependants, in the works which must severally be done for them, for the first year; after which the farmers would begin to receive their own money back again; for all these tradesmen must come to their own market to buy corn, flesh, milk, butter, cheese, bacon, &c. which after the first year the farmers having no rent to pay, would have to spare sufficiently, and so take back their own money with advantage; I need not go on to mention, how by consequence provisions increasing, and money circulating, this town should increase in a very little time.

It was proposed also that for the encouragement of all the handicraftsmen, and labouring poor, who either as servants, or as labourers for day-work, assisted the farmers or other tradesmen, they should have every man three acres of ground given them, with leave to build

[36] Mercery initially referred to silk, linen, and fustian textiles imported to England but later extended to goods made from these materials and the sellers of these goods, i.e. a mercer. (W)

cottages upon the same, the allotments to be upon the waste, at the end of the cross-roads where they entered the town.

In the centre of the square was laid out a circle of twelve acres of ground, to be cast into streets for inhabitants to build on, as their ability would permit; all that would build to have ground gratis for twenty years, timber out of the forest, and convenient yards, gardens and orchards allotted to every house.

In the great streets near where they cross each other, was to be built a handsome market-house, with a town-hall for parish or corporation business, doing justice and the like; also shambles, and in a handsome part of the ground mentioned to be laid out for streets, as near the centre as might be, was to be ground laid out for the building a church, which every man should either contribute to the building of, in money, or give every tenth day of his time to assist in labouring at the building.

I have omitted many tradesmen, who would be wanted here, and would find a good livelihood among their country folks; only to get accidental work, as day men, or labourers; of which such a town would constantly employ many, as also poor women for assistance in families, such as midwives, nurses, &c.

Adjacent to the town was to be a certain quantity of common land, for the benefit of the cottages; that the poor might have a few sheep, or cows as their circumstances required; and this to be appointed at the several ends of the town.

There was a calculation made of what increase here would be, both of wealth and people in twenty years in this town; what a vast consumption of provisions they would cause, more than the four thousand acres of land given them would produce; by which consumption and increase, so much advantage would accrue to the public stock, and so many subjects be added to the many thousands of Great Britain; who in the next age would be all true born Englishmen, and forget both the language, and nation from whence they came; and it was in order to this that two ministers were appointed, one of which should officiate in English, and the other in High Dutch; and withal to have them obliged by a law to teach all their children both to speak, read and write the English language.

Upon their increase they would also want barbers, and glaziers, painters also, and plumbers; a wind-mill or two, and the millers and their families, a fulling-mill,[37] and a cloth worker; as also a master clothier, or two, for making a manufacture among them for their own wear, and for employing the women and children; a dyer or two, for dying their manufactures; and, which above all, is not to be omitted, four families at least of smiths, with everyone two servants; considering that besides all the family work, which continually employs a smith, all the shoeing of horses, all the iron-work of ploughs, carts, waggons, harrows, &c. must be wrought by them.
There was no allowance made for inns, and ale-houses, seeing it would be frequent that those who kept public houses of any sort, would likewise have some other employment to carry on.

[37] Fulling, also known as walking and tucking, is the process whereby cloth is washed after weaving. It causes the fibres to knit together to make a stronger material - hence fulling mill, and walk mill. Tucking is used more in Wales and the South West. From this occupation come the surnames of Fuller, Walker and Tucker. (Ed)

This was the scheme for settling the Palatinates, by which means twenty families of farmers, handsomely set up, and supported, would lay a foundation, as I have said, for six or seven hundred of the rest of their people; and as the land in New Forest is undoubtedly good, and capable of improvement by such cultivation, so other wastes in England are to be found as fruitful as that; and twenty such villages might have been erected, the poor strangers maintained, and the nation evidently be bettered by it; as to the money to be advanced, which in the case of twenty such settlements, at £4000 each, would be £80,000 two things were answered to it.

1. That the annual rent to be received for all those lands after twenty years, would abundantly pay the public for the first disbursements on the scheme above, that rent being then to amount to £40,000 *per annum*

2. More money than would have done this, was expended, or rather thrown away upon them here, to keep them in suspense, and afterwards starve them; sending them a begging all over the nation, and shipping them off to perish in other countries. Where the mistake lay, is none of my business to enquire.

I reserved this account for this place, because I passed in this journey over the very spot where the design was laid out; namely, near Lyndhurst, in the road from Romsey to Lymington, whither I now directed my course.

Lymington is a little, but populous sea port, standing opposite to the Isle of Wight, in the narrow part of the straight, which ships sometimes pass through, in fair weather, called, the Needles; and right against an ancient town of that island called Yarmouth, and which, in distinction from the great town of Yarmouth in Norfolk, is called South Yarmouth. This town of Lymington is chiefly noted for making fine salt, which is indeed excellent good; and from whence all these south parts of England are supplied, as well by water as by land carriage; and sometimes, though not often, they send salt to London, when contrary winds having kept the northern fleets back, the price at London has been very high; but this is very seldom and uncertain. Lymington sends two members to Parliament, and this and her salt trade is all I can say to her; for though she is very well situated, as to the convenience of shipping, I do not find they have any foreign commerce, except it be what we call smuggling, and roguing; which, I may say, is the reigning commerce of all this part of the English coast, from the mouth of the Thames to the Land's End of Cornwall.

From hence there are but few towns on the sea coast west, though there are several considerable rivers empty themselves into the sea, nor are there any harbours, or sea ports of any note, except Pool. As for Christ Church, though it stands at the mouth of the Avon, which, as I have said, comes down from Salisbury, and brings with it all the waters of the south and east parts of Wiltshire, and receives also the Stour and Piddle, two Dorsetshire rivers, which bring with them all the waters of the north part of Dorsetshire; yet it is a very inconsiderable poor place, scarce worth seeing, and less worth mentioning in this account; only, that it sends two members to Parliament, which many poor towns in this part of England do, as well as that.

DORSETSHIRE

From hence I stepped up into the country north-west, to see the ancient town of Wimborne, or Wimborne Minster. There I found nothing remarkable, but the church, which is indeed a very great one, ancient, and yet very well built, with a very firm strong square tower, considerably high; but was, without doubt, much finer, when on the top of it, stood a most exquisite spire, finer and taller, if fame lies not, than that at Salisbury, and, by its situation, in a plainer, flatter country, visible, no question, much farther. But this most beautiful ornament was blown down by a sudden tempest of wind, as they tell us, in the year 1622.

The church remains a venerable piece of antiquity, and has in it the remains of a place, once, much more in request than it is now; for here are the monuments of several noble families; and in particular of one king, *viz*. King Etheldred, who was slain in battle by the Danes. He was a prince famed for piety and religion, and, according to the zeal of these times, was esteemed as a martyr; because venturing his life against the Danes, who were heathens, he died fighting for his religion and his country. The inscription upon his grave is preserved, and has been carefully repaired, so as to be easily read, and is as follows.

> *In hoc loco quiescit Corpus S. Etheldredi, Regis West Saxonum, Martyris, qui Anno Dom. DCCCLXXII xxiii. Aprilis per Manus Danorum Paganonim Occubuit.*

In English thus.

> Here rests the body of Holy Etheldred, King of the West Saxons, and martyr, who fell by the hands of the pagan Danes, in the year of our Lord 872, the 23d of April.

Here are also the monuments of the great Marchioness of Exeter,[38] mother of Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, and last of the family of Courtneys who enjoyed that honour; as also of John de Beaufort Duke of Somerset,[39] and his wife, grand-mother of King Henry VII by her daughter Margaret, Countess of Richmond.

This last lady I mention, because she was foundress of a very fine free-school, which has since been enlarged, and had a new benefactress in Queen Elizabeth, who has enlarged the stipend and annexed it to the foundation. The famous Cardinal Pool was dean of this church before his exaltation.

Having said this of the church, I have said all that is worth naming of the town; except that the inhabitants, who are many, and poor, are chiefly maintained by the manufacture of knitting stockings, which employs great part indeed of the county of Dorset, of which this is the first town eastward.

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[38] Gertrude Courtenay, Marchioness of Exeter, (née Blount; before 1504 - 1558), was the wife of Henry Courtenay, 1st Marquess of Exeter, a member of the court of Henry VIII. He was executed for the so-called Exeter Conspiracy. Gertrude and her son Edward were imprisoned. As a great-grandson of Edward IV, Edward Courtenay was regarded as a threat to the crown and was not released until 1553, after 15 years in the Tower of London. (W)

[39] John Beaufort, 1st Marquess of Somerset and 1st Marquess of Dorset, later only 1st Earl of Somerset, (c. 1371 - 1410). He was the first of the four illegitimate children of John of Gaunt (1340 - 1399) (third surviving son of King Edward III) by his mistress Katherine Swynford, whom he married in 1396. (W)

South of this town, over a sandy wild and barren country, we came to Poole, a considerable sea-port, and indeed the most considerable in all this part of England; for here I found some ships, some merchants, and some trade; especially, here were a good number of ships fitted out every year to the Newfoundland fishing, in which the Poole men were said to have been particularly successful for many years past.
The town sits in the bottom of a great bay, or inlet of the sea, which entering at one narrow mouth opens to a very great breadth within the entrance, and comes up to the very shore of this town; it runs also west up almost to the town of Wareham, a little below which, it receives the rivers Frome and Piddle, the two principal rivers of the county.

This place is famous for the best, and biggest oysters in all this part of England, which the people of Poole pretend to be famous for pickling, and they are barrelled up here, and sent not only to London, but to the West Indies, and to Spain, and Italy, and other parts. It is observed more pearl are found in the Poole oysters, and larger than in any other oysters about England.

As the entrance into this large bay is narrow, so it is made narrower by an island, called Branksey,[40] which lying in the very mouth of the passage, divides it into two, and where there is an old castle, called Branksey Castle, built to defend the entrance, and this strength was very great advantage to the trade of this port, in the time of the late war with France.

Wareham is a neat town, and full of people, having a share of trade with Poole itself, it shows the ruins of a large town, and it is apparent has had eight churches, of which they have three remaining.

South of Wareham, and between the bay I have mentioned and the sea, lies a large tract of land, which being surrounded by the sea, except on one side is called an island, though it is really what should be called a peninsula; this tract of land is better inhabited than the sea coast of the west end of Dorsetshire generally is, and the manufacture of stockings is carried on there also; it is called the Isle of Purbeck, and has in the middle of it a large market town, called Corf, and from the famous castle there, the whole town is now called Corf Castle, it is a corporation, sending members to Parliaments.

This part of the country is eminent for vast quarries of stone, which is cut out flat, and used in London in great quantities for paving courtyards, alleys, avenues to houses, kitchens, footways on the sides of the high-streets, and the like; and is very profitable to the place, as also in the number of shipping employed in bringing it to London. There are also several rocks of very good marble, only that the veins in the stone are not black and white, as the Italian, but grey, red, and other colours.

From hence to Weymouth, which is miles we rode in view of the sea; the country is open, and in some respects pleasant, but not like the northern parts of the county, which are all fine carpet ground, soft as velvet, and the herbage, sweet as garden herbs, which makes their sheep be the best in England, if not in the world, and their wool fine to an extreme.

I cannot omit here a small adventure, which was very surprizing to me on this journey; passing this plain country, we came to an open piece of ground where a neighbouring gentleman had at a great expense laid out a proper piece of land for a Decoy, or Duck-coy, as

[40] Formerly known as Branksey or Branksea but now Brownsea. (W)

some call it; the works were but newly done, the planting young, the ponds very large, and well made; but the proper places for shelter of the fowl not covered, the trees not being grown, and men were still at work improving, and enlarging, and planting on the adjoining heath, or common. Near the decoy keeper's house, were some places where young decoy-ducks were hatched, or otherwise kept to fit them for their work. To preserve them from vermin, polecats, kites, and such like, they had set traps, as is usual in such cases, and a gibbet by it, where abundance of such creatures as were taken were hanged up for show.

While the decoy man was busy showing the new-works, he was alarmed with a great cry about this house for Help, Help, and away he run, like the wind, guessing, as we supposed, that something was caught in the trap.

It was a good big boy about 13 or 14 year old, that cried out, for coming to the place, he found a great fowl caught by the leg in the trap, which yet was so strong, and so outrageous, that the boy going too near him, he flew at him, and frightened him, bit him, and beat him with his wings, for he was too strong for the boy; as the master ran from the decoy, so another manservant ran from the house, and finding a strange creature fast in the trap, not knowing what it was, laid at him with a great stick; the creature fought him a good while, but at length he struck him an unlucky blow, which quieted him; after this we all came up to see what was the matter, and found a monstrous eagle caught by the leg in the trap, and killed by the fellow's cudgel, as above.

When the master came to know what it was, and that his man had killed it, he was ready to kill the fellow for his pains, for it was a noble creature indeed, and would have been worth a great deal to the man to have it shown about the country, or to have sold to any gentleman curious in such things; but the eagle was dead, and there we left it. Tis probable this eagle had flown over the sea from France, either there, or at the Isle of Weight, where the Channel is not so wide; for we do not find that any eagles are known to breed in those parts of Britain.

From hence we turned up to Dorchester, the county town, though not the largest town in the county; Dorchester is indeed a pleasant agreeable town to live in, and where I thought the people seemed less divided into factions and parties, than in other places; for though here are divisions and the people are not all of one mind, either as to religion, or politics, yet they did not seem to separate with so much animosity as in other places. Here I saw the Church of England clergymen, and the Dissenting minister, or preacher drinking tea together, and conversing with civility and good neighbourhood, like catholic Christians, and men of a catholic, and extensive charity. The town is populous, though not large, the streets broad, but the buildings old, and low; however, there is good company and a good deal of it; and a man that coveted a retreat in this world might as agreeably spend his time, and as well in Dorchester, as in any town I know in England.

The downs round this town are exceeding pleasant, and come up on every side, even to the very streets end; and here it was that they told me, that there were 600 thousand sheep fed on the downs, within six miles of the town; that is, six miles every way, which is twelve miles in diameter, and thirty-six miles in circumference. This I say, I was told, I do not affirm it to be true; but when I viewed the country round, I confess I could not but incline to believe it.

It is observable of these sheep, that they are exceeding fruitful, and the ewes generally bringing two lambs, and they are for that reason bought by all the farmers through the east part of England, who come to Burford Fair in this country to buy them, and carry them into

Kent and Surry eastward, and into Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, and Oxfordshire north, even our Banstead Downs in Surrey, so famed for good mutton, is supplied from this place. The grass, or herbage of these downs is full of the sweetest, and the most aromatic plants, such as nourish the sheep to a strange degree, and the sheep's dung again nourishes that herbage to a strange degree; so that the valleys are rendered extremely fruitful, by the washing of the water in hasty showers from off these hills.

An eminent instance of this is seen at Amesbury in Wiltshire, the next county to this, for it is the same thing in proportion over this whole county. I was told that at this town there was a meadow on the bank of the river Avon, which runs thence to Salisbury, which was let for £12 a year per acre for the grass only. This I enquired particularly after, at the place, and was assured by the inhabitants as one man, that the fact was true, and was showed the meadows; the grass which grew on them was such as grew to the length of ten or twelve foot, rising up to a good height, and then taking root again, and was of so rich a nature as to answer very well such an extravagant rent.

The reason they gave for this, was the extraordinary richness of the soil, made so, as above, by the falling, or washing of the rains from the hills adjacent, by which though no other land thereabouts had such a kind of grass, yet all other meadows, and low grounds of the valley were extremely rich in proportion. There is an abundance of good families, and of very ancient lines in the neighbourhood of this town of Dorchester, as the Napiers,[41] the Courtneys, Strangeways, Seymours, Banks, Tregonells,[42] Sedenhams, and many others, some of which have very great estates in the county, and in particular Colonel Strangeways,[43] Napier, and Courtney. The first of these is master of the famous swannery, or nursery of swans, the like of which I believe is not in Europe; I wonder any man should pretend to travel over this country, and pass by it too, and then write his account, and take no notice of it.

From Dorchester it is six miles to the sea side south, and the ocean in view almost all the way. The first town you come to is Weymouth, or Weymouth and Melcomb, two towns lying at the mouth of a little rivulet, which they call the Wey, but scarce claims the name of a river; however, the entrance makes a very good, though small harbour, and they are joined by a wooden bridge; so that nothing but the harbour parts them; yet they are separate corporations, and choose each of them two Members of Parliament, just as London and Southwark.

Weymouth is a sweet, clean, agreeable town, considering its low situation, and dose to the sea; it is well built, and has a great many good substantial merchants in it; who drive a considerable trade, and have a good number of ships belonging to the town. They carry on now, in time of peace, a trade with France; but besides this, they trade also to Portugal, Spain, Newfoundland, and Virginia; and they have a large correspondence also up in the country for

[41] Among the Napiers of the 17th century were Sir Gerrard Napier, 1st Baronet (1606 - 1673), of Middle Marsh and Moor Crichel in Dorset, an MP who supported the Royalists during the English Civil War. There was also Sir Robert Napier, 1st Baronet of Punknoll (1642 - 1700) of Punknoll, in Dorset, an English lawyer and politician. (W)

[42] Defoe may be referring to the family of John Tregonwel of Milton, Sheriff of Dorset in 1604. (W)

[43] Giles Strangways (1615 - 1675) of Melbury House in Somerset, was an MP variously between 1640 and 1675. He fought on the Royalist side during the Civil War and was Colonel in a regiment of horse. His son Thomas Strangways (1643 - 1713) of Melbury House near Evershot, Dorset, was a Tory MP between 1673 and 1713. As a militia colonel he was active in opposing the Monmouth rebellion. (W)

the consumption of their returns; especially the wine trade, and the Newfoundland trade are considerable here.

Without the harbour is an old castle, called Sandfoot Castle, and over against them, where there is a good road for ships to put in on occasions of bad weather, is Portland Castle, and the road is called Portland Road. While I was here once, there came a merchant ship into that road, called Portland Road, under a very hard storm of wind; she was homeward bound from Oporto for London, laden with wines, and as she came in, she made signals of distress to the town, firing guns for help, and the like, as is usual in such cases; it was in the dark of the night that the ship came in, and, by the help of her own pilot, found her way into the road, where she came to an anchor, but, as I say, fired guns for help.

The venturous Weymouth men went off, even before it was light, with two boats to see who she was, and what condition she was in, and found she was come to an anchor, and had struck her top-masts; but that she had been in bad weather, had lost an anchor and cable before, and had but one cable to trust to, which did hold her, but was weak; and as the storm continued to blow, they expected every hour to go on shore, and split to pieces.

Upon this, the Weymouth boats came back with such diligence, that, in less than three hours, they were on board them again with an anchor and cable, which they immediately bent in its place, and let go to assist the other, and thereby secured the ship. Tis true, that they took a good price of the master for the help they gave him; for they made him draw a bill on his owners at London for £12 for the use of the anchor, cable, and boat, besides some gratuities to the men. But they saved the ship and cargo by it, and in three or four days the weather was calm, and he proceeded on his voyage, returning the anchor and cable again; so that, upon the whole, it was not so extravagant as at first I thought it to be.

The Isle of Portland, on which the castle I mentioned stands, lies right against this port of Weymouth. Hence it is, that our best and whitest free stone comes, with which the cathedral of St. Paul's, the Monument, and all the public edifices in the city of London, are chiefly built; and it is wonderful, and well worth the observation of a traveller to see the quarries in the rocks, from whence they are cut out, what stones, and of what prodigious a size are cut out there.

The island is indeed little more than one continued rock of free stone, and the height of the land is such, that from this island they see, in clear weather, above half over the Channel to France, though the Channel here is very broad; the sea off of this island, and especially to the west of it, is counted the most dangerous part of the British Channel. Due south, there is almost a continued disturbance in the waters, by reason of what they call two tides meeting, which I take to be no more than the sets of the currents from the French coast, and from the English shore meeting. This they call Portland Race; and several ships, not aware of these currents, have been embayed to the west of Portland, and been driven on shore on the beach, (of which I shall speak presently) and there lost.

To prevent this danger, and guide the mariner in these distresses, they have, within these few months, set up two light-houses on the two points of that island; and they had not been many months set up, with the directions given to the public for their bearings, but we found three outward-bound East-India ships which were in distress in the night, in a hard extreme gale of wind, were so directed by those lights, that they avoided going on shore by it, which, if the lights had not been there, would inevitably happened to their destruction.

This island, though seemingly miserable, and thinly inhabited, yet the inhabitants being almost all stone-cutters, we found there was no very poor people among them; and when they collected money for the rebuilding St. Paul's, they got more in this island than in the great town of Dorchester, as we were told.

Though Portland stands a league off from the main land of Britain, yet it is almost joined by a prodigious riffe of beach, that is to say, of small stones cast up by the sea, which runs from the island so near the shore of England, that they ferry over with a boat and a rope, the water not being above half a stone's throw over; and the said riffe of beach ending, as it were, at that inlet of water, turns away west, and runs parallel with the shore quite to Abbotsbury, which is a town about seven miles beyond Weymouth.[44]

I name this for two reasons; first, to explain again what I said before, of ships being embayed and lost here. This is when ships coming from the westward omit to keep a good offing, or are taken short by contrary winds, and cannot weather the high land of Portland, but are driven between Portland and the mainland; if they can come to an anchor, and ride it out, well and good, and if not, they run on shore on that vast beach, and are lost without remedy.

On the inside of this beach, and between it, and the land, there is, as I have said, an inlet of water, which they ferry over, as above, to pass and repass to and from Portland. This inlet opens at about two miles west, and grows very broad, and makes a kind of lake within the land of a mile and a half broad, and near three miles in length, the breadth unequal. At the farthest end west of this water is a large duck-coy, and the verge of the water well grown with wood, and proper groves of trees for cover for the foul; in the open lake, or broad part, is a continual assembly of swans. Here they live, feed and breed, and the number of them is such, that, I believe, I did not see so few as 7 or 8000. Here they are protected, and here they breed in abundance; we saw several of them upon the wing, very high in the air, whence we supposed, that they flew over the riffe of beach, which parts the lake from the sea to feed on the shores as they thought fit, and so came home again at their leisure.

From this duck-coy west, the lake narrows, and at last almost closes, till the beach joins the shore; and so Portland may be said not to be an island, but part of the continent; and now we came to Abbotsbury, a town anciently famous for a great monastery, and now eminent for nothing but its ruins.

From hence we went on to Bridport, a pretty large corporation town on the sea shore, though without a harbour. Here we saw boats all the way on the shore fishing for mackerel, which they take in the easiest manner imaginable; for they fix one end of the net to a pole, set deep into the sand, then the net being in a boat, they row right out into the water some length, then turn, and row parallel with the shore, vering out the net all the while, till they have let go all the net, except the line at the end, and then the boat rows on shore, when the men hauling the net to the shore at both ends, bring to shore with it such fish, as they surrounded in the little way they rowed; this, at that time, proved to be an incredible number, insomuch, that the men could hardly draw them on shore. As soon as the boats had brought their fish on shore, we observed a guard, or watch, placed on the shore in several places, who we found had their eye not on the fishermen, but on the country people, who came down to the shore to buy their fish; and very sharp we found they were; and some that came with small carts were obliged to go back empty, without any fish. When we came to enquire into the particulars of this, we

[44] Defoe is referring to Chesil Beach, which joins the Isle of Portland to the mainland. (Ed.)

found, that these were officers placed on the shore by the justices and magistrates of the towns about, who were ordered to prevent the country farmers buying the mackerel to dung their land with them, which was thought to be dangerous, as to infection. In short, such was the plenty of fish that year, that mackerel, the finest and largest I ever saw, were sold at the sea side a hundred for a penny.

From Bridport, a town in which we see nothing remarkable, we came to Lyme,[45] the town particularly made famous by the landing of the Duke of Monmouth,[46] and his unfortunate troop, in the time of King James II. of which I need say nothing, the history of it being so recent in the memory of so many still living.

This is a town of good figure, and has in it several eminent merchants, who carry on a considerable trade to France, Spain, Newfoundland, and the Straights; and though they have neither creek or bay, road, or river, they have a good harbour; but it is such a one as is not in all Britain besides, if there is such a one in any part of the world.

It is a massy pile of building, consisting of high and thick walls of stone, raised, at first, with all the methods that skill and art could devise, but maintained now with very little difficulty. The walls are raised in the main sea, at a good distance from the shore; it consists of one main and solid wall of stone, large enough for carts and carriages to pass on the top, and to admit houses and ware houses to be built on it; so that it is broad as a street; opposite to this, but farther into the sea, is another wall of the same workmanship, which crosses the end of the first wall, and comes about with a tail, parallel to the first wall.

Between the point of the first or main wall, is the entrance into the port, and the second, or opposite wall, breaking the violence of the sea from the entrance, the ships go into the basin, as into a peer, or harbour, and ride there as secure as in a mill pond, or as in a wet dock.

The town's people have the benefit of this wonderful harbour, and it is carefully kept in repair, as indeed it behoves them to do; but they could give me nothing of the history of it; nor do they, as I could perceive, know anything of the original of it, or who built it; it was lately almost beaten down by a storm, but is repaired again.

This work is called the Cobb. The custom-house officers have a lodge and warehouse upon it, and there were several ships of very good force, and rich in value, in the basin of it when I was there. It might be strengthened with a fort, and the walls themselves are firm enough to carry what guns they please to plant upon it; but they did not seem to think it needful; and as the shore is convenient for batteries, they have some guns planted in proper places, both for the defence of the Cobb, and the town also.

This town is under the government of a mayor and aldermen, and may pass for a place of wealth, considering the bigness of it. Here we found the merchants began to trade in the pilchard fishing, though not to so considerable a degree as they do farther west; the pilchards seldom coming up so high eastward as Portland, and not very often so high as Lyme.

[45] Now known as Lyme Regis. (Ed.)

[46] The Monmouth Rebellion, was an attempt to overthrow James II, who had become King of England, Scotland, and Ireland upon the death of his elder brother, Charles II, on 6 February 1685. James II was a Roman Catholic and Protestants opposed his him. James Scott, 1st Duke of Monmouth, the eldest illegitimate son of Charles II, claimed to be rightful heir to the throne and attempted to displace James. He was defeated and subsequently executed on 11 July 1685. (W)

It was in sight of these hills that Queen Elizabeth's fleet, under the command of the Lord Howard of Effingham,[47] then admiral, began first to engage in a close, and resolved fight with the invincible Spanish Armada, in 1588. Maintaining the fight, the Spaniards making eastward, till they came the length of Portland Race, where they gave it over; the Spaniards having received considerable damage, and keeping then closer together. Off of the same place was a desperate engagement in the year 1672, between the English and Dutch, in which the Dutch were worsted, and driven over to the coast of France, and then glad to make home to refit and repair.

While we stayed here some time viewing this town and coast, we had opportunity to observe the pleasant way of conversation, as it is managed among the gentlemen of this county, and their families, which are without reflection some of the most polite and well-bred people in the isle of Britain. As their hospitality is very great, and their bounty to the poor remarkable, so their generous friendly way of living with, visiting, and associating one with another is as hard to be described, as it is really to be admired; they seem to have a mutual confidence in, and friendship with one another, as if they were all relations; nor did I observe the sharping ticking temper, which is too much crept in among the gaming and horse-racing gentry in some parts of England, to be so much known among them, any otherwise than to be abhorred; and yet they sometimes play too, and make matches, and horse-races, as they see occasion. The ladies here do not want the help of assemblies to assist in match-making; or half-pay officers to run away with their daughters, which the meetings, called assemblies in some other parts of England, are recommended for. Here's no Bury Fair, where the women are scandalously said to carry themselves to market, and where every night they meet at the play, or at the assembly for intrigue, and yet I observed that the women do not seem to stick on hand so much in this country, as in those countries, where those assemblies are so lately set up; the reason of which I cannot help saying, if my opinion may bear any weight, is, that the Dorsetshire ladies are equal in beauty, and may be superior in reputation. In a word, their reputation seems here to be better kept; guarded by better conduct, and managed with more prudence, and yet the Dorsetshire ladies, I assure you, are not nuns, they do not go veiled about streets, or hide themselves when visited; but a general freedom of conversation, agreeable, mannerly, kind, and good runs through the whole body of the gentry of both sexes, mixed with the best of behaviour, and yet governed by prudence and modesty; such as I nowhere see better in all my observation, through the whole isle of Britain.

In this little interval also I visited some of the biggest towns in the north-west part of this county, as Blandford, a town on the river Stour in the road between Salisbury and Dorchester, a handsome well-built town, but chiefly famous for making the finest bonelace in England, and where they showed me some so exquisitely fine, as I think I never saw better in Flanders, France or Italy, and which they said, they rated at above £30 sterling a yard; but I suppose there was not much of this to be had, but it is most certain, that they make exceeding rich lace in that county, such as no part of England can equal.

From thence I went west to Stourbridge, vulgarly called Strabridge; the town, and the country round is employed in the manufacture of stockings, and which was once famous for making the finest, best, and highest prized knit stockings in England; but that trade now is much

[47] William Howard, 1st Baron Howard of Effingham (c. 1510 – 12 January 1573) was an English diplomat and military leader. He served four monarchs, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I, in various official capacities, most notably on diplomatic missions and as Lord Admiral and Lord Chamberlain of the Household. (W)

decayed by the increase of the knitting-stocking engine, or frame, which has destroyed the hand knitting-trade for fine stockings through the whole kingdom, of which I shall speak more in its place.

From hence I came to Shireburn,[48] a large and populous town, with one collegiate, or conventual church, and may properly claim to have more inhabitants in it than any town in Dorsetshire, though it is neither the county town, or does it send members to Parliament; the church is still a reverend pile, and shews the face of great antiquity. Here begins the Wiltshire medley clothing, though this town be in Dorsetshire; of which I shall speak at large in its place, and therefore I omit any discourse of it here.

Shaftesbury is also on the edge of this county, adjoining to Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, being 14 miles from Salisbury, over that fine down or carpet ground, which they call particularly, or properly Salisbury Plain. It has neither house or town in view all the way, and the road which often lies very broad, and branches off insensibly, might easily cause a traveller to lose his way, but there is a certain never failing assistance upon all these downs for telling a stranger his way, and that is the number of shepherds feeding, or keeping their vast flocks of sheep, which are everywhere in the way, and who, with a very little pains, a traveller may always speak with. Nothing can be like it, the Arcadians plains of which we read so much pastoral trumpery in the poets, could be nothing to them.

This Shaftesbury is now a sorry town, upon the top of a high hill, and which closes the plain, or downs, and whence nature presents you a new scene or prospect, (*viz*.) of Somerset and Wiltshire, where it is all enclosed, and grown with woods, forests, and planted hedge-rows. The country rich, fertile and populous, the towns and houses standing thick, and being large and full of inhabitants, and those inhabitants fully employed in the richest and most valuable manufacture in the world, (*viz*.) the English clothing, as well, the medley, or mixt clothing, as whites; as well for the home trade, as the foreign trade; of which I shall take leave to be very particular in my return through the west and north part of Wiltshire, in the latter part of this work.

SOMERSETSHIRE

In my return to my western progress, I passed some little part of Somersetshire, as through Evil, or Yeovil, upon the river Ivil, in going to which we go down a long steep hill, which they call Babylon Hill;[49] but from what original I could find none of the country people to inform me.

This Yeovil is a market town of good resort, and some clothing is carried on, in, and near it, but not much, its main manufacture at this time is making of gloves.

It cannot pass my observation here, that when we are come this length from London, the dialect of the English tongue, or the country way of expressing themselves is not easily understood, it is so strangely altered; it is true, that it is so in many parts of England besides, but in none in so gross a degree as in this part; This way of boorish country speech, as in Ireland, it is called the brogue upon the tongue; so here it is called *jouring* and it is certain,

[48] Now known as Sherborne.
[49] Babylon Hill in Dorset was the site of a minor skirmish, during the Civil War, which resulted in the Earl of Bedford’s Roundheads forcing Sir Ralph Hopton's Cavaliers back to Sherborne. (W)

that though the tongue be all mere natural English, yet those that are but a little acquainted with them, cannot understand one half of what they say. It is not possible to explain this fully by writing, because the difference is not so much in the orthography of words, as in the tone, and diction; their abridging the speech, cham for I am, chil for I will, don, for put on, and doff, for put off, and the like. And I cannot omit a short story here on this subject; coming to a relations house, who was a school-master at Martock in Somersetshire, I went into his school to beg the boys a play day, as is usual in such cases; I should have said to beg the master a play day, but that by the way; coming into the school, I observed one of the lowest scholars was reading his lesson to the usher, which lesson it seems was a chapter in the Bible, so I sat down by the master, till the boy had read out his chapter. I observed the boy read a little oddly in the tone of the country, which made me the more attentive, because on enquiry, I found that the words were the same, and the orthography the same as in all our Bibles. I observed also the boy read it out with his eyes still on the book, and his head like a mere boy, moving from side to side, as the lines reached cross the columns of the book; his lesson was in the Cant. 5. 3. of which the words are these,

> "I have put off my coat, how shall I put it on, I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?"

The boy read thus, with his eyes, as I say, full on the text.

> "Chav a doffed my cooat, how shall I don't, chav a washed my veet, how shall I moil'em?"

How the dexterous dunce could form his mouth to express so readily the words, (which stood right printed in the book) in his country jargon, I could not but admire; I shall add to this another piece as diverting, which also happened in my knowledge at this very town of Yeovil, though some years ago.

There lived a good substantial family in the town, not far from the Angel Inn, a well-known house, which was then, and I suppose is still the chief inn of the town. This family had a dog, which among his other good qualities, for which they kept him (for he was a rare house dog) had this bad one, that he was a most notorious thief; but withal, so cunning a dog, and managed himself so warily, that he preserved a mighty good reputation among the neighbourhood; as the family was well beloved in the town, so was the dog; he was known to be a very useful servant to them, especially in the night, when he was fierce as a lion, but in the day the gentlest, most loving creature that could be, and as they said, all the neighbours had a good word for this dog.

It happened that the good wife, or mistress at the Angel Inn, had frequently missed several pieces of meat out of the pail, as they say, or powdering-tub, as we call it; and that some very large pieces; it is also to be observed the dog did not stay to eat (what he took) upon the spot, in which case some pieces, or bones, or fragments might be left, and so it might be discovered to be a dog; but he made cleaner work, and when he fastened upon a piece of meat he was sure to carry it quite away, to such retreats as he knew he could be safe in, and so feast upon it at leisure.

It happened at last, as with most thieves it does, that the inn-keeper was too cunning for him, and the poor dog was nabbed, taken in the fact, and could make no defence.

Having found the thief, and got him in custody, the master of the house, a good humoured fellow, and loth to disoblige the dog's master, by executing the criminal, as the dog-law directs; mitigates his sentence, and handled him as follows; first taking out his knife, he cut off both his ears, and then bringing him to the threshold, he chopped off his tail ; and having thus effectually dishonoured the poor cur among his neighbours, he tied a string about his neck, and a piece of paper to the string directed to his master, and with these witty west country verses on it.

To my honoured master Esq;

Hail master a cham a' com hoam
So cut as an ape, and tail have I noan,
For stealing of beef, and pork, out of the pail,
For thease they'v cut my ears, for th' wother my tail;
Nea measter, and us tell thee more nor that
And's come there again, my brains will be flat.

I could give many more accounts of the different dialects of the people of this country, in some of which they are really not to be understood, but the particulars have little or no diversion in them, they carry it such a length, that we see their joining speech even upon their monuments, and grave-stones. As for example, even in some of the church-yards of the city of Bristol, I saw this excellent poetry after some other lines

And when that thou doest hear of thick, Think of the glass that runneth quick.

SOUTH DEVONSHIRE

But I proceed into Devonshire, from Evil we came to Crookorn,[50] thence to Chard, and from thence into the same road I was in before at Honiton.

This is a large and beautiful market-town, very populous, and well built, and is so very remarkably paved with small pebbles, that on either sides the way a little channel is left shouldered up on the sides of it; so that it holds a small stream of fine dear running water with a little square dipping place left at every door, so that every family in the town has a clear clean running river, (as it may be called) just at their own door, and this so much finer, so much pleasanter, and agreeable to look on, then that at Salisbury, which they boast so much of, that in my opinion, there is no comparison.

Here we see the first of the great serge manufacture of Devonshire, a trade too great to be described in miniature, as it must be, if I undertake it here; and which takes up this whole county, which is the largest and most populous in England, Yorkshire excepted, (which ought to be esteemed three counties, and is indeed divided as such into the East, West and North Riding;) but Devonshire one entire county, is so full of great towns, and those towns so full of people, and those people so universally employed in trade, and manufactures, that not only it cannot be equalled in England, but perhaps not in Europe.

[50] Crewkerne is a town in Somerset, situated 9 miles south west of Yeovil and 7 miles east of Chard in the South Somerset district close to the border with Dorset. (W)

In my travel through Dorsetshire, I ought to have observed that the biggest towns in that county sent no members to Parliament, and that the smallest did; that is to say, that Sherborne, Blandford, Wimborne Minster, Sturmister, and several other towns choose no members, whereas Weymouth, Melcombe,[51] and Bridport, were all burgess towns; but now we come to Devonshire, we find almost all the great towns, and some smaller choosing members also. It is true, there are some large populous towns that do not choose, but then there are so many that do, that the county seems to have no injustice, for they send up six and twenty members.

However, as I say above, there are several great towns which do not choose Parliament men, of which Bideford is one, Crediton or Kirton another, Ilfracombe a third, but those excepted the principal towns in the county do all choose Members of Parliament.

Honiton is one of those, and may pass not only for a pleasant good town, as before, but stands in the best and pleasantest part of the whole county; and I cannot but recommend it to any gentlemen that travel this road, that if they please to observe the prospect for half a mile, 'till their coming down the hill, and to the entrance into Honiton, the view of the country is the most beautiful landscape in the world, a mere picture; and I do not remember the like in any one place in England; it is observable that the market of this town was kept originally on the Sunday, till it was changed by the direction of King John.

From Honiton the country is exceeding pleasant still, and on the road they have a beautiful prospect almost all the way to Exeter, which is twelve miles; on the left hand of this road lies that part of the county, which they call the South Hams, and which is famous for the best cider in that part of England; also the town of St. Mary Ottery, commonly called St. Mary Autree. They tell us the name is derived from the river Ottery, and that, from the multitude of otters found always in that river, which however to me seems fabulous; nor does there appear to be any such great number of otters in that water, or in the county about, more than is usual in other counties, or in other parts of the county about them. They tell us they send 20,000 hogsheads[52] of cider hence every year to London, and which is still worse, that it is most of it bought there by the merchants to mix with their wines, which if true, is not much to the reputations of the London vintners; but that by the by.

From hence we came to Exeter,[53] a city famous for two things, which we seldom find unite in the same town, (*viz*.) that it is full of gentry, and good company, and yet full of trade and manufactures also; the serge market held here every week is very well worth a strangers seeing, and next to the Brigg Market at Leeds in Yorkshire, is the greatest in England. The people assured me that at this market is generally sold from 60 to 70 to 80, and sometimes a hundred thousand pounds value in serges in a week. I think it is kept on Mondays.

They have the river Esk here, a very considerable river, and principal in the whole county; and within three miles, or thereabouts, it receives ships of any ordinary burthen, the port there being called Topsham; but now by the application, and at the expense of the citizens, the channel of the river is so widened, deepened, and cleansed from the shoal, which would

[51] Now Melcombe Regis. (Ed)
[52] A unit of capacity which on conversion to imperial measure in 1824 became 52.5 gallons or 238.7 litres. Originally it varied according to the product, being 30 gallons for Rhine and Moselle wine but 55-60 for Scotch whisky. (W)
[53] Spelled Excester by Defoe

otherwise interrupt the navigation, that the ships come now quite up to the city, and there with ease both deliver and take in their lading.

This city drives a very great correspondence with Holland, as also directly to Portugal, Spain and Italy; shipping off vast quantities of the woollen-manufactures, especially, to Holland, the Dutch giving very large commissions here for the buying of serges, perpetuan's, and such goods; which are made not only in and about Exeter, but at Crediton, Honiton, Culliton, St. Mary Autry, Newton Bushel, Ashburton and especially at Tiverton, Cullompton, Bampton, and all the north east part of the county, which part of the county is, as it may be said, fully employed, the people made rich, and the poor that are properly so called, well subsisted, and employed by it.

Exeter is a large rich, beautiful, populous, and was once a very strong city; but as to the last, as the castle, the walls, and all the old works are demolished, so were they standing, the way of managing sieges, and attacks of towns is such now, and so altered from what it was in those days, that Exeter in the utmost strength it could ever boast, would not now hold out five days open trenches; nay, would hardly put an army to the trouble of opening trenches against it at all. This city was famous in the late civil unnatural war, for its loyalty to the king, and for being a sanctuary to the queen, where her majesty resided for some time, and here she was delivered of a daughter, being the Princess Henrietta Maria, of whom our histories give a particular account, so I need say no more of it here.

The cathedral church of this city is an ancient beauty, or as it may be said, it is beautiful for its antiquity. But it has been so fully, and often described that it would look like a mere copying from others to mention it. There is a good library kept in it, in which are some manuscripts, and particularly an old missal, or mass-book, the leaves of velum, and famous for its most exquisite writing.
This county, and this part of it in particular, has been famous for the birth of several eminent men, as well for learning, as for arts, and for war, as particularly.

1. Sir William Petre,[54] who the learned Dr. Wake, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and author of the Additions to Mr. Camden, says, was Secretary of State, and Privy Counsellor to King Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and seven times sent ambassador into foreign countries.

2. Sir Thomas Bodley,[55] famous, and of grateful memory to all learned men, and lovers of letters, for his collecting, and establishing, the best library in Britain; which is now at Oxford, and is called after his name the Bodleian Library to this day.

3. Also Sir Francis Drake, born at Plymouth.[56]

[54] Sir William Petre (pronounced Peter, c. 1505 - 1572), was born in the parish of Torbryan, Devonshire. The family had been established at Tor Newton from the late 14th century. (W)
[55] Sir Thomas Bodley (1545 - 1613), was an English diplomat and scholar who founded the Bodleian Library in Oxford. (W)
[56] Sir Francis Drake, (c. 1540 - 1596), was a sea captain, privateer, naval officer, and explorer of the Elizabethan era. Drake is most famously known for his circumnavigation of the world in a single expedition, from 1577 to 1580, and was the first to complete the voyage as captain while leading the expedition throughout the entire circumnavigation. (W)

4. Sir Walter Raleigh,[57] of both those I need say nothing. Fame publishes their merit upon every mention of their names.

5. That great patron of learning Hooker,[58] author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, and of several other valuable pieces.

6. Dr. Arthur Duck,[59] a famed civilian, and well known by his works among the learned advocates of Doctors Commons.

7. Dr. John Moreman[60] of Southold, famous for being the first clergyman in England, who ventured to teach his parishioners the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments in the English tongue; and reading them so publicly in the parish church of Mayenhennet, in this county, of which he was vicar.

8. Dr. John De Brampton, a man of great learning, who flourished in the reign of Henry VI was famous, for being the first that read Aristotle publicly in the University of Cambridge, and for several learned books of his writing, which are now lost.
9. Peter Blundel,[61] a clothier, who built the free-school at Tiverton, and endowed it very handsomely, of which in its place.

10. Sir John Glanvill,[62] a noted lawyer, and one of the judges of the Common Pleas.

11. Sergeant Glanvill[63] his son, as great a lawyer as his father.

12. Sir John Maynard,[64] an eminent lawyer of later years; one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal under King William III; all these three were born at Tavistock.

13. Sir Peter King,[65] the present Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and many others.

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[57] Sir Walter Raleigh, (c. 1552 (or 1554) - 1618), was an English landed gentleman, writer, poet, soldier, politician, courtier, spy and explorer. He was cousin to Sir Richard Grenville and younger half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. He is also known for popularizing tobacco in England. (W)
[58] Richard Hooker (1554 - 1600), was a minister in the Church of England one of the most important English theologians of the sixteenth century. (W)
[59] Arthur Duck (1580 - 1648), Doctor of Civil Law, was an English lawyer, author and MP. He was born at Heavitree near Exeter. (W)
[60] John Moreman (c. 1490 - 1554) was born at South Hole, Hartland, Devon, about 1490, to unknown parents. He graduated BA at Oxford on 29 Jan 1509, and on 29 Jun 1510 was admitted fellow of Exeter College. (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography)
[61] Peter Blundell (c. 1520 - 1601) was a prosperous clothier, trading between Tiverton and London. He died in April 1601. He left over £32,000 cash to fellow clothiers and their families and his employees. He created several charitable trusts, and gave £2,400 to build Blundell's School, to be a free grammar school. (W)
[62] Sir John Glanville the elder (1542 - 1600) of Kilworthy, Tavistock, in Devon, was an MP and judge and the first judge recorded as having reached the bench after beginning his career as an attorney.
[63] Sir John Glanville the younger (1586 - 1661) was an MP at various times between 1614 and 1644. He was Speaker of the House of Commons during the Short Parliament. He supported the Royalist cause in the English Civil War. (W)
[64] Sir John Maynard, (1604 - 1690), was a lawyer and politician, prominent under the reigns of Charles I, the Commonwealth, Charles II, James II and William III. (W)
[65] Peter King, 1st Baron King (c. 1669 - 1734), was an English lawyer and politician, who became Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. He was born in Exeter and educated at the Grammar School

I shall take the north part of this county in my return from Cornwall; so I must now lean to the south, that is to say, to the south coast, for in going on indeed, we go south west.

About 22 miles from Exeter we go to Totnes, on the river Dart. This is a very good town; of some trade, but has more gentlemen in it than tradesmen of note; they have a very fine stone-bridge here over the river, which being within seven or eight miles of the sea, is very large, and the tide flows 10 or 12 foot at the bridge. Here we had the diversion of seeing them catch fish, with the assistance of a dog. The case is this, on the south side of the river, and on a slip, or narrow cut or channel made on purpose for a mill, there stands a corn-mill; the mill tail, or floor for the water below the wheels is wharft up on either side with stone, above high-water mark, and for above 20 or 30 foot in length below it, on that part of the river towards the sea; at the end of this wharfing is a grating of wood, the cross-bars of which stand bearing inward, sharp at the end, and pointing inward towards one another, as the wires of a mouse-trap.

When the tide flows up, the fish can with ease go in between the points of these cross-bars, but the mill being shut down they can go no farther upwards; and when the water ebbs again, they are left behind, not being able to pass the points of the grating, as above, outwards; which like a mouse-trap keeps them in, so that they are left at the bottom with about a foot, or a foot and half water. We were carried hither at low water, where we saw about 50 or 60 small salmon, about 17 to 20 inches long, which the country people call salmon peal, and to catch these, the person who went with us, who was our landlord at a great inn next the bridge, put in a net on a hoop at the end of a pole, the pole going cross the hoop, which we call in this country a shove net. The net being fixed at one end of the place they put in a dog, who was taught his trade beforehand, at the other end of the place, and he drives all the fish into the net, so that only holding the net still in its place, the man took up two or three and thirty salmon peal at the first time.

Of these we took six for our dinner, for which they asked a shilling, (*viz*.) two pence apiece, and for such fish not at all bigger, and not so fresh, I have seen 6s. 6d. each given at a London fish-market, whither they are sometimes brought from Chichester by land carriage.

This excessive plenty of so good fish, and other provisions being likewise very cheap in proportion, makes the town of Totnes a very good place to live in; especially for such as have large families, and but small estates, and many such are said to come into those parts on purpose for saving money, and to live in proportion to their income.

From hence we went still south about seven miles, (all in view of this river) to Dartmouth, a town of note, seated at the mouth of the river Dart, and where it enters into the sea at a very narrow, but safe entrance. The opening into Dartmouth Harbour is not broad, but the channel deep enough for the biggest ship in the royal navy; the sides of the entrance are high mounded with rocks; without which just at the first narrowing of the passage, stands a good strong fort without a platform of guns, which commands the port.

The narrow entrance is not much above half a mile, when it opens and makes a basin, or harbour able to receive 500 sail of ships of any size, and where they may ride with the greatest safety, even as in a mill-pond, or wet-dock. I had the curiosity here with the

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there. He was the cousin of the philosopher, John Locke, by whose advice he was sent to Leiden University. In 1725, he became Lord Justice and Speaker of the House of Lords. (W)

assistance of a merchant of the town to go out to the mouth of the haven in a boat to see the entrance, and castle, or fort that commands it; and coming back with the tide of flood, I observed some small fish to skip, and play upon the surface of the water, upon which I asked my friend what fish they were; immediately one of the rowers or seamen starts up in the boat, and throwing his arms abroad, as if he had been bewitched, cries out as loud as he could bawl, "a school, a school." The word was taken to the shore as hastily as it would have been on land if he had cried fire; and by the time we reached the quays, the town was all in a kind of an uproar.

The matter was, that a great shoal, or as they call it a school of pilchards came swimming with the tide of flood directly, out of the sea into the harbour. My friend whose boat we were in, told me this was a surprize which he would have been very glad of, if he could but have had a days or two's warning, for he might have taken 200 tun of them, and the like was the case of other merchants in town; for in short, nobody was ready for them, except a small fishing boat, or two; one of which went out into the middle of the harbour, and at two or three hawls, took about forty thousand of them. We sent our servant to the quay to buy some, who for a half-penny, brought us seventeen, and if he would have taken them, might have had as many more for the same money; with these we went to dinner; the cook at the inn broiled them for us, which is their way of dressing them, with pepper and salt, which cost us about a farthing; so that two of us, and a servant dined, and at a tavern too, for three farthings, dressing and all, and this is the reason of telling the tale. What drink, wine, or beer we had, I do not remember, but whatever it was, that we paid for by itself; but for our food we really dined for three farthings, and very well too. Our friend treated us the next day with a dish of large lobsters, and I being curious to know the value of such things, and having freedom enough with him to enquire; I found that for 6d. or 8d. they bought as good lobsters there, as would have cost in London 3s. to 3d. 6d. each.

In observing the coming in of those pilchards, as above, we found that out at sea, in the offing, beyond the mouth of the harbour there was a whole army of porpoises, which as they told us pursued the pilchards, and it is probable drove them into the harbour, as above. The school it seems drove up the river a great way, even as high as Totnes Bridge, as we heard afterwards; so that the country people who had boats, and nets, caught as many as they knew what to do with, and perhaps lived upon pilchards for several days; but as to the merchant's and trade, their coming was so sudden, that it was no advantage to them.

Round the west side of this basin, or harbour in a kind of a semicircle, lies the town of Dartmouth, a very large and populous town, though but meanly built, and standing on the side of a steep hill; yet the quay is large, and the street before it spacious. Here are some very flourishing merchants, who trade very prosperously, and to the most considerable trading ports of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Plantations; but especially, they are great traders to Newfoundland, and from thence to Spain, and Italy with fish, and they drive a good trade also, in their own fishery of pilchards, which is hereabouts carried on with the greatest number of vessels of any port, in the west, except Falmouth.

A little to the southward of this town, and to the east of the port, is Torbay, of which I know nothing proper to my observation, more than that it is a very good road for ships, though sometimes, especially with a southerly, or S.E. wind, ships have been obliged to quit the bay, and put out to sea, or run into Dartmouth for shelter.

I suppose I need not mention, that they had from the hilly part of this town, and especially from the hills opposite to it, the noble prospect, and at that time particularly delightful, of the Prince of Orange's fleet, when he came to that coast, and as they entered into Torbay, to land; the prince and his army being in a fleet of about 600 sail of transport ships, besides 50 sail of men of war of the line, all which with a fair wind, and fine weather came to an anchor there at once.

This town as most of the towns of Devonshire are, is full of Dissenters, and a very large meeting-house they have here; how they act here with respect to the great dispute about the doctrine of the Trinity, which has caused such a breach among those people at Exeter, and other parts of the county, I cannot give any account of. This town sends two members to Parliament.

From hence we went to Plympton, a poor and thinly inhabited town, though blessed with the like privilege of sending members to the Parliament; of which I have little more to say, but that from thence the road lies to Plymouth, distance about six miles.

Plymouth is indeed a town of consideration, and of great importance to the public. The situation of it between two very large inlets of the sea, and in the bottom of a large bay, which is very remarkable for the advantage of navigation. The Sound, or bay is compassed on every side with hills, and the shore generally steep and rocky, though the anchorage is good, and it is pretty safe riding. In the entrance to this bay, lies a large and most dangerous rock, which at high-water is covered, but at low-tide lies bare, where many a good ship has been lost, even in the view of safety, and many a ship's crew drowned in the night, before help could be had for them.

Upon this rock, which was called the Eddystone, from its situation, the famous Mr. Winstanley[66] undertook to build a light-house for the direction of sailors, and with great art, and expedition finished it; which work considering its height, the magnitude of its building, and the little hold there was, by which it was possible to fasten it to the rock, stood to admiration, and bore out many a bitter storm.

Mr. Winstanley often visited, and frequently strengthened the building, by new works, and was so confident of its firmness, and stability, that he usually said, he only desired to be in it when a storm should happen, for many people had told him, it would certainly fall, if it came to blow a little harder than ordinary.

But he happened at last to be in it once too often. Namely, when that dreadful tempest blew, Nov. the 27, 1703. This tempest began on the Wednesday before, and blew with such violence, and shook the light-house so much, that as they told me there, Mr. Winstanley would fain have been on shore, and made signals for help, but no boats dare go off to him; and to finish the tragedy, on the Friday, Nov. 26, when the tempest was so redoubled, that it became a terror to the whole nation; the first sight there seaward, that the people of Plymouth, were presented with in the morning after the storm, was the bare Eddystone, the light-house being gone; in which Mr. Winstanley, and all that were with him perished, and were never

[66] Henry Winstanley, (1644 - 1703), was an English painter and engineer who constructed the first Eddystone lighthouse after losing two ships on the Eddystone rocks. He was born in Saffron Waldon in Essex where is father, Henry, became land steward at Audley End House, which was purchased in 1666 by Charles II to use as a residence when he attended horse racing at Newmarket. (W)

seen, or heard of since. But that which was a worse loss still, was, that a few days after a merchant's ship called the Winchelsea homeward bound from Virginia, not knowing the Eddystone lighthouse was down; for want of the light that should have been seen ran foul of the rock itself, and was lost with all her lading, and most of her men, but there is now another light-house built on the same rock.

What other disasters happened at the same time, in the Sound, and in the roads about Plymouth, is not my business. They are also published in other books, to which I refer.

One thing, which I was a witness too, on a former journey to this place, I cannot omit. It was the next year after that great storm, and but a little sooner in the year, being in August, I was at Plymouth, and walking on the Hoe, which is a plain on the edge of the sea, looking to the road, I observed the evening so serene, so calm, so bright, and the sea so smooth, that a finer sight, I think, I never saw; there was very little wind, but what was, seemed to be westerly; and, about an hour after, it blew a little breeze at south west, with which wind there came into the Sound, that night, and the next morning, a fleet of fourteen sail of ships, from Barbados; richly laden, for London. Having been long at sea, most of the captains and passengers came on shore to refresh themselves, as is usual, after such tedious voyages, and the ships rode all in the Sound on that side next to Catwater. As is customary, upon safe arrival in their native country, there was a general joy and rejoicing, both on board and on shore.

The next day the wind began to freshen, especially in the afternoon, and the sea to be disturbed, and very hard it blew at night, but all was well for that time; but the night after it blew a dreadful storm, not much inferior, for the time it lasted, to the storm mentioned above, which blew down the light-house on the Eddy Stone; about midnight the noise indeed was very dreadful, what with the roaring of the sea, and of the wind, intermixed with the firing of guns for help from the ships, the cries of the seamen and people on shore, and, which was worse, the cries of those, which were driven on shore by the tempest, and dashed in pieces. In a word, all the fleet, except three, or thereabouts, were dashed to pieces against the rocks, and sunk in the sea, most of the men being drowned. Those three, who were saved, received so much damage, that their lading was almost all spoiled. One ship in the dark of the night, the men not knowing where they were, ran into Catwater,[67] and ran on shore there, by which she was however saved from shipwreck, and the lives of her crew were saved also.

This was a melancholy morning indeed; nothing was to be seen but wrecks of the ships, and a foaming furious sea, in that very place where they rode all in joy and triumph, but the evening before. The captains, passengers and officers who were, as I have said, gone on shore, between the joy of saving their lives, and the affliction of having lost their ships, their cargoes, and their friends, were objects indeed worth our compassion and observation; and there was a great variety of the passions to be observed in them. Now lamenting their losses, then giving thanks for their deliverance, many of the passengers had lost their all, and were, as they expressed themselves, utterly undone; they were, I say, now lamenting their losses, with violent excesses of grief; then giving thanks for their lives, and that they should be brought on shore, as it were, on purpose to be saved from death; then again in tears for such as were drowned; the various cases were indeed very affecting, and, in many things, very instructing.

[67] Cattewater on modern maps. (Ed)

As, I say, Plymouth lies in the bottom of this Sound, in the centre between the two waters, so there lies against it, in the same position, an island, which they call St. Nicholas,[68] on which there is a castle, which commands the entrance into Ham-Oze,[69] and indeed that also into Catwater in some degree. In this island the famous General Lambert,[70] one of Cromwell's great agents, or officers in the Rebellion was imprisoned for life, and held many years there.
On the shore, over-against this island, is the citadel of Plymouth, a small, but regular fortification, inaccessible by sea, but not exceeding strong by land, except that they say the works are of a stone, hard as marble, and would not soon yield to the batteries of an enemy. But that is a language our modern engineers now laugh at.

The town stands above this, upon the same rock, and lies sloping on the side of it, towards the east; the inlet of the sea, which is called Catwater, and which is a harbour, capable of receiving any number of ships, and of any size, washing the eastern shore of the town, where they have a kind of natural mole, or haven, with a key, and all other conveniences for bringing in vessels for loading and unloading; nor is the trade carried on here inconsiderable in itself, or the number of merchants small.

The other inlet of the sea, as I term it, is on the other side of the town, and is called Ham-Oze, being the mouth of the river Tamar, a considerable river, which parts the two counties of Devon and Cornwall. Here the war with France making it necessary that the ships of war should have a retreat nearer hand than at Portsmouth, the late King William ordered a wet dock, with yards, dry docks, launches, and conveniences of all kinds for building, and repairing of ships to be built; and with these followed necessarily the building of store-houses and warehouses, for the rigging, sails, naval and military stores, &c. of such ships as may be appointed to be laid up there, as now several are, with very handsome houses for the commissioners, clerks, and officers of all kinds usual in the King's yards, to dwell in. It is in short, now become as complete an arsenal, or yard, for building and fitting men of war as any of the government are masters of, and perhaps much more convenient than some of them, though not so large.

The building of these things, with the addition of rope walks, and mast-yards, &c. as it brought abundance of trades-people, and workmen to the place, so they began by little and little to build houses on the lands adjacent, till at length there appeared a very handsome street, spacious and large, and as well inhabited, and so many houses are since added, that it is become a considerable town, and must of consequence in time draw abundance of people from Plymouth itself.

However, the town of Plymouth is, and will always be a very considerable town, while that excellent harbour makes it such a general port for the receiving all the fleets of merchants' ships from the southward, as from Spain, Italy, the West Indies, &c. who generally make it the first port to put in at for refreshment, or safety, from either weather or enemies.

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[68] Now known as Drake's Island. (Ed)

[69] The Hamoaze is an estuarine stretch of the tidal River Tamar, between its confluence with the River Lynher and Plymouth Sound. (W)

[70] John Lambert, (1619 - 1684), was a Parliamentary general and politician. He fought during the English Civil War and then in Oliver Cromwell's Scottish campaign (1650 - 51), becoming thereafter active in civilian politics until his dismissal by Cromwell in 1657. During this time, he wrote the *Instrument of Government*, one of only two codified constitutions ever adopted in Britain, and was influential in bringing about the Protectorate. From the Restoration in 1660, he spent his last 24 years in prison on Guernsey and on Drake's Island. (W)

The town is populous and wealthy, having, as above, several considerable merchants, and abundance of wealthy shop-keepers, whose trade depends upon supplying the sea-faring people, that upon so many occasions put into that port; as for gentlemen, I mean those that are such by family, and birth, and way of living, it cannot be expected to find many such in a town, merely depending on trade, shipping and sea-faring business, yet I found here some men of value, persons of liberal education, general knowledge, and excellent behaviour, whose society obliges me to say, that a gentleman might find very agreeable company in Plymouth.

From Plymouth we pass the Tamar, over a ferry to Saltash, a little poor shattered town, the first we sat foot on in the county of Cornwall. The Tamar here is very wide, and the ferry boats bad, so that I thought my self well escaped, when I got safe on shore in Cornwall.

Saltash seems to be the ruins of a larger place, and we saw many houses as it were falling down, and I doubt not but the mice and rats have abandoned many more, as they say they will, when they are likely to fall; yet this town is governed by a mayor and aldermen, has many privileges, sends members to Parliament, takes toll of all vessels that pass the river, and have the sole oyster fishing in the whole river, which is considerable. Mr. Carew,[71] author of the Survey of Cornwall) tells us a strange story of a dog in this town, of whom it was observed, that if they gave Him any large bone, or piece of meat, he immediately went out of doors with it, and after having disappeared for some time, would return again, upon which after some time they watched him, when to their great surprise they found that the poor charitable creature carried what he so got to an old decrepit mastiff, which lay in a nest that he had made among the brakes a little way out of the town, and was blind; so that he could not help himself, and there this creature fed him; he adds, also, that on Sundays, or holidays, when he found they made good cheer in the house, where he lived, he would go out, and bring this old blind dog to the door, and feed him there until he had enough, and then go with him back to his habitation in the country again, and see him safe in; if this story is true, it is very remarkable indeed, and I thought it worth telling, because the author was a person, who they say might be credited.

This town has a kind of jurisdiction upon the river Tamar down to the mouth of the port, so that they claim anchorage of all small ships that enter the river, their coroner sits upon all dead bodies that are found drowned in the river, and the like, but they make not much profit of them. There is a good market here, and that is the best thing to be said of the town, it is also very much increased since the number of the inhabitants are increased at the new town, as I mentioned, as near the dock at the mouth of Ham Oaze, for those people choose rather to go to Saltash to market by water, then to walk to Plymouth by land for their provisions; because, first, as they go in the town boat, the same boat brings home what they buy; so that it is much less trouble, (second,) because provisions are bought much cheaper at Saltash, than at Plymouth. This I say, is like to be a very great advantage to the town of Saltash, and may in time put a new face of wealth upon the place.

They talk of some merchants beginning to trade here, and they have some ships that use the Newfoundland fishery; but I could not hear of anything considerable they do in it, there is no other considerable town up the Tamar, till we come to Lanceston, the county town, which I

[71] Richard Carew (1555 - 1620), was a Cornish translator and antiquary. He is best known for his county history, *Survey of Cornwall* (1602). (W)

shall take in my return, so I turned west, keeping the south shore of the county, to the Land's End.

From Saltash I went to Liskeard,[72] about 7 miles. This is a considerable town, well built, has people of fashion in it, and a very great market; it also sends two members to Parliament, and is one of the five towns, called Stannary Towns, that is to say, where the blocks of tin are brought to the coinage, of which by itself; this coinage of tin is an article very much to the advantage of the towns where it is settled, though the money paid goes another way.

This town of Liskeard was once eminent, had a good castle, and a large house, where the ancient Dukes of Cornwall kept their Court in those days; also it enjoy ed several privileges, especially by the favour of the Black Prince,[73] who, as Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cornwall resided here; and in return, they say this town, and the country round it, raised a great body of stout young fellows, who entered into his service, and followed his fortunes in his wars in France, as also in Spain. But these buildings are so decayed, that there are now scarce any of the ruins of the castle, or of the prince's Court remaining.

The only public edifices they have now to show, are the guild, or town-hall, on which there is a turret with a fine clock; a very good free-school, well provided; a very fine conduit in the market-place; an ancient large church, and which is something rare, for the county of Cornwall, a large new built meeting-house for the Dissenters, which I name, because they assured me there was but three more, and those very inconsiderable in all the county of Cornwall; whereas in Devonshire, which is the next county, there are reckoned about seventy, some of which are exceeding large and fine.

This town is also remarkable for a very great trade in all manufactures of leather, such as boots, shoes, gloves, purses, breeches, &c. and some spinning of late years is set up here, encouraged by the woollen manufacturers of Devonshire.

Between these two towns of Saltash and Liskeard, is St. Germans, now a village, decayed, and without any market, but the largest parish in the whole county; in the bounds of which is contained, as they report, 17 villages, and the town of Saltash among them, for Saltash has no parish church, it seems of itself but as a chapel of ease to St. Germans. In the neighbourhood of these towns are many pleasant seats of the Cornish gentry, who are indeed very numerous, though their estates may not be so large, as is usual in England; yet neither are they despicable in that part, and in particular this may be said of them, that as they generally live cheap, and are more at home than in other counties, so they live more like gentlemen, and keep more within bounds of their estates than the English generally do, take them altogether.

Add to this, that they are the most sociable, generous, and to one another, the kindest neighbours that are to be found; and as they generally live, as we may say, together, for they are almost always at one another's houses, so they generally intermarry among themselves, the gentlemen seldom going out of the county for a wife, or the ladies for a husband, from whence they say, that proverb upon them was raised (*viz*.) "that all the Cornish gentlemen are cousins."

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[72] Liskeard is an ancient stannary, market town and civil parish in south east Cornwall. (W)

[73] The eldest son of King Edward III who reigned from 1327 to 1377. He predeceased his father, dying in 1376. He played a prominent role in the early part of the Hundred Years' War against France, which commenced in 1337. (W)

On the hills north of Liskeard, and in the way between Liskeard and Launceston,[74] there are many tin mines, and as they told us some of the richest veins of that metal are found there, that are in the whole county; the metal when cast at the blowing houses into blocks, being as above, carried to Liskeard to be coined.

From Liskeard, in our course west, we are necessarily carried to the sea coast, because of the river Fowey, or Fowath, which empties itself into the sea, at a very large mouth, and hereby this river rising in the middle of the breadth of the county, and running south, and the river Camel rising not far from it, and running north, with a like large channel, the land from Bodmin to the western part of the county is almost made an island, and in a manner cut off from the eastern part, the peninsula, or neck of land between, being not above twelve miles over.

On this south side we come to Foy, or Fowey, an ancient town, and formerly very large; nay, not large only, but powerful and potent, for the Foyens, as they were then called, were able to fit out large fleets, not only for merchant's ships, but even of men of war; and with these not only fought with, but several times vanquished, and routed the squadron of the Cinque Port men, who in those days were thought very powerful.

Mr. Camden observes, that the town of Foy quarters some part of the arms of every one of those Cinque Ports with their own; intimating, that they had at several times trampled over them all; certain it is, they did often beat them, and took their ships, and brought them as good prizes into their haven of Foy, and carried it so high, that they fitted out their fleets against the French, and took several of their men of war when they were at war with England, and enriched their town by the spoil of their enemies.

Edward IV[75] favoured them much, and because the French threatened them, to come up their river with a powerful navy to burn their town, he caused two forts to be built at the public charge, for security of the town and river, which forts at least some show of them remain there still, but the same King Edward was some time after so disgusted at the townsmen for officiously falling upon the French after a truce was made, and proclaimed, that he effectually disarmed them, took away their whole fleet, ships, tackle, apparel and furniture; and since that time we do not read of any of their naval exploits, nor that they ever recovered, or attempted to recover their strength at sea. However, Foy, at this time, is a very fair town, it lies extended on the east side of the river for above a mile, the buildings fair; and there are a great many flourishing merchants in it, who have a great share in the fishing trade, especially for pilchards, of which they take a great quantity here abouts. In this town, is also a coinage for the tin, of which a great quantity is dug up in the country, north and west of the town.

The river Fowey, which is very broad and deep here, was formerly navigable by ships of good burthen as high as Lestwithiel[76] an ancient, and once a flourishing, but now a decayed town, and as to trade and navigation quite destitute, which is occasioned by the river being filled up with sands, which some say, the tides drive up in stormy weather from the sea;

[74] Launceston is a town, ancient borough, and civil parish in Cornwall, 1 mile (1.6 km) west of the middle stage of the River Tamar, which constitutes almost the entire border between Cornwall and Devon. (W)

[75] Edward IV (1442 - 1483), was King of England from 4 March 1461 to 3 October 1470, and again from 11 April 1471 until his death. He was a central figure in the Wars of the Roses, fought between the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions between 1455 and 1487. (W)

[76] Now spelt Lostwithiel; it is small town at the head of the estuary of the River Fowey. (Ed)

others say it is by sands washed from the lead mines in the hills; the last of which, (by the way) I take to be a mistake, the sand from the hills being not of quantity sufficient to fill up the channel of a navigable river, and if it had, might easily have been stopped by the towns people from falling into the river; but that the sea has choked up the river with sand, is not only probable but true, and there are other rivers which suffer in the like manner in this same country.

This town of Lostwithiel, retains however several advantages, which support its figure, as first, that it is one of the Coinage Towns, as I call them, or Stannary Towns, as others call them. (2.) The common gaol for the whole Stannary is here, as are also the county courts for the whole county of Cornwall.
There is a mock cavalcade kept up at this town, which is very remarkable, the particulars, as they are related by Mr. Carew in his Survey of Cornwall, take as follows.

> Upon little Easter Sunday, the free-holders of this town and mannour by themselves, or their deputies, did there assemble. Amongst whom, one (as it fell to his lot by turn) bravely apparalled, gallantly mounted, with a crown on his head, a scepter in his hand, and a sword borne before him, and dutifully attended by all the rest also on horseback, rode through the principal street to the church. The curate in his best beseen solemnly received him at the churchyard stile, and conducted him to hear divine service. After which, he repaired with the same pomp, to a house provided for that purpose, made a feast to his attendants, kept the tables-end himself, and was served with kneeling assay, and all other rights due to the estate of a prince. With which dinner, the ceremony ended, and every man returned home again. The pedigree of this usage is derived from so many descents of ages that the cause and author out-reach the remembrance. Howbeit, these circumstances afford a conjecture, that it should betoken royalties appertaining to the honour of Cornwall.

Behind Fowey, and nearer to the coast at the mouth of a small river, which some call Lowe, though without any authority, there stand two towns opposite to one another, bearing the name of the river Loe, that is to say, distinguished by the addition of East Looe, and West Looe. These are both good trading towns, and especially fishing towns and which is very particular, are like Weymouth and Melcombe, in Dorsetshire, separated only by the creek, or river; and yet each of them send members to Parliaments. These towns are joined together by a very beautiful and stately stone bridge having fifteen arches.

East Looe, was the ancienter corporation of the two, and for some ages ago the greater and more considerable town; but now they tell us West Looe is the richest, and has the most ships belonging to it. Were they put together, they would make a very handsome seaport town. They have a great fishing trade here, as well for supply of the country, as for merchandise, and the towns are not dispisable; but as to sending four members to the British Parliament, which is as many as the city of London chooses, that I confess seems a little scandalous, but to who, is none of my business to enquire.

Passing from hence, and ferrying over Foye river, or the river Foweth, call it as you please, we come into a large country without many towns in it of note, but very well furnished with gentlemen’s seats, and a little higher up with tin works.

The sea making several deep bays here, they who travel by land are obliged to go higher into the country to pass above the water, especially at Trewardreth Bay,[77] which lies very broad, above ten miles within the country, which passing at Trewardreth, a town of no great note, though the bay takes its name from it, the next inlet of the sea, is the famous firth, or inlet, called Falmouth Haven. It is certainly next to Milford Haven in South Wales, the fairest and best road for shipping that is in the whole isle of Britain, when there be considered the depth of water for above twenty miles within land; the safety of riding, sheltered from all kind of winds or storms, the good anchorage, and the many creeks, all navigable, where ships may run in and be safe, so that the like is nowhere to be found.

There are six or seven very considerable places upon this haven, and the rivers from it, (*viz*.) Grampound, Tregony, Truro, Penryn, Falmouth, St. Mawes, and Pendennis. The three first of these send members to Parliament, the town of Falmouth, as big as all the three, and richer than ten of them sends none, which imports no more than this, that Falmouth itself is not of so great antiquity, as to its rising, as those other towns are; and yet the whole haven takes its name from Falmouth too, unless as some think the town took its name from the haven, which however they give no authority to suggest.

St. Mawes and Pendennis are two fortifications placed at the points, or entrance of this haven, opposite to one another, though not with a communication, or view; they are very strong; the first principally by sea, having a good platform of guns, pointing thwart the channel, and planted on a level with the water; but Pendennis Castle is strong by land as well as by water, is regularly fortified, has good out works, and generally a strong garrison; St. Mawes, otherwise called St. Mary's has a town annexed to the castle, and is a borough, sending members to the Parliament. Pendennis is a mere fortress, though there are some habitations in it too, and some at a small distance near the sea side, but not of any great consideration.

The town of Falmouth is by much the richest, and best trading town in this county, though not so ancient as its neighbour town of Truro; and indeed, is in some things obliged to acknowledge the seniority. Namely, that in the corporation of Truro, the person who they choose to be their mayor of Truro, is also mayor of Falmouth of course. How the jurisdiction is managed, is an account too long for this place; the Truro men also receive several duties collected in Falmouth, particularly wharfage[78] for the merchandises landed, or shipped off; but let these advantages be what they will, the town of Falmouth has gotten the trade, at least the best part of it from the other, which is chiefly owing to the situation, for that Falmouth lying upon the sea, but within the entrance, ships of the greatest burthen come up to the very quays, and the whole royal navy might ride safely in the road, whereas the town of Truro lying far within, and at the mouth of two fresh rivers, is not navigable for vessels of above 150 tons, or thereabouts.

Some have suggested that the original of Falmouth, was the having so large a key, and so good a depth of water at it. The merchants of Truro formerly used it for the place of lading and unlading their ships, as the merchants of Exeter did at Topsham, and this is the more probable in that, as above, the wharfage of those landing places is still the property of the corporation of Truro.

[77] Now called Tywardreath; it is a small hilltop village on the south coast of Cornwall. (W)
[78] Wharfage is the tax charged for use of the port. (Ed)

But let this be as it will, the trade is now in a manner wholly gone to Falmouth, the trade at Truro, being now chiefly if not only for shipping off of block tin and copper ore, the latter being lately found in large quantities in some of the mountains between Truro, and St. Michaels, and which is much improved since the several mills are erected at Bristol, and other parts, for the manufactures of battery ware or, as it is called, brass, which is made out of English copper, most of it dug in these parts; the ore itself also being found very rich and good.

Falmouth is well built, has abundance of shipping belonging to it, is full of rich merchants, and has a flourishing and increasing trade. I say increasing, because by the late setting up the English packets between this port and Lisbon, there is a new commerce between Portugal and this town, carried on to a very great value.

It is true, part of this trade was founded in a clandestine commerce, carried on by the said packets at Lisbon, where being the king's ships, and claiming the privilege of not being searched, or visited by the custom-house officers, they found means to carry off great quantities of British manufactures, which they sold on board to the Portuguese merchants, and they conveyed them on shore, as it is supposed without paying custom.

But the government there, getting intelligence of it, and complaint being made in England also, where it was found to be very prejudicial to the fair merchant, that trade has been effectually stopped, but the Falmouth merchants having by this means gotten a taste of the Portuguese trade, have maintained it ever since in ships of their own. These packets bring over such vast quantities of gold in specie, either in moidores,[79] which is the Portugal coin, or in bars of gold, that I am very credibly informed the carrier from Falmouth, brought by land from thence to London, at one time, in the month of January, 1722, or near it, eighty thousand moidores in gold, which came from Lisbon in the packet boats, for account of the merchants at London, and that it was attended with a guard of 12 horsemen well-armed, for which the said carrier had half per cent for his hazard.

This is a specimen of the Portugal trade, and how considerable it is in itself, as well as how advantageous to England, but as that is not to the present case, I proceed; the custom-house for all the towns in this port, and the head collector is established at this town, where the duties, including the other ports is very considerable. Here is also a very great fishing for pilchards, and the merchants for Falmouth have the chief stroke in that gainful trade.

Truro is however a very considerable town too; it stands up the water north and by east from Falmouth in the utmost extended branch of the haven, in the middle, between the conflux of two rivers, which though not of any long course, have a very good appearance for a port, and make a large wharf between them in the front of the town; and the water here makes a good port for small ships, though it be at the influx, but not for ships of burthen. This is the particular town where the lord warden of the Stannaries always holds his famous Parliament of Miners, and for stamping of tin. The town is well built, but shows that it has been much fuller, both of houses and inhabitants, than it is now; nor will it probably ever rise, while the

[79] Moidores were historically gold coins of Portuguese origin, minted from 1677 to as late as 1910, mainly in Portugal and in Portuguese colonies like Brazil and Mozambique. The coin was used in the early 18th century in Ireland and the South West of England, with the single moidore having a value of two thirds of a pound. (W)

town of Falmouth stands where it does, and while the trade is settled in it, as it is. There are at least three churches in it, but no Dissenter's meeting house, that I could hear of.

Tregony, is upon the same water north east from Falmouth, distance about sixteen miles from it, but is a town of very little trade, nor indeed have any of the towns so far within the shore, notwithstanding the benefit of the water any considerable trade but what is carried on under the merchants of Falmouth, or Truro; the chief thing that is to be said of this town, is, that it sends members to Parliament, as does also Grandpound, a market-town, and borough about 4 miles farther up the water. This place indeed has a claim to antiquity, and is an appendix to the Dutchy of Cornwall, of which it holds at a fee farm rent, and pays to the Prince of Wales, as duke, £10 11s and 1d. *per annum*; it has no parish church, but only a chapel of ease[80] to an adjacent parish.

Penryn, is up the same branch of the haven, as Falmouth, but stands four miles higher towards the west, yet ships come to it of as great a size, as can come to Truro itself; it is a very pleasant agreeable town, and for that reason has many merchants in it, who would perhaps otherwise live at Falmouth. The chief commerce of these towns, as to their sea affairs, is the pilchards, and Newfoundland fishing, which is very profitable to them all; it had formerly a conventual church,[81] with a chantry, and a religious house, a cell to Kirton, but they are all demolished, and scarce the ruins of them distinguishable enough to know one part from another.

Quitting Falmouth Haven from Penryn west, we came to Helston, about 7 miles, and stands upon the little river Cober, which however admits the sea so into its bosom as to make a tolerable good harbour for ships a little below the town. It is the fifth town, allowed for the coining tin, and several of the ships called "tin" ships are loaded here.

This town is large and populous, and has four spacious streets, a handsome church, and a good trade. This town also sends members to Parliament. Beyond this is a market town though of no resort for trade, called Market Jew, it lies indeed on the sea-side, but has no harbour or safe road for shipping.

At Helford is a small, but good harbour between Falmouth and this port, where many times the tin ships go in to load for London; also, here are a good number of fishing vessels for the pilchard trade, and abundance of skilful fishermen. It was from this town that in the great storm, which happened, Nov. 27, 1703, a ship loaded with tin, was blown out to sea, and driven to the Isle of Wight, in seven hours, having on board only one man, and two boys; the story is as follows, (*viz*.)

> The beginning of the storm, there lay a ship laden with tin, in Helford Haven, about two leagues and a half west of Falmouth. The tin was taken on board at a place called Guague Wharf, five or six miles up the river, and the vessel was come down to Helford, in order to pursue her voyage to London.

[80] Chapels of Ease are found in large parishes to save people having to walk a long distance to the church. Some obtained the right to perform baptisms, marriages and burials and many became parish churches in the 19th century, when parish boundaries were revised because of population growth. (Ed)
[81] A conventual or monastery church is the main church building in a monastery or abbey. (Ed)

About 8 o'clock in the evening the commander, whose name was Anthony Jenkins, went on board with his mate to see that everything was safe, and to give orders, but went both on shore again, leaving only a man, and two boys on board, not apprehending any danger, they being in safe harbour; however, he ordered them, that if it should blow hard, they should carry out the small bower anchor, and so to moor the ship by two anchors, and then giving what other orders he thought to be needful, he went ashore, as above.
About 9 o'clock, the wind beginning to blow harder, they carried out the anchor according to the master's order; but the wind increasing about 10, the ship began to drive, so they carried out their best bower, which having a good new cable, brought the ship up. The storm still increasing they let go the kedge[82] anchor; so that they then rode by four anchors a head, which were all they had.

But between 11 and 12 o'clock, the wind came about west and by south, and blew in so violent and terrible a manner, that though they rid under the lee of a high shore, yet the ship was driven from all her anchors, and about midnight drove quite out of the harbour (the opening of the harbour lying due east and west) into the open sea, the men having neither anchor or cable, or boat to help themselves.

In this dreadful condition, they driving, I say, out of the harbour. Their first and chief care was to go clear of the rocks, which lie on either side the harbour's mouth, and which they performed pretty well; then, seeing no remedy, they consulted what to do next. They could carry no sail at first, no not a knot, nor do anything but run away afore it. The only thing they had to think on, was to keep her out at sea as far as they could, for fear of a point of land, called The Dead Man's Head, which lies to the eastward of Falmouth Haven, and then if they could escape the land, thought to run in for Plymouth, next morning, so if possible, to save their lives.

In this frightened condition they drove away at a prodigious rate, having sometimes the bonnet of their foresail a little out, but the yard lowered almost to the deck; sometimes the ship almost under water, and sometimes above, keeping still in the offing, for fear of the land, till they might see daylight; but when the day broke they found they were to think no more of Plymouth, for they were far enough beyond it, and the first land they made was Peverel Point, being the southernmost land of the Isle of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, and a little to the westward of the Isle of Wight; so that now they were in a terrible consternation, and driving still at a prodigious rate, by seven a clock they found themselves broad side of the Isle of Wight.

Here they consulted again what to do to save their lives; one of the boys was for running her into the Downs, but the man objected, that having no anchor or cable, nor boat to go on shore with, and the storm blowing off shore, in the Downs, they should be inevitably blown off, and lost upon the unfortunate Goodwin, which it seems the man had been on once before, and narrowly escaped.

Now came the last consultation for their lives; the other of the boys said, he had been in a certain creek in the Isle of Wight, where between the rocks he knew there was

[82] A kedge may be dropped while a ship is underway, or carried out in a suitable direction by a tender or ship's boat to enable the ship to be winched off if aground or swung into a particular heading, or even to be held steady against a tidal or other stream. (W)

room to run the ship in, and at least to save their lives, and that he saw the place just that moment; so he desired the man to let him have the helm, and he would do his best, and venture it. The man gave him the helm, and he stood directly in among the rocks, the people standing on the shore, thinking they were mad, and that they would in a few minutes be dashed in a thousand pieces.

But when they came nearer, and the people found they steered as if they knew the place, they made signals to them to direct them, as well as they could, and the young bold fellow run her into a small cove, where she stuck fast, as it were, between the rocks on both sides, there being but just room enough for the breadth of the ship; the ship indeed giving two or three knocks staved, and sunk, but the man and the two youths jumped ashore, and were safe, and the lading being tin was afterwards secured. N.B. The merchants very well rewarded the three sailors, especially the lad that ran her into that place.

Penzance is the farthest town of any note west, being 254 miles from London, and within about ten miles of the promontory, called the Land's End; so that this promontory is from London 264 miles, or thereabouts. This town of Penzance is a place of good business, well-built and populous, has a good trade, and a great many ships belonging to it, notwithstanding it is so remote. Here are also a great many good families of gentlemen, though in this utmost angle of the nation; and, which is yet more strange, the veins of lead, tin, and copper ore, are said to be seen, even to the utmost extent of land at low water mark, and in the very sea; so rich, so valuable a treasure is contained in these parts of Great Britain, though they are supposed to be so poor, because so very remote from London, which is the centre of our wealth.

Between this town and St. Burien, a town midway between it and the Land's End, stands a circle of great stones, not unlike those at Stonehenge in Wiltshire, with one bigger than the rest in the middle; they stand about 12 foot asunder, but have no inscription, neither does tradition offer to leave any part of their history upon record; as whether it was a trophy, or a monument of burial, or an altar for worship, or what else; so that all that can be learned of them, is, that here they are. The parish where they stand is called Boscawen, from whence the ancient and honourable family of Boscawen derive their names.[83]

Near Penzance, but open to the sea, is that gulph they call Mounts Bay, named so from a high hill standing in the water, which they call St. Michael's Mount; the seamen call it only, the Cornish Mount. It has been fortified, though the situation of it makes it so difficult of access, that like the Bass in Scotland, there needs no fortification; like the Bass too, it was once made a prison for prisoners of State, but now it is wholly neglected; there is a very good road[84] here for shipping, which makes the town of Penzance be a place of good resort.

A little up in the county towards the north west is Godolphin, which though a hill, rather than a town, gives name to the noble and ancient family of Godolphin;[85] and nearer on the

[83] The title of Viscount Falmouth has been created twice. The second creation, in 1720, for was for Hugh Boscawen (c.1680-1734). Boscawen had earlier represented Tregony, Cornwall, Truro and Penryn in Parliament and notably served as Comptroller of the Household and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. (W)

[84] This is road as in the term road stead, a place where ships can ride at anchor.

[85] Sidney Godolphin, 1st Earl of Godolphin (1645 - 1712), was a leading British politician of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. He was a Privy Councillor and Secretary of State for the Northern

northern coast is Royalton, which since the late Sydney Godolphin, Esq; a younger brother of the family, was created Earl of Godolphin, gave title of lord to his eldest son, who was called Lord Royalton during the life of his father. This place also is infinitely rich in tin mines.
I am now at my journey's end. As to the islands of Scilly, which lie beyond the Land's End, I shall say something of them presently. I must now return *sur mes pas*, as the French call it; though not literally so, for I shall not come back the same way I went; but as I have coasted the south shore to the Land's End, I shall come back by the north coast, and my observations in my return will furnish very well materials for a fourth letter.

APPENDIX TO LETTER III: ISLES OF SCILLY

I HAVE ended this account at the utmost extent of the island of Great Britain west, without visiting those excrescences of the island, as I think I may call them, (*viz*.) the rocks of Scilly, of which, what is most famous, is their infamy, or reproach; Namely, how many good ships are, almost continually dashed in pieces there, and how many brave lives lost, in spite of the mariners' best skill, or the light-houses, and other sea-marks best notice.

These islands lie so in the middle between the two vast openings of the north and south narrow seas, or as the sailors call them, the Bristol Channel, and The Channel, (so called by way of eminence) that it cannot, or perhaps never will be avoided, but that several ships in the dark of the night, and in stress of weather may by being out in their reckonings, or other unavoidable accidents mistake, and if they do, they are sure, as the sailors call it, to run bump a shore upon Scilly, where they find no quarter among the breakers, but are beat to pieces, without any possibility of escape.

One can hardly mention the Bishop and his Clerks, as they are called, or the rocks of Scilly, without letting fall a tear to the memory of Sir Cloudesley Shovel,[86] and all the gallant spirits that were with him at one blow, and without a moments warning dashed into a state of immortality; the admiral with three men of war, and all their men (running upon these rocks, right afore the wind, and in a dark night) being lost there, and not a man saved. But all our annals and histories are full of this, so I need say no more.

They tell us of eleven sail of merchant ships homeward-bound, and richly laden from the southward, who had the like fate, in the same place, a great many years ago; and that some of them coming from Spain, and having a great quantity of bullion, or pieces of eight on board, the money frequently drives on shore still, and that in good quantities, especially after stormy weather.

This may be the reason why, as we observed during our short stay here, several mornings after, it had blown something hard in the night, the sands were covered with country people running to and fro' to see if the sea had cast up anything of value. This the seamen call

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Department before attaining real power as First Lord of the Treasury. He was instrumental in negotiating and passing the Acts of Union with Scotland, which created the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707. (W)

[86] Admiral of the Fleet Sir Cloudesley Shovell (1650 - 1707) was an English naval officer who had the misfortune while returning from the campaign at Toulon, in his flagship, HMS Association, to strike rocks near the Isles of Scilly at 8 pm on 22 October 1707 (2 Nov, by the modern calendar). The ship went down with the loss of 800 men and also lost were HMS Association, HMS Eagle, HMS Romney and HMS Firebrand. It was this disaster that led the Admiralty to offer a prize for anyone who could determine longitude at sea. (W)

"going a shoring"; and it seems they do often find good purchase. Sometimes also dead bodies are cast up here, the consequence of shipwrecks among those fatal rocks and islands; as also broken pieces of ships, casks, chests, and almost everything that will float, or roll on shore by the surges of the sea.

Nor is it seldom that the voracious country people scuffle and fight about the right to what they find, and that in a desperate manner, so that this part of Cornwall may truly be said to be inhabited by a fierce and ravenous people; for they are so greedy, and eager for the prey, that they are charged with strange, bloody, and cruel dealings, even sometimes with one another; but especially with poor distressed seamen when they come on shore by force of a tempest, and seek help for their lives, and where they find the rocks themselves not more merciless than the people who range about them for their prey. Here also, as a farther testimony of the immense riches which have been lost at several times upon this coast, we found several engineers, and projectors; some with one sort of diving engine, and some with another; some claiming such a wreck, and some such and such others; where they alleged, they were assured there were great quantities of money; and strange unprecedented ways were used by them to come at it. Some, I say, with one kind of engine, and some another; and though we thought several of them very strange impracticable methods, yet, I was assured by the country people, that they had done wonders with them under water, and that some of them had taken up things of great weight, and in a great depth of water; others had split open the wrecks they had found, in a manner one would have thought not possible to be done, so far under water, and had taken out things from the very holds of the ships; but we could not learn, that they had come at any pieces of eight, which was the thing they seemed most to aim at, and depend upon; at least they had not found any great quantity, as they said they expected.

However, we left them as busy as we found them, and far from being discouraged; and if half the golden mountains, or silver mountains either, which they promise themselves, should appear, they will be very well paid for their labour.

From the tops of the hills, on this extremity of the land, you may see out into that they call the Chops of the Channel, which, as it is the greatest inlet of commerce, and the most frequented by merchant ships of any place in the world; so one seldom looks out to seaward, but something new presents; that is to say, of ships passing, or repassing, either on the great or lesser channel.

Upon a former accidental journey into this part of the country, during the war with France, it was with a mixture of pleasure and horror that we saw from the hills at the Lizard, which is the southernmost point of this land, an obstinate fight between three French-men of war, and two English, with a privateer, and three merchant-ships in their company; the English had the misfortune, not only to be fewer ships of war in number, but of less force; so that while the two biggest French ships engaged the English, the third in the meantime took the two merchant-ships, and went off with them; as to the piccaroon, or privateer, she was able to do little in the matter, not daring to come so near the men of war, as to take a broadside, which her thin sides would not have been able to bear, but would have sent her to the bottom at once; so that the English men of war had no assistance from her, nor could she prevent the taking the two merchant-ships; yet we observed that the English captains managed their fight so well, and their seamen behaved so briskly, that in about three hours both the Frenchmen stood off, and being sufficiently banged, let us see that they had no more stomach to fight; after which the English, having damage enough too no doubt, stood away to the eastward, as we supposed, to refit.

This point of the Lizard, which runs out to the southward, and the other promontory mentioned above, make the two angles, or horns, as they are called, from whence it is supposed this county received its first name of Cornwall, or as Mr. Camden says, *Cornulia* in the Latin, and in the British Kernou, as running out in two vastly extended horns; and indeed it seems, as if nature had formed this situation for the direction of mariners, as foreknowing of what importance it should be, and how in future ages these seas should be thus thronged with merchant ships, the protection of whose wealth, and the safety of the people navigating them, was so much her early care, that she stretched out the land so very many ways, and extended the points and promontories so far, and in so many different places into the sea, that the land might be more easily discovered at a due distance, which waysoever the ships should come.

Nor is the Lizard Point less useful (though not so far west) than the other, which is more properly called the Land's End; but if we may credit our mariners, it is more frequently, first discovered from the sea; for as our mariners knowing by the soundings when they are in the mouth of the Channel, do then most naturally stand to the southward, to avoid mistaking the Channel, and to shun the Severn Sea, or Bristol Channel, but still more to avoid running upon Scilly, and the rocks about it, as is observed before. I say, as they carefully keep to the southward, till they think they are fair with the Channel, and then stand to the northward again, or north east, to make the land; this is the reason why the Lizard is generally speaking, the first land they make, and not the Land's End.

Then having made the Lizard, they either (first) run in for Falmouth, which is the next port, if they are taken short with easterly winds, or are in want of provisions and refreshment, or have anything out of order, so that they care not to keep the sea; or (2ndly) stand away for the Ram Head, and Plymouth Sound, or (3dly) keep an offing to run up the Channel.

So that the Lizard is the general guide, and of more use in these cases than the other point, and is therefore the land which the ships choose to make first, for then also they are sure that they are past Scilly, and all the dangers of that part of the island.

Nature has fortified this part of the island of Britain in a strange manner, and so as is worth a traveller's observation, as if she knew the force and violence of the mighty ocean, which beats upon it, and which indeed, if the land was not made firm in proportion, could not withstand, but would have been washed away long ago.

First, there are the islands of Scilly, and the rocks about them, these are placed like outworks to resist the first assaults of this enemy, and so break the force of it; as the piles, or starlings (as they are called) are placed before the solid stonework of London Bridge, to fence off the force, either of the water, or ice, or anything else that might be dangerous to the work.

Then there are a vast number of sunk rocks, (so the seamen call them,) besides such as are visible, and above water; which gradually lessen the quantity of water, that would otherwise lie with an infinite weight and force upon the land; it is observed, that these rocks lie under water for a great way off into the sea on every side the said two horns or points of land; so breaking the force of the water, and as above lessening the weight of it.

But besides this, the whole *terra firma*, or body of the land, which makes this part of the isle of Britain, seems to be one solid rock, as if it was formed by Nature to resist the otherwise

irresistible power of the ocean; and indeed if one was to observe with what fury the sea comes on sometimes against the shore here, especially at the Lizard Point, where there are but few, if any outworks, (as I call them) to resist it. How high the waves come rolling forward, storming on the neck of one another; particularly when the wind blows off sea, one would wonder, that even the strongest rocks themselves should be able to resist, and repel them. But, as I said, the country seems to be as it were one great body of stone, and prepared so on purpose.

And yet, as if all this was not enough, Nature has provided another strong fence, and that is, that these vast rocks are, as it were, cemented together by the solid and weighty ore of tin and copper, especially the last, which is plentifully found upon the very outmost edge of the land, and with which the stones may be said to be soldered together, lest the force of the sea should separate and disjoint them, and so break in upon these fortifications of the island, to destroy its chief security.

This is certain, that there is a more than ordinary quantity of tin, copper, and lead also, placed by the Great Director of nature in these very remote angles and, as I have said above, the ore is found upon the very surface of the rocks a good way into the sea, and that it does not only lie, as it were, upon, or between the stones among the earth, which in that case might be washed from it by the sea, but that it is even blended or mixed in with the stones themselves, that the stones must be split into pieces to come at it; by this mixture the rocks are made infinitely weighty and solid, and thereby still the more qualified to repel the force of the sea.

Upon this remote part of the island, we saw great numbers of that famous kind of crows, which is known by the name of the Cornish cough, or chough, so the country people call them. They are the same kind, which are found in Switzerland among the Alps, and which Pliny pretended, were peculiar to those mountains, and calls the Pyrrhocorax; the body is black, the legs, feet, and bill of a deep yellow, almost to a red; I could not find that it was affected for any good quality it had, nor is the flesh good to eat, for it feeds much on fish and carrion; it is counted little better than a kite, for it is of ravenous quality, and is very mischievous; it will steal and carry away any thing it finds about the house, that is not too heavy, though not fit for its food; as knives, forks, spoons and linen cloths, or whatever it can fly away with, sometimes they say it has stolen bits of firebrands, or lighted candles, and lodged them in the stacks of corn, and the thatch of barns and houses, and set them on fire; but this I only had by oral tradition.

I might take up many sheets in describing the valuable curiosities of this little Cherosonese, or neck land, called the Land's End, in which there lies an immense treasure, and many things worth notice, I mean besides those to be found upon the surface. But I am too near the end of this letter. If I have opportunity, I shall take notice of some part of what I omit here, in my return by the northern shore of the county. (End of Third Letter)

Editor's Note

Defoe ends his third letter here, with Land's End and the Isles of Scilly, but on his return journey he covered the northern parts of Cornwall and Devon and then visited parts of Somerset and Wiltshire that he had not seen on his outward journey. I have chosen to add these below so as to give a more complete account of these counties.

LETTER IV

Containing A Description of The North Shore of The Counties of Cornwall, and Devon, And Some Parts of Somersetshire and Wiltshire

SIR, My last letter ended the account of my travels, where Nature ended her account, when she meted out the island, and where she fixed the utmost western bounds of Britain; and, being resolved to see the very extremity of it, I set my foot into the sea, as it were, beyond the farthest inch of dry land west, as I had done before near the town of Dover, at the foot of the rocks of the South-Foreland in Kent, which, I think, is the farthest point east in a line. And as I had done, also, at Lowestoft in Suffolk, which is another promontory on the eastern coast, and is reckoned the farthest land eastward of the island in general. Likewise, I had used the same ceremony at Selsey near Chichester, which I take to be the farthest land south, except at Portland only, which, as it is not really an island, may be called, the farthest land south; so, in its place, I shall give you an account of the same curiosity at John a Groat's House in Caithness, the farthest piece of ground in Great Britain, north. I had once, indeed, resolved to have coasted the whole circuit of Britain by sea, as it is said, Agricola the Roman general, did; and in this voyage I would have gone about every promontory, and into the bottom of every bay, and had provided myself a good yacht, and an able commander for that purpose; but I found it would be too hazardous an undertaking for any man to justify himself in the doing it upon the mere foundation of curiosity, and having no other business at all; so I gave it over.

There was another difficulty also, upon which my navigator, or commander, as I called him, who was an old experienced seaman, dissuaded me from the undertaking; and that was, the necessity of getting pilots to every part of the coast, and to every port, river, and creek, and the danger of not getting them. The necessity was plain, for that, as I proposed to keep all the way near, or under the shore, to enter into all the bays, and mouths of rivers, and creeks, as above; 1. It would be impracticable to find any single man that knew so perfectly the whole coast, as to venture in without pilots. 2. Pilots would not always be found, especially on the north and west coasts of Scotland; so I laid it aside, I say, as a hopeless, and too dangerous adventure, and satisfied myself, to make the circuit very near as perfect by land, which I have done with much less hazard, though with much more pains and expense; the fruit of which, you have, in part, communicated in these letters.

NORTH CORNWALL

I now turned about to the east, and as, when I went west, I kept to the southern coast of this long county of Cornwall, and of Devonshire also, so in going east, I shall keep the north shore on board. The first place, of any note, we came to, is St. Ives, a pretty good town, and grown rich by the fishing trade; it is situated on the west side of a deep bay, called St. ves Bay, from the name of the town. This bay is opposite, on the land side, to Mount's Bay, which I spoke of in my last, in my account of Penzance.

It is a very pleasant view we have at Madern[87] Hills, and the plain by them, in the way from the Land's End to St. Ives, where, at one sight, there is a prospect of the ocean at the Land's End west; of the British Channel at Mount's Bay south; and the Bristol Channel, or Severn Sea, north. At St. Ives, the land between the two bays being not above four or five miles

[87] St. Madern, a hermit of Cornish descent, also called Maden and Madron. (W)

over, is so situated, that upon the hill, neither of the two seas are above three miles off, and very plain to be seen; and also, in a clear day, the islands of Scilly, though above thirty miles off.

From this town and port of St. Ives, we have no town of any note on the coast; no, not a market town, except Redruth, which is of no consideration, until we come to Padstow Haven, which is near thirty miles. The country is, indeed, both fruitful and pleasant, and several houses of gentlemen are seen as we pass; the sands, also, are very pleasant to the eye, and to travel upon. Among the gentlemen's houses, is, Lanhydrock,[88] the seat of the Earls of Radnor, who are Barons of Truro, and were so, long before they obtained the title of Radnor. There is also a good house belonging to the ancient family of Trefusis.[89]

In viewing these things, we observed the hills fruitful of tin, copper, and lead, all the way on our right hand, the product of which, is carried all to the other shore; so that we shall have little to say of it here. The chief business on this shore, is in the herring fishing; the herrings, about October, come driving up the Severn Sea, and from the coast of Ireland, in prodigious shoals, and beat all upon this coast as high as Bideford, and Barnstaple, in Devonshire, and are caught in great quantities by the fishermen, chiefly on account of the merchants of Falmouth, Foy, and Plymouth, and other ports on the south.

Padstow is a large town, and stands on a very good harbour for such shipping as use that coast, that is to say, for the Irish trade. The harbour is the mouth of the river Camel, or Carnal, which rising at Camelford, runs down by Bodmin to Wodbridge, or Wardbridge,[90] a large stone bridge of eight arches, or thereabouts, built by the general good will of the country gentlemen; but at the motion of a religious man, named Lovibond, moved in mere charity; the passage over the river there, before, being very dangerous, and having been the loss of some lives, as well as goods. The passage from this town of Padstow to Ireland, is called, by writers, to be no more than twenty-four hours, but not justly. It is true, that Padstow being the first, and best, if not the only haven on this shore, the trade from Ireland settled here of course, and a great many ships in this harbour, are employed in the commerce; but to say, they make the voyage in four-and-twenty hours, is to say, it has been so, or, on extraordinary gales of fair wind, it may be done; but not one in twenty-four ships makes its voyage in twenty-four hours; and, I believe, it may be said, they are oftener five or six days in the passage.

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[88] Lanhydrock estate belonged to the Augustinian priory of St Petroc at Bodmin but, at the Dissolution of the Monasteries during the 1530s, it passed into private hands. In 1620 wealthy merchant Sir Richard Robartes, of Truro, acquired the estate and began building Lanhydrock House. Robartes died in 1624 but work on the building was continued by his son John Robartes, 1st Earl of Radnor (1606 - 1685), who served as Lord Privy Seal and Lord President of the Council. In Defoe's time, there was Charles Bodvile Robartes, 2nd Earl of Radnor (1660 - 1723), who served as an MP in the 1680s until he inherited the Earldom. (W)

[89] The Trefusis family of Cornwall (anciently de Trefusis) continues in 2018 as lords of the manor of Trefusis, near Flushing in the parish of Mylor, Cornwall, from which they took their surname at some time before the 13th century. (W)

[90] Now Wadebridge. A bridge was built here in the 15th century, which was strategically important during the English Civil War, when Oliver Cromwell went there to take it. Since then, it has been widened twice and refurbished in 1991. (W)

A little way within the land S.W. from Padstow, lies St. Columb, eminent for nothing but its being the ancient estate of the famous Arundel of Trerice,[91] of late years made noble by King Charles II, being still famous in the present Lord Arundel of Trerice; also between them, is a very ancient seat of a family of the name of Prideaux[92] who, in Queen Elizabeth's time, built a very noble seat there, which remains to this day, though time makes the architect of it look a little out of fashion.

Higher within the land, lies the town of Bodmin, once one of the coming towns for tin, but lost it to Lostwithiel. However, this town enjoys several privileges, some of which are also tokens of its antiquity.

The coinage towns were, in Queen Elizabeth's time, four; Liskeard, Truro, Lostwithiel and Helston. Since then, in King James's time, was added, Penzance.

Tintagel Castle lies upon this coast a little farther, a mark of great antiquity, and every writer has mentioned it; but as antiquity is not my work, I leave the ruins of Tintagel to those that search into antiquity; little or nothing, that I could hear, is to be seen at it; and as for the story of King Arthur being both born and killed there, it is a piece of tradition, only on oral history, and not any authority to be produced for it.

We have nothing more of note in this county, that I could see, or hear of, but a set of monumental stones, found standing not far from Bodmin, called The Hurlers, of which the country, nor all the writers of the country, can give us no good account; so I must leave them as I found them.

The game called the Hurlers,[93] is a thing the Cornish men value themselves much upon; I confess, I see nothing in it, but that it is a rude violent play among the boors, or country people; brutish and furious, and a sort of an evidence, that they were, once, a kind of barbarians. It seems, to me, something to resemble the old way of play, as it was then called, with whirle-bats, with which Hercules slew the giant, when he undertook to clean the Augean stable.

The wrestling in Cornwall, is, indeed, a much more manly and generous exercise, and that closure, which they call the Cornish Hug, has made them eminent in the wrestling rings all over England, as the Norfolk, and Suffolk men, are for their dexterity at the hand and foot, and throwing up the heels of their adversary, without taking hold of him.

I came out of Cornwall by passing the river Tamar at Launceston, the last, or rather, the first, town in the county, the town shewing little else, but marks of its antiquity; for great part of it is so old, as it may, in a manner, pass for an old, ragged, decayed place, in general. It stands at a distance, almost two miles from the river, over which, there is a very good bridge; the

[91] In Defoe's time, it was John Arundell, 4th Baron Arundell of Trerice (1701 - 1768). On his death in 1768, the Barony of Arundell became extinct. In 1953, Trerice House and 20 acres of grounds was purchased by the National Trust from Cornwall County Council. (W)

[92] Prideaux Place is a grade I listed country house built in 1592 by Sir Nicholas Prideaux (1550 - 1627), a distinguished lawyer, and it was enlarged and modified by successive generations. (W)

[93] Hurling (Cornish: Hurlian) is an outdoor team game played only in Cornwall. It is played with a small silver ball. The sport is not to be confused with the Irish game, also called hurling; there are profound differences between the two sports. (W)

town is eminent, however, for being, as we call it, the county town, where the assizes are always kept.

In the time when Richard, Earl of Cornwall,[94] had the absolute government of this county, and was, we might say, king of the country, it was a frontier town, walled about, and well-fortified, and had, also, a strong castle to defend it; but these are seen, now, only in their old clothes, and lie all in ruins and heaps of rubbish.

It is a principal gain to the people of this town, that they let lodgings to the gentlemen, who attend here in the time of the assizes, and other public meetings; as particularly, that of electing knights of the shire, and at the county sessions, which are held here; for which purposes, the town's people have their rooms better furnished than in other places of this country, though their houses are but low; nor do they fail to make a good price to their lodgers, for the conveniences they afford them.

The town sends two members to Parliament, and so does Newport, a little village adjoining, and which, indeed, is but a part of Launceston itself; so that the town may be said, almost, to choose four Members of Parliament. There is a fine image, or figure of Mary Magdalen, upon the tower of the church, which the Catholics fail not to pay their reverences to, as they pass by. There is no tin, or copper, or lead, found hereabouts, as I could find, nor any manufacture in the place; there are a pretty many attorneys here, who manage business for the rest of their fraternity at the assizes. As to trade, it has not much to boast of, and yet there are people enough in it to excuse those who call it a populous place. There is a long nook of the county, runs north from this place, which is called the Hundred[95] of Stratton, and in which there is one market town, and no more, the name of which, is Stratton; but has nothing in, or about it, worth our making any remarks.

NORTH DEVONSHIRE

Passing the river Tamar, as above, about two miles from Launceston, we enter the great county of Devon, and as we enter Devonshire, in the most wild and barren part of the county, and where, formerly, tin mines were found, though now they are either quite exhausted, or not to be found without more charge than the purchase, if found, would be worth; so we must expect it a little to resemble its neighbour country for a while.

The river Tamar, here, is so full of fresh salmon, and those so exceeding fat, and good, that they are esteemed, in both counties, above the fish, of the same kind, found in other places; and the quantity is so great, as supplies the country in abundance, which is occasioned by the mouth of the river being so very large, and the water so deep for two leagues before it opens into Plymouth Sound, so that the fish have a secure retreat in the salt water for their harbour and shelter, and from thence they shoot up into the fresh water, in such vast numbers to cast their spawn, that the country people cannot take too many.

It is observed of Cornwall, as of one or two counties more in England, that all the rivers that are in the county, rise within the bounds of the same county; and this must needs be because

[94] Richard (1209 - 1272), second son of King John, was the nominal Count of Poitou (1225 - 1243), Earl of Cornwall (from 1225) and was elected King of Germany in 1256, after bribing four of the seven electoral princes, but the title never held much significance. (W)

[95] A Hundred is a division of a county, originally able to raise a hundred soldiers in Saxon times. (W)

this river Tamar, which parts the two counties, rises in the upper edge, within a little more than two miles of the North, or Severn Sea, and runs into the South, or British Channel, cross the whole limits, so that no river out of Devonshire, can enter Cornwall, that little piece in the north excepted; unless we should suppose it to run cross the Tamar, which is not to be thought of.

As we are just entered Devonshire, as I said above, it seems, at first sight, a wild, barren, poor country; but we ride but a few miles, until we find an alteration in several things. 1. More people; 2. Larger towns; 3. The people all busy, and in full employ upon their manufactures.

At the uppermost, and extreme part of the county, N.W. there runs a huge promontory, a mountain like proboscis, into the sea, beyond all the land on either side, whether of Devonshire, or of Cornwall. This they would fain have called Hercules's Promontory, and Mr. Camden, in his writing, and his mapmaker also, calls it *Herculis Promontorium*; but the honest sailors, and after them, the plain country people, call it, in down-right modern English, Hartland Point, or, Hearty Point, from the town of Hartland, which stands just within the shore, and is on the very utmost edge of the county of Devon. It is a market town, though so remote, and of good resort too, the people coming to it out of Cornwall, as well as out of Devonshire; and particularly the fisher boats of Barnstaple, Bideford, and other towns on the coast, lying often under the lee, as they call it, of these rocks, for shelter from the S.W. or S.E. winds; the seamen go on shore here, and supply themselves with provisions; nor is the town unconcerned in that gainful fishing trade, which is carried on for the herrings on this coast, many seamen and fishing vessels belonging to the town.

From this point or promontory, the land, falling away for some miles, makes a gulf or bay, which, reaching to the headland, or point of Barnstaple River or Haven, is called from thence, Barnstaple Bay; into this bay, or at the W. end of this bay, the rivers Taw and Tower[96] empty themselves at one mouth, that is to say, in one channel; and it is very particular, that as two rivers join in one channel, so here are two great trading towns in one port, a thing which as it is not usual, so I cannot say it is any advantage to either of them; for it naturally follows, that they rival one another, and lessen both; whereas, had they been joined together in one town, or were it possible to join them, they would make the most considerable town, or city rather, in all this part of England.

These are the towns of Barnstaple and Bideford, or, as some write it, Bediford; the first of these is the most ancient, the last the most flourishing; the harbour or river is in its entrance the same to both, and when they part, the Tower turning to the right, or south west, and the Taw to the S.E. yet they seem to be both so safe, so easy in the channel, so equally good with respect to shipping, so equidistant from the sea, and so equally advantageous, that neither town complains of the bounty of the sea to them, or their situation by land; and yet, of late years, the town of Bideford has flourished, and the town of Barnstable rather declined.

Bideford is a pleasant, clean, well-built town; the more ancient street which lies next the river, is very pleasant, where is the bridge, a very noble key, and the custom-house; this part also is very well built and populous, and fronts the river for above three quarters of a mile. But besides this, there is a new spacious street, which runs N. and S. or rather N.W. and S.E. a great length, broad as the High Street of Exeter, well-built, and, which is more than all, well

[96] Barnstaple or Barnstable Bay has flowing into it the rivers Taw and the Torridge. The Bay is also referred to as Bideford Bay. (W)

inhabited, with considerable and wealthy merchants, who trade to most parts of the trading world.

Here, as is to be seen in almost all the market towns of Devonshire, is a very large, well-built, and well-finished meeting-house, and, by the multitude of people which I saw come out of it, and the appearance of them, I thought all the town had gone thither, and began to enquire for the church. But when I came to the church, I found that also, large, spacious, and well filled too, and that with people of the best fashion. The person who officiates at the meeting-house in this town, I happened to have some conversation with, and found him to be not only a learned man, and master of good reading; but a most acceptable gentlemanly person, and one, who, contrary to our received opinion of those people, had not only good learning, and good sense, but abundance of good manners, and good humour; nothing sour, cynical, or morose in him, and, in a word, a very valuable man. And as such a character always recommends a man to men of sense and good breeding, so I found this gentleman was very well received in the place, even by those who he differed from in matters of religion, and those differences did not, as is usual, make any breach in their conversing with him. His name, as I remember, was Bartlet. But this is a digression. I wish I could say the like of all the rest of his brethren.

The trade of this town being very much in fish, as it is also of all the towns on this coast, I observed here, that several ships were employed to go to Liverpool, and up the river Mersey to Warrington, to fetch the rock salt, which is found in that county, (and of which I shall say more in my remarks on those parts) which rock salt they bring to Bideford and Barnstaple, and here they dissolve it into brine in the sea water, joining the strength of two bodies into one, and then boil it up again into a new salt, as the Dutch do by the French and Portuguese salt. This is justly called salt upon salt, and with this they cure their herrings; and as this is a trade which can be but of a few years standing, because the rock itself has not been discovered in England much above twenty years; so the difference in curing the fish has been such, and it has so recommended their herrings in foreign markets, that the demand for them has considerably increased, and consequently the trade.

There is indeed, a very fine stone bridge over the river here, but the passage over it is so narrow, and they are so chary of it, that few carriages go over it; but as the water ebbs quite out of the river every low water, the carts and waggons go over the sand with great ease and safety; the arches of the bridge are beautiful and stately; but as for saying one of them is so big, that a ship of 60 tons may sail under it, &c. as a late author asserts, I leave that where I find it, for the people of Bideford to laugh at. If it had been said the hull of such a ship might pass under the bridge, it might have been let go. But, as he says, it may SAIL under it, which must suppose some or one of its masts standing too; this puts it past all possibility of belief, at least to those who judge of such things by rules of mechanism, or by what is to be seen in other parts of the world, no such thing being practicable either at London Bridge, Rochester Bridge, or even at York, where the largest arch in England is supposed to be.

Bideford was anciently the inheritance of the family of Granville, or Greenfield, as formerly called, and the Earl of Bath, who is the heir and chief of the family, is now Baron of Bideford, Viscount Lansdown, and Earl of Bath.[97]

[97] Just before Defoe's time, in 1711, William Granville, 3rd Earl of Bath, died of smallpox aged 19. In Defoe's time, George Granville, 1st Baron Lansdowne (1666 - 1735), of Stowe in Cornwall, was an MP from 1702 to 1712 when he was ennobled. George was the son of Bernard Granville, a younger brother of the 1st Earl of Bath. (W)

As Bideford has a fine bridge over the Tower or Towridge, so Barnstable has a very noble bridge over the Taw, and though not longer, is counted larger and stronger than the other. These two rival towns are really very considerable; both of them have a large share in the trade to Ireland, and in the herring fishery, and in a trade to the British colonies in America; if Bideford cures more fish, Barnstable imports more wine, and other merchandizes; they are both established ports for landing wool from Ireland; of which by itself.

If Bideford has a greater number of merchants, Barnstaple has a greater commerce within land, by its great market for Irish wool and yarn, &c. with the serge-makers of Tiverton and Exeter, who come up hither to buy. So that, in a word, Barnstable, though it has lost ground to Biddeford, yet, take it in all its trade completely, is full as considerable as Bideford; only, that perhaps, it was formerly far superior to it, and the other has risen up to be a match to it.

Barnstable is a large, spacious, well-built town, more populous than Bideford, but not better built, and stands lower; insomuch, that at high water in spring tides, it is, as it were, surrounded with water; the bridge here, was built by the generous gift of one Stamford, a citizen and merchant of London, who, it seems, was not a native of this place, but by trading here to his gain, had kindness enough for the town, to offer such a benefaction to them as they enjoy the benefit of to this day.

The bridge at Bideford as above, was likewise a gift; but was, as they say, done by collections among the clergy, by grant of indulgences and the like church management. But be it how it will, both the towns are infinitely obliged to the benefactors.

Behind Bideford, that is as we come from Launceston, are several good towns, though I observed that the country was wild and barren; as Tavistock, belonging to the house of Bedford, and giving the title of marquis, to the eldest son of that illustrious ducal family;[98] the town of Torrington, on the same river Towridge that Bideford stands on; the title of Earl of Torrington, was first given to the late General Monk, Duke of Albemarle,[99] in honour, and for a reward of his loyalty, in restoring King Charles II and the line being extinct in his son, it was given by King William III to Admiral Herbert,[100] who came over with him, and was immediately made admiral of the British fleet, to defend the possession of the crown in the person of that prince; and since that to Sir George Bing,[101] one of our present admirals, and

[98] The sixth creation of the Dukedom of Bedford was for William Russell (1616 - 1700), the 5th Earl of Bedford in 1694, for his part in the Glorious Revolution that brought William and Mary to the throne. He is also known for developing the Bloomsbury area of London, hence Russell Square, Tavistock Square and Bedford Square. (W)

[99] George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle (1608 - 1670) was an English soldier and politician, and a key figure on both sides of the English Civil War, as well as the Restoration of the monarchy to King Charles II in 1660. (W)

[100] Admiral Arthur Herbert, 1st Earl of Torrington (c. 1648 - 1716), was an English admiral and politician. Dismissed by King James II in 1688 for refusing to vote to repeal the Test Act, which prevented Roman Catholics from holding public office, he took the *Invitation to William* to the Prince of Orange at The Hague, disguised as a simple sailor. As a reward he was made commander of William's invasion fleet which landed at Torbay in Devon on 5 November 1688, thus initiating the Glorious Revolution. (W)

[101] Admiral of the Fleet George Byng, 1st Viscount Torrington (1663 - 1733), of Southill Park in Bedfordshire, was a Royal Navy officer and statesman. While still a lieutenant, he delivered a letter from various captains to Prince William of Orange, who had just landed at Torbay, assuring the Prince of the captains' support; the Prince gave Byng a response which ultimately led to the Royal Navy switching allegiance to William and Mary and hence the Glorious Revolution of Nov 1688. (W)

one who asserted the authority and power of the British navy against the Spaniards, at the late sea fight near Cape Passaro in Sicily. So that the town of Torrington, seems to be appropriated to the honour of the defenders of the British sovereignty at sea.
Another town in this part of the country is Okehampton, vulgarly Okington, a good market town, which gave title of baron to the Lord Mohun,[102] and sends two members to the Parliament; it is a manufacturing town, as all the towns this way now are, and pretty rich; and having said this, I have said all, unless it be, that in the records of antiquity, it appears to have been much more considerable than it is now, having 92 knights' fees belonging to it. But as I studiously avoid meddling with antiquity in these accounts, studying to give you the present state of the countries and towns through which I travel, rather than what they have been; so I say no more of those things than needs must.

A little above Barnstaple, N.E upon the coast, stands a good market and port town, called Ilfar-Comb, (Ilfracombe) a town of good trade, populous and rich, all which is owing to its having a very good harbour and road for ships, and where ships from Ireland often put in, when, in bad weather, they cannot, without the most extreme hazard, run into the mouth of the Taw, which they call Barnstable Water; and this is one reason, which causes the merchants at Barnstable, to do much of their business at this port of Ilfar-comb.

Antiquity tells us long stories, of the Danes landing on this coast; of Hubba, the Danish king, being slain here, that is at Kennith Castle, between this place and the mouth of the Taw and Towridge, and that the place was called Hubbestow ever after, from the burying of this prince there. All this may be true, for ought we know, but I could neither find or hear of this castle of Kennith, or burial place Hubbestow, or anything of the ruins or remains of them in the country; so, I shall trouble you no farther about them.

The sea coast in this county, runs a little farther east by north, but I found there was nothing of moment to be seen there, except fishing towns, and small creeks, on which are two small market towns, such as Combemerton,[103] and Porlock, until we came to Minehead.

Leaving the coast, we came, in our going southward, to the great river Ex, or Isca, which rises in the hills on this north side of the county, and that so far, as, like the Tamar, it begins within four or five miles of the Severn Sea; the country it rises in, is called Exmoor, Camden calls it a filthy, barren, ground, and, indeed, so it is; but as soon as the Ex comes off from the moors, and hilly country, and descends into the lower grounds, we found the iteration; for then we saw Devonshire in its other countenance, *viz*. cultivated, populous, and fruitful; and continuing so until we came to Tiverton, a town which I mentioned before, but did not fully describe.

Next to Exeter, this is the greatest manufacturing town in the county, and, of all the inland towns, is next to it in wealth, and in numbers of people; it stands on the river Ex, and has over it, a very fine bridge, with another over the little river Loman, which, immediately after, falls into the Ex just below the town. Antiquity says, before those bridges were built, there were two fords here, one through each river, and that the town was from thence called Twyford-

[102] Charles Mohun, 4th Baron Mohun (c. 1675 - 15 Nov 1712), was an English politician best known for his frequent participation in duels and for his reputation as a rake. The celebrated duel between Mohun and the Duke of Hamilton in Hyde Park left both participants dead. (W)
[103] Now called Combe Martin. (Ed)

ton, that is, the town upon the two fords, and so by abbreviating the sounds Twy-for-ton, then Tiverton; but that I leave to the learned searchers into ancient things.

But the beauty of Tiverton is the Free School, at the east entrance into the town, a noble building, but a much nobler foundation; it was erected by one Peter Blundel,[104] a clothier, and a lover of learning, who used the saying of William of Wickham to the king when he founded the royal school at Winchester, *viz*. That if he was not himself a scholar, he would be the occasion of making more scholars, than any scholar in England; to which end he founded this school. He has endowed it with so liberal a maintenance, that, as I was informed, the school-master has, at least, sixty pounds per annum, besides a very good house to live in, and the advantage of scholars not on the foundation, and the usher in proportion; and to this he added two fellowships, and two scholarships, which he gave the maintenance for to Sydney-College in Cambridge, and one fellowship, and two scholarships, to Balliol-College in Oxford, all which are appointed for the scholars bred up in this school, and the present reverend master, was a scholar upon the foundation in the same school.

As this is a manufacturing country, as above, we found the people, here, all fully employed, and very few, if any, out of work, except such as need not be unemployed, but were so from mere sloth and idleness, of which, some will be found everywhere.

From this town, there is little belonging to Devonshire, but what has been spoken of, except what lies in the road to Taunton, which we took next, where we meet with the river Columb,[105] a river rising also in the utmost limits of the shire towards Somersetshire, and giving name to so many towns on its banks, as leaves no room to doubt of its own name being right, such as Columb David's, Ufcolumbe, Columstock,[106] and Columbton; the last is a market town, and they are all full of manufacturers, depending much on the master manufacturers of Tiverton.

(The next three paragraphs have been brought forward from the beginning of the section on Somerset as they relate to Devon and Cornwall. Ed.)

Before I quite leave Devonshire, I must mention one thing, which I observed at my first setting out; namely, that I would take notice how every county in England furnished something of its produce towards the supply of the city of London. Now I must allow, that Cornwall is, in some respects, an exception to this rule, because, though it is fruitful enough for the supply of its own inhabitants, yet, in the first place, the waste grounds are so many, the inhabitants so numerous, and the county so narrow, that, except the herrings, a few of which may be brought to London for sale, they have not much overplus to furnish other parts with; but then they make us amends by sending up an immense wealth in their tin, lead, and copper, from the bowels of their barren mountains, and the export of the pilchards, and herrings, from both their shores to Spain and Italy, from whence much of the returns are again brought to London for their vent and consumption.

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[104] Peter Blundell (c. 1520 - 1601) was a prosperous clothier, trading between Tiverton and London. He bequeathed over £32,000 cash to fellow clothiers and their families, his employees, created several charitable trusts, and gave £2,400 to build Blundell's School, to be a free grammar school. (W)

[105] Now called the river Culm. (Ed)

[106] Culmstock is a village in Devon, 10 miles from Tiverton and 6 NE of Cullompton. It is laid out on both sides of the River Culm. (W)

In like manner, the county of Devon has been rich in mines of tin and lead, though they seem at present, wrought[107] out; and they had their stannary towns and coinage, as well as in Cornwall; nay, so numerous were the miners or tinners, as they are called in this county, that they were, on occasion of a national muster, or defence, regimented by themselves, armed, and officered by themselves, and were, in short, a separate militia from the trained bands, or militia of the county; but now we see the tin works in Devonshire is quite laid aside, not one tin mine being at work in the whole county. There are, indeed, some copper-works undertaken on the north side, as we were told; but I do not find, that they are yet brought to any perfection, and about Ilfracombe, Combe Martin, also at Delverton,[108] in the north part of the county, they have been at work to see if they can recover some silver mines, which, in the time of King Edward III were so large, that they employed three hundred miners, besides other workmen, and brought that prince great sums of money for the carrying on his wars against France. What progress they are now like to make in it, I cannot yet learn.

But there is one article in the produce of Devonshire, which makes good what I have written before, That every county contributes something towards the supply of London; and this is, the cyder which I have mentioned already, and which takes up the south part of the county, between Topsham and Axminster, where they have so vast a quantity of fruit, and so much cyder made, that sometimes they have sent ten, or twenty thousand hogsheads of it in a year to London, and at a very reasonable rate too.

NORTH SOMERSETSHIRE

With this town (Tiverton) we leave the county of Devon, and entering Somersetshire, have really a taste of a different country from Devonshire; for entering Wellington, the first town we came at in Somersetshire, though partly employed in manufacturing too, we were immediately surrounded with beggars, to such a degree, that we had some difficulty to keep them from under our horse heels.

It was our misfortune at first, that we threw some farthings, and halfpence, such as we had, among them; for thinking by this to be rid of them, on the contrary, it brought out such a crowd of them, as if the whole town was come out into the street, and they ran in this manner after us through the whole street, and a great way after we were quite out of the town; so that we were glad to ride as fast as we could through the town to get clear of them; I was, indeed, astonished at such a sight, in a country where the people were so generally full of work, as they were here; for in Cornwall, where there are hardly any manufacturers, and where there are, indeed, abundance of poor, yet we never found anything like this.

The county of Somerset joins to the N.E. part of Devonshire. I touched only upon one point of the county in my last, as I went west. The whole county is worth a more particular account, than can be given within the space of a letter.

I entered the county, as I observed above, by Wellington, where we had the entertainment of the beggars; from whence we came to Taunton, vulgarly called Taunton Dean upon the River Ton; this is a large, wealthy, and exceedingly populous, town. One of the chief manufacturers of the town told us, that there was at that time so good a trade in the town, that

[107] Meaning “worked out” from the old past tense of the verb to work. (Ed)
[108] Now Dulverton. (Ed)

they had then eleven hundred looms going for the weaving of sagathies,[109] du roys,[110] and such kind of stuffs, which are made there; and that which added to the thing very much, was, that not one of those looms wanted work. He farther added, that there was not a child in the town, or in the villages round it, of above five years old, but, if it was not neglected by its parents, and untaught, could earn its own bread. This was what I never met with in any place in England, except at Colchester in Essex.

This town chooses two Members of Parliament, and their way of choosing is, by those who they call "pot-walloners" that is to say, every inhabitant, whether house-keeper or lodger, that dresses their own victuals; to make out which, several inmates, or lodgers, will, sometime before the election, bring out their pots, and make fires in the street, and boil their victuals in the sight of their neighbours, that their votes may not be called in question.

There are two large parish churches in this town, and two or three meeting-houses, whereof one, is said to be the largest in the county. The inhabitants have been noted for the number of Dissenters; for among them it was always counted a seminary of such. They suffered deeply in the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion, but paid King James home for the cruelty exercised by Jeffries among them; for when the Prince of Orange arrived, the whole town ran in to him, with so universal a joy, that, it was thought, if he had wanted it, he might have raised a little army there, and in the adjacent part of the country.

There was, and, I suppose, is still, a private college, or academy, for the Dissenters in this town; the tutor, who then managed it, was named Warren, who told me, that there were threescore and twelve ministers then preaching, whereof six had conformed to the Church, the rest were among the Dissenters, who had been his scholars, whereupon, one of his own sort had, it seems, styled him the Father of the Faithful. The academy, since his death, is continued, but not kept up to the degree it was, in the days of the said Mr. Warren.
From this town of Taunton, which is by far the greatest in all this part of the country, and has more people in it, than the city of York, we went north to take a view of the coast. Exmoor, of which mention was made above, where the River Ex rises, lies in the way, part of it in this country, and extending to the sea side. It gives, indeed, but a melancholy view, being a vast tract of barren, and desolate lands; yet on the coast, there are some very good sea-ports. As,

1. Porlock, on the very utmost extent of the country; it has a small harbour, but of no importance, nor has it anything of trade, so I need but name it. 2. Minehead, the best port, and safest harbour, in all these counties, at least, on this side. No ship is so big, but it may come in, and no weather so bad, but the ships are safe when they are in; and they told me, that in the great storm anno 1703, when in all the harbours and rivers in the county, the ships were blown on shore, wrecked, and lost, they suffered little or no damage in this harbour.

The trade of this town lies chiefly with Ireland, and this was, for many years, the chief port in this part of England, where wool from Ireland was allowed to be imported; but that liberty is since enlarged to several other ports by Act of Parliament.

This corporation sends two members to the Parliament, which are chosen also, as at Taunton, by the pot-walloners; the town is well built, is full of rich merchants, and has some trade also

[109] A fine twilled worsted fabric, similar to serge, used formerly for clothes and curtains. (W)
[110] Duroy was a coarse woollen cloth. Corduroy, the material with parallel cords, as used for jackets and trousers, is a heavy cotton fabric and may have a linen warp and a cotton weft. (W)

to Virginia, and the West Indies. They correspond much with the merchants of Barnstaple, and Bristol, in their foreign trade.

There are some very good families, and of very ancient standing, in this part of the county, among which, the families of Seymour,[111] of Portman, of Orchard, [112] Wyndham,[113] Popham of Wellington,[114] Mallet, an ancient family of Norman extraction,[115] Mohun, Beauchamp,[116] and some others, are most eminent; the Mohuns in particular were anciently lords of Dunster Castle, at a small distance from the sea, and very strong. Here formerly was the ancient mansion, or inheritance, of the Lords Mohun, who, as above, long enjoyed it. Who it will now descend to, that ancient family being extinct in the person of the late unhappy Lord Mohun, who was killed in a duel with Duke Hamilton, I could not learn.

From hence the coast bears back west to Watchet, a small port also, but of no importance, that is to say, it is of no importance now; for if we may calculate things present, by things past, the town of Minehead is risen out of the decay of the towns of Porlock and Watchet, which were once important places; and the reason is clear, since the increase of shipping and trade, and the improvement of the navigating skill, bigger ships being brought into use, than were formerly built; accordingly, larger ports, and deeper water, were requisite to harbour such vessels, than would serve for that purpose before; and the harbour at Minehead being fairer, and much deeper, than those at Watchet and Porlock, and therefore able to secure those greater ships, which the others were not, the merchants removed to it; and thus, in time, the town grew up, to what we now find it to be.

From hence the winding shore brings us to Bridgewater. This is an ancient and very considerable town and port, it stands at the mouth of the river Parrat, or Perot, which comes from the south, after having received the river Tone from the west, which is made navigable up to Taunton, by a very fine new channel, cut at the expense of the people of Taunton, and which, by the navigation of it, is infinitely advantageous to that town, and well worth all their expense, first by bringing up coals, which are brought from Swansea in Wales by sea to Bridgewater, and thence by barges up this river to Taunton; also for bringing all heavy goods and merchandises from Bristol, such as iron, lead, oil, wine, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, grocery,

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[111] Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset on the fourth creation of the title (c. 1500 - 1552), was uncle to and Lord Protector of Edward VI. He was deposed and executed and his titles forfeit in 1552. The title was reinstated for his great grandson, William Seymour (1588 - 1660), who became the 2nd Duke. In Defoe's time, there was Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset (1662 - 1748). He rebuilt Petworth House in Sussex, the ancient Percy seat inherited from his wife. (W)

[112] Orchard Portman was the seat of the Portman family. Just before Defoe's time, there was Sir William Portman, 6th Baronet (1643 - 1690), an MP between 1661 and 1690, who died without issue and left his estate to his first cousin, Henry Seymour, who died in 1728. (W)

[113] In Defoe's time, Sir William Wyndham, 3rd Baronet (c. 1688 - 1740), of Orchard Wyndham in Somerset, was an MP from 1710 to 1740. He served as Secretary at War in 1712 and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1713 during the reign of Queen Anne (1702 - 1714). (W)

[114] A little before Defoe's time, there was Sir Francis Popham (c. 1573 - 1644), MP, of Wellington, Somerset and Littlecote, Wiltshire. (W)

[115] William Malet (died 1071) is one of about a dozen for whom there is evidence of their presence at the Battle of Hastings. He is mentioned in the account of the contemporary chronicler William of Poitiers. Hence the place name Shepton Mallet in Somerset. (W)

[116] The Beauchamp barony passed to the Seymour family on the marriage of Roger Seymour (d. c. 1361) to Cecily Beauchamp (d. 1393) so by Defoe's time it was in the hands of Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset and 6th Baron Beauchamp (1662 - 1748). (W)

and dye stuffs, and the like; their tobacco they generally received from Barnstaple by land, which is about sixteen miles west

This town of Bridgewater, is a populous, trading town, is well built, and as well inhabited, and has many families of good fashion dwelling in it, besides merchants. The famous Admiral Blake,[117] was a native of this town. Here it was, that the Duke of Monmouth, finding himself defeated in his expectation of the city of Bristol, and repulsed at the city of Bath, and pressed by the approach of the king's troops, who endeavoured to surround him, made his retreat; where, finding the king's troops followed him, and seemed resolved to attack him, he went up to the top of the steeple, with some of his officers, and viewing the situation of the king's army, by the help of perspectives, resolved to make an attempt upon them the same night, by way of prevention, and accordingly marched out of the town in the dead of the night to attack them, and had he not, either by the treachery, or mistake of his guides, been brought to an impassable ditch, where he could not get over, in the interval of which, the king's troops took the alarm, by the firing a pistol among the duke's men, whether, also, by accident, or treachery, was not known; I say, had not those accidents, and his own fate, conspired to his defeat, he had certainly cut the Lord Feversham's army (for he commanded them) all to pieces; but by these circumstances, he was brought to a battle on unequal terms, and defeated. The rest I need not mention.

This town was regularly fortified in the late civil wars, and sustained two sieges, if not more; the situation of it renders it easy to be fortified, the river and haven taking one chief part of the circumference; over the river, they have a very good bridge of stone, and the tide rises here, at high water, near six fathoms, whereof, sometimes it comes in with such furious haste, as to come two fathoms deep at a time, and when it does so, by surprize, it often does great damage to ships, driving them foul of one another, and oftentimes oversetting them. This sudden rage of the tide, is called, the "bore" and is frequent in all the rivers of this channel, especially in the Severn itself; it is also known in the north, particularly in the Trent, and the Ouse, at their entrance into Humber, and in several other places.

In this town of Bridgewater, besides a very large church, there is a fine new-built meeting-house, that is to say, built since the Toleration,[118] in which it is remarkable, that they have an advanced seat for the mayor and aldermen, when any of the magistrates should be of their Communion, as sometimes has happened. Here, also, is a college, or private academy, for the Dissenters to breed up their preaching youth; the tutor was one Mr. Moor, a man who, it is owned, was a master of good literature; what talent he had at erudition, I can give no account of, for it is not every master of learning, that makes a good instructor of others, as I shall observe on some other occasions.

From Bridgewater, there is a road to Bristol, which they call the Lower Way; the Upper Way, and which is the more frequented road, being over Mendip Hills. This Lower Way also is not always passable, being subject to floods, and dangerous inundations, I mean, dangerous to travel through, especially for strangers. All this part of the country, *viz*. between

[117] General at Sea Robert Blake (1598 - 1657) was an important naval commander of the Commonwealth Period and is recognized as the chief founder of England's naval supremacy. His achievements did not receive full recognition after 1660 as he had been a Parliamentarian. (W)

[118] The Toleration Act of 1688, the first year of the reign of William and Mary, allowed freedom of worship to Nonconformists who had pledged the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and rejected transubstantiation, i.e., to Baptists, Congregationalists or English Presbyterians, and Unitarians but not to Roman Catholics. (W)

Bridgewater, and the sea, and on northward upon the coast, lies low, and is wholly employed in breeding and feeding of cattle, as are also the moors, or marsh grounds, which extend themselves up the rivers Perrot, and Ivill, into the heart of the country; of which in its place.
This low part of the country, between Bridgewater and Bristol, suffered exceedingly in that terrible inundation of the sea, which was occasioned by the violence of the wind in the great storm, anno 1703, and the country people have set up marks upon their houses and trees, with this note upon them, "Thus high the waters came in the great storm". "Thus far the great tide flowed up in the last violent tempest"; and the like.

And in one place they shewed us, where a ship was, by the force of the water, and the rage of the tempest, driven up upon the shore, several hundred yards from the ordinary high water mark, and was left in that surprizing condition upon dry land.

As this country is all a grazing, rich, feeding soil, so a great number of large oxen are fed here, which are sent up to London; so that now we come into the reach of my former observation, *viz*. that every county furnishes something for the supply of London, and no county in England furnishes more effectual provisions, nor, in proportion, a greater value than this. These supplies are in three articles.

1. Fat oxen (as above) as large, and good, as any in England.

2. Large Cheddar cheese, the greatest, and best of the kind in England.

3. Colts bred in great numbers in the moors, and sold into the northern counties, where the horse copers, as they are called, in Staffordshire, and Leicestershire, buy them again, and sell them to London for cart horses, and coach horses, the breed being very large.

As the low part of this county is thus employed in grazing and feeding cattle, so all the rest of this large extended country is employed in the woollen manufactures, and in the best, and most profitable part of it, *viz*.

In Taunton: Serges and Druggets and several other kinds of stuff

In Wells, Shepton and Glastonbury: Knitting of stockings, principally for the Spanish trade.
In Bristol and many towns on the Somerset side: Druggets, Cantaloons and other stuffs.
In Froom, Philips-Norton, and all the country bordering upon Wiltshire: Fine Spanish medley cloths, especially on that part of the county from Wincanton, and Meer, to Warminster, Bruton, Castle Cary, Templecombe, down to Gillingham, and Shaftsbury, in Dorsetshire.

I mention this at large, because this trade of fine Spanish medley cloth, being the mixed colours and cloths, with which all the gentlemen and persons of any fashion in England, are clothed, and vast quantities of which are exported to all parts of Europe, is so very considerable, so vast an advantage to England, maintains and supports so many poor families, and makes so many rich ones, that no man can be just in the description of things, and in a survey of this part of England, and not enter into a particular description of it; the above you may take as an introduction to it, only I shall add but a little more, concerning this county of Somerset, and shall, upon my entering into the north-west and west parts of Wiltshire, where the centre of this prodigy of a trade is, sum it all up together, and show you the extent of land which it spreads itself upon, and give you room, at least, to make some guess at the numbers of poor people, who are sustained and enriched by it.

But I must first go back again a little while into Somersetshire. The northern part of the county, I did not visit in this journey, which, as I hinted before, is only a return from my long travel to the Land's End. In omitting this part, I, of course, leave the two cities of Bristol and Bath, and that high part of the county called Mendip Hill, to my next western journey, which will include all the counties due west from London; for these now spoken of, though ordinarily called the west country, are rather S.W. than west.

But as I made a little trip from Bridgewater north, into the body of the county, I must take notice of what I observed in that part of it. The first place I came to was Glastonbury, where, indeed, the venerable marks of antiquity, however I have declined the observation of them, struck me with some unusual awe, and I resolved to hear all that could be told me upon that subject; and first they told me (for there are two pieces of antiquity, which were to be inquired of in this place) that King Arthur was buried here, and that his coffin had been found here.

Secondly, that Joseph of Arimathea was here, and that when he fixed his staff in the ground, which was on Christmas Day, it immediately took root, budded, put forth white-thorn leaves, and the next day, was in full blossom, white as a sheet, and that the plant is preserved, and blows every Christmas Day, as at first, to this very day.

I took all this *ad referendum*, but took guides afterward, to see what demonstrations there could be given of all these things; they went over the ruins of the place with me, telling me, which part every particular piece of building had been; and as for the white-thorn, they carried me to a gentleman's garden in the town, where it was preserved, and I brought a piece of it away in my hat, but took it upon their honour, that it really does blow in such manner, as above, on Christmas Day. However, it must be confessed, that it is universally attested.

Where I had the sight of the white-thorn tree, I obtained a sight of Mr. Camden, and his continuator, and was, at first, a little concerned, that a person of Mr. Camden's judgment, gave such an account of the legendary part of the history of this place, with a taste of his crediting the whole story; and from him I began to believe also, that Joseph of Arimathea, was really here, and that the Christian religion was preached in this island within thirty seven years after the death of our Saviour. This, however, prompted me to further inquiry, and the following account occurred, which is to be found, as they say, in the manuscript *History of the Church of Glastonbury*, now deposited in the Cottonian Library, and taken from it by Mr. Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*.[119] Folio. i, 2.

Glastonbury Monastery In Somersetshire, Of The Order Of St. Benedict

> In the year 31 after the Passion of our Lord, twelve of St. Philip the Apostle's disciples (the chief of whom was Joseph of Arimathea) came into this country, and preached the Christian faith to Arviragus, who refused to embrace it, and yet granted them his place, with twelve hides of land; where they made walls of wattles, and erected the first church in this kingdom, which Christ personally dedicated to the honour of His Mother, and the place for burial of His servants, as is said in the manuscript *History of the Monastery of Glastonbury* in the Cotton Library. These twelve, and their successors, continuing long the same number, and leading an eremetical life, converted a great multitude of pagans to the faith of Christ. They being all,

[119] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, or, *The history of the ancient abbeys, and other monasteries, hospitals, cathedrals and collegiate churches in England and Wales* by Sir William Dugdale, published 1693. (W)

at length, dead and buried here, the most holy men Phaganus and Diruvianus, coming into these parts, and baptizing King Lucius and his people, had the aforesaid hides confirmed to them and their successors, the same number of twelve being kept up 'till the coming of St. Patrick, who, instructing them in the monastical life, became their abbot. After whom, the holy fathers Benignus, Kolumkil, and Gildas, led a most holy life there. Next came St. David Archbishop of Menevia, now called St. David's, who added a new chapel to the church, dedicating it to the blessed Virgin, and erected a rich altar; and near the said chapel, Joseph of Arimathea, and other holy men, are said to have been buried. Though the church was afterwards several times rebuilt, this place still remained under the former consecration, and was held in such veneration, that kings, bishops, and all the greatest persons, thought themselves happy in adding something to its possessions, or being buried with any small parcel of its earth. St. Dunstan, and other holy abbots, always preserving the number of twelve monks, added to them several clergymen that sung well.

This church, by reason of its antiquity, was by the English called Ealdchurch, that is, Old Church; and the people of the country about it, thought no oath more sacred, than to swear by the Old Church; as being the first, and oldest church in England, and held in such veneration, that it was called a second Rome, for sanctity; because, as Rome was honoured with a multitude of martyrs, so this place was renowned for many confessors.

This island, in which this church stands, was, by the Britons, first called Ynswyrtryn, that is, the Glass Island, by reason of the river, as it were of the colour of glass, encompassing the marsh. It was called an island, because enclosed about by a deep marsh. It was called Avallonia, either from the British word aval, signifying an apple, as being full of fruit-trees, or from Avallon, who was once lord of that territory. The Saxons gave it the name of Glastingebury, that is, the Town of Glass. There are several islands about this, all belonging to it, all which together were reduced to make up the twelve hides above-mentioned, the bounds whereof may be seen in Dugdale, p. 2. and 3. All the places within those bounds enjoy all sorts of immunities, from the first times of Christianity, granted and confirmed to the church of Glastonbury by the British, English, and Norman kings.

This church was the sacred repository of the ashes of a multitude of saints, insomuch that no comer of it, or of the church-yard, is destitute of the same. There lie the twelve disciples (above-mentioned) of St. Philip the Apostle, with their chief, Joseph of Arimathea, and his son Josephus; also St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland; St. Benignus, disciple to St. Patrick; St. Pinius, disciple to Benignus; St. Gildas, the British historian; St. David, Bishop of Menevia; St. Dunstan; St. Indrastus, martyr, and his seven companions; St. Urban, martyr; St. Apollinaris, bishop and martyr, disciple to St. Peter the Apostle; St. Vincentius, archdeacon and martyr; three of the Holy Innocents; St. Besilius, martyr; part of St. Oswald, king and martyr; St. Valerius, and St. Salyius, bishops and martyrs; St. Canon, Anastatius, Renignius, Casanius, Abdon, and Sennen, martyrs; St. Paulinus, Bishop of the Northumbrians; St. Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne; Coelfrid and Boisilus, abbots; Venerable Bede;[120] St. Benedict, bishop; Hesterpine, Sigfride, and Herbert, abbots; St. Idamus, bishop; St. Teison, abbot, and his twelve companions; St. Iltwich; St. Lilianus, abbot; part of Guthlac, the anchorite; St. Poppa, Archbishop of Treves; St. Geminianus, confessor; the holy virgins Hilda, Hebbe, Begu, Crisante, Udilia, Mary, Martha, Lucy, Walburge, Gertrude, Cecily, Wenta, Mamilla, Edberga, Elfleda, Batildis, Ursula, Daria, Ealswitha; the last of these affirmed to be entire many years after she had been interred. Many more names of holy men and women were lost by the burning of the ancient church, and time has worn out the memory of a still greater number.

[120] The Venerable Bede's remains are in Durham Cathedral. Glastonbury became the richest monastery in England by attracting pilgrims through its extensive collection of supposed relics. (Ed)

> Many holy relics were also preserved in this church. Of those relating to the Old Testament, part of Rachel's tomb; of the altar on which Moses poured out oil; of his book; of the tomb of Isaiah; some manna, relics of the prophet Daniel; of the three children delivered from the fiery furnace; six gilt stones of the pavement of the Temple, and some of the gate. Relating to our Lord Jesus Christ, some of the linen He was wrapped in; two pieces of the manger; some of the gold offered by the Wise Men; five stones out of Jordan, where our Saviour was baptized; one of the vessels in which Christ turned water into wine; of the stones the Devil proposed to Christ to convert into bread; of the five loaves with which our Lord fed five thousand persons; of the place where He was transfigured; of the stone He stood on in the Temple; of His hair; of the hem of His garment; and many more, too tedious for this place. Also relics of the Blessed Virgin; of St. John Baptist; of the Apostles; of many martyrs, confessors, and holy virgins.
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> On this account, Glastonbury was everywhere held in the greatest veneration; and, as has been said, the greatest persons coveted to be buried there; most of whose names have been lost, and of some, mention has been made above.

A few feet from the Old Church stood two pyramids; that next to the church twenty-six feet high, on which were many antiquities worn out by age. On the uppermost story of it, was a pontifical image; on the second, the image of a king, with these letter, *Heri*, *Sexi*, and *Blister*; on the third, were these words, *Wemerest*, *Bantomp*, *Wineweng*; on the fourth, *Hate*, *Wulfred*, and *Eanfled*; on the fifth, and lowest, an image, and this inscription, *Logior*, *Weslicas*, *Bregden*, *Swelves*, *Hwingendes*, *Bera*. The other pyramid was eighteen feet high, and had four stages, on which was to be read, *Hedde* Bishop *Bregored*, and *Breorward*. What these words signify is not known; but it is guessed, they were the names of the persons deposited within the pyramid. So great was the respect paid by our ancestors to this place, that they durst not utter any idle words, nor so much as spit in the church, or church-yard, unless compelled by the utmost necessity, and even then, with the utmost reluctancy and remorse. Neither dare any man bring a hawk, horse, or dog into the church, because it had been often observed, that such as had been accidentally brought in, immediately died. Even from foreign countries the earth of this church-yard was sent for, to bury with the greatest persons; and it is reported, that even a Mahometan sultan, having taken an English gentleman in the Holy Land, gave him his liberty, upon promise, that he would bring him a gantlet full of that earth, which was accordingly performed, and the gentleman returning to Glastonbury, declared the same upon oath.

As to the burial of King Arthur, Mr. Camden makes no doubt of it, and gives us from Giraldus Cambrensis,[121] an account how King Henry II caused search to be made for his tomb, and before they had dug seven foot, they came to a great stone, having a cross of lead on the inside of it, and the subsequent letters, or inscription upon it, and in the following rude character; which the said Giraldus Cambrensis, Mr. Camden says, was an eye-witness of, as well as of a coffin of hollowed oak, which they found by digging nine foot deeper than the inscription, wherein were deposited the bones of that great prince.

On the top of a high hill, near a mile from the town, stands an old tower, which the people vulgarly call the Torr; what it was, we are not certain; but it is made famous by one thing in

[121] *Giraldus Cambriensis* or Gerald of Wales, (c. 1146 - c. 1223), of mixed Norman and Welsh descent, was a cleric, historian and author. After accompanying the Archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin of Forde, on a tour of Wales to drum up support for the third crusade, he wrote his *Journey through Wales* in 1191, in Latin. He declined several bishoprics hoping to become bishop of St. David's but failed in this ambition as he wished St. David's to be treated equally to Canterbury rather than being subservient to it. He became Archdeacon of Brecon. (W)

particular; that here King Henry VIII caused Richard Whitingus,[122] the last Abbot of Glastonbury, to be hanged for refusing to surrender the monastery.

I must confess, that I cannot so much blame the Catholics in those early days, for reverencing this place as they did, or, at least, until they came to found idolatry upon their respect, if they really believed all these things; but my business is to relate, rather than make remarks.

The inscription on King Arthur's coffin, is as follows.

> "*Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurus in insula Avalonia*," meaning
> "Here lies interred the famous King Arthur on the Isle of Avalon."

Four miles from Glastonbury, lies the little city of Wells, where is one of the neatest, and, in some respects, the most beautiful, cathedrals in England, particularly the west front of it, is one complete draught of imagery, very fine, and yet very ancient.
This is a neat, clean city, and the clergy, in particular, live very handsomely; the Closs, or part of the city, where the Bishop's Palace is, is very properly called so; for it is walled in, and locked up like a little fortification, and has a ditch round it.

The dignified clergy live in the inside of it, and the prebendaries, and canons, which are very numerous, have very agreeable dwellings, and live very pleasantly. Here are no less than seven-and-twenty prebends,[123] and nineteen canons, belonging to this church, besides a dean, a chancellor, a precentor,[124] and three arch deacons; a number which very few cathedrals in England have, besides this.

Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, tells us, that the church of Wells has given to the kingdom, one Cardinal, six High Chancellors, five High Treasurers, one Lord Privy Seal, one Lord President of Wales, one Secretary of State, all of them bishops of this diocese; the county is the diocese, and contains three hundred eighty-eight parishes, and the arch deaconries are of Wells, Bath, and Taunton.

The city lies just at the foot of the mountains called Mendip Hills, and is itself built on a stony foundation. Its manufacture is chiefly of stockings, as is mentioned already; it is well built, and populous, and has several good families in it; so that there is no want of good company there.

Near this city, and just under the hills, is the famous, and so much talked of Wookey Hole, which, to me, that had been in Pool's Hole, in the Peak of Derby, has nothing of wonder or curiosity in it; the chief thing I observed in this, is, what is generally found in all such subterraneous caverns; namely, that the water dropping from the roof of the vault, petrifies, and hangs in long pieces like icicles, as if it would, in time, turn into a column to support the

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[122] Richard Whiting, (1461 - 1539), was an English clergyman and the last Abbot of Glastonbury at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536 - 1541). He is considered a martyr by the Catholic Church, which beatified him on 13 May 1895. (W)
[123] Canons are full-time cathedral clergy. A prebend was supported by an endowment and therefore had a fixed and independent income. Most prebends ended in 1547. The office of prebendary is retained in some Anglican cathedrals such as Lincoln, Lichfield and London as an honorary title for senior parish clergy and at Wells, canons are called prebendaries. (W)
[124] A precentor, from the Latin for first singer, is in charge of the organisation of liturgy and worship. (W)

arch. As to the stories of a witch dwelling here, as of a giant dwelling in the other (I mean in Pool's Hole) I take them to be equally fabulous, and worth no notice.

In the low country, on the other side Mendip Hills, lies Chedder, a village pleasantly situated under the very ridge of the mountains; before the village is a large green, or common, a piece of ground, in which the whole herd of the cows, belonging to the town, do feed; the ground is exceeding rich, and as the whole village are cowkeepers, they take care to keep up the goodness of the soil, by agreeing to lay on large quantities of dung for manuring, and enriching the land.

The milk of all the town cows, is brought together every day into a common room, where the persons appointed, or trusted for the management, measure every man's quantity, and set it down in a book; when the quantities are adjusted, the milk is all put together, and every meal's milk makes one cheese, and no more; so that the cheese is bigger, or less, as the cows yield more, or less, milk. By this method, the goodness of the cheese is preserved, and, without all dispute, it is the best cheese that England affords, if not, that the whole world affords.

As the cheeses are, by this means, very large, for they often weigh a hundred weight, sometimes much more, so the poorer inhabitants, who have but few cows, are obliged to stay the longer for the return of their milk; for no man has any such return, 'till his share comes to a whole cheese, and then he has it; and if the quantity of his milk delivered in, comes to above a cheese, the overplus rests in account to his credit, until another cheese comes to his share; and thus every man has equal justice, and though he should have but one cow, he shall, in time, have one whole cheese. This cheese is often sold for six pence to eight pence per pound, when the Cheshire cheese is sold but for two pence to two pence halfpenny.

Here is a deep, frightful chasm in the mountain, in the hollow of which, the road goes, by which they travel towards Bristol; and out of the same hollow, springs a little river, which flows with such a full stream, that, it is said, it drives twelve mills within a quarter of a mile of the spring; but this is not to be understood, without supposing it to fetch some winding reaches in the way; there would not, otherwise, be room for twelve mills to stand, and have any head of water above the mill, within so small a space of ground. The water of this spring, grows quickly into a river, and runs down into the marshes, and joins another little river called Axe, about Axbridge, and thence into the Bristol Channel, or Severn Sea.

I must now turn east, and south-east, for I resolved not to go up the hills of Mendip at all, this journey, leaving that part to another tour, when I shall give an account of these mountains, as also of the cities of Bath and Bristol, to which they are very near, all in one letter.

I come now to that part of the country, which joins itself to Wiltshire, which I reserved, in particular, to this place, in order to give some account of the broad-cloth manufacture, which I several times mentioned in my first journey, and which is carried on here, and that to such a degree, as deserves a place in all the descriptions, or histories, which shall be given of this country.

As the east, and south parts of Wiltshire are, as I have already observed, all hilly, spreading themselves far and wide, in plains, and grassy downs, for breeding, and feeding, vast flocks of sheep, and a prodigious number of them. And as the west and north parts of Somersetshire are, on the contrary, low, and marshy, or moorish, for feeding, and breeding, of black cattle,

and horses, or for lead-mines, &c. So all the south west part of Wiltshire, and the east part of Somersetshire, are low and flat, being a rich, enclosed country, full of rivers and towns, and infinitely populous, insomuch, that some of the market towns are equal to cities in size, and superior to them in numbers of people.

This low, flat country, contains part of the three counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester, and that the extent of it may be the easier understood by those who know anything of the situation of the country, it reaches from Cirencester in the north, to Sherborne on the edge of Dorsetshire south, and from the Devizes east, to Bristol west, which may take in about fifty miles in length where longest, and twenty in breadth where narrowest.

In this extent of country, we have the following market towns, which are principally employed in the clothing trade, that is to say, in that part of it, which I am now speaking of; namely, fine medley, or mixed cloths, such as are usually worn in England by the better sort of people; and, also, exported in great quantities to Holland, Hamburg, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Italy, &c. The principal clothing towns in this part of the country are these,

Somersetshire: Frome, Pensford, Philip's Norton, Bruton, Shepton Mallet, Castle Carey, Wincanton.

Wiltshire: Malmesbury, Castle Combe, Chippenham, Calne, Devises, Bradford,[125] Trowbridge, Westbury, Warminster, Mere.

Dorsetshire: Gillingham, Shaftsbury, Beaminster, and Bere,[126] Sturminster,[127] Sherborne.

Gloucestershire: Cirencester, Tetbury, Marshfield, Minchinhampton, and Fairford.

These towns, as they stand thin, and at considerable distance from one another; for, except the two towns of Bradford and Trowbridge, the other stand at an unusual distance; I say, these towns are interspersed with a very great number of villages, I had almost said, innumerable villages, hamlets, and scattered houses, in which, generally speaking, the spinning work of all this manufacture is performed by the poor people; the master clothiers, who generally live in the greater towns, sending out the wool weekly to their houses, by their servants and horses, and, at the same time, bringing back the yarn that they have spun and finished, which then is fitted for the loom.

The increasing and flourishing circumstances of this trade, are happily visible by the great concourse of people too, and increase of buildings and inhabitants in these principal clothing towns where this trade is carried on, and the wealth of the clothiers. The town of Froom, or, as it is written in our maps, Frome Sellwood, is a specimen of this, which is so prodigiously increased within these last twenty or thirty years, that they have built a new church, and so many new streets of houses, and those houses are so full of inhabitants, that Frome is now reckoned to have more people in it, than the city of Bath, and some say, than even Salisbury itself, and if their trade continues to increase for a few years more, as it has done for those past, it is very likely to be one of the greatest and wealthiest inland towns in England.

[125] Now Bradford-on-Avon. (Ed)
[126] Now Bere Regis. (Ed)
[127] Sturminster Newton is a town in the Blackmore Vale and Sturminster Marshall is a village on the River Stour between Blandford Forum and Poole. (Ed)

I call it an inland town, because it is particularly distinguished as such, being, not only no sea-port, but not near any sea-port, having no manner of communication by water, no navigable river at it, or near it. Its trade is wholly clothing, and the cloths they make, are, generally speaking, all conveyed to London. Blackwell-Hall is their market, and thither they send up the gross of their clothing product; and, if we may believe common fame, there are above ten thousand people in Frome now, more than lived in it twenty years ago, and yet it was a considerable town then too.

Here are, also, several large meeting-houses, as well as churches, as there are, generally, in all the manufacturing, trading towns in England, especially in the western counties.

WILTSHIRE

Devizes is, next to this, a large and important town, and full of wealthy clothiers; but this town has, lately, run pretty much into the drugget-making trade; a business, which has made some invasion upon the broad-cloth trade, and great quantities of druggets are worn in England, as also, exported beyond the seas, even in the place of our broad-cloths, and where they usually were worn and exported; but this is much the same as to the trade still; for as it is all a woollen manufacture, and that the druggets may properly be called cloth, though narrow, and of a different make, so the makers are all called clothiers.

The River Avon, a noble and large fresh river, branching itself into many parts, and receiving almost all the rivers on that side the hills, waters this whole fruitful vale; and the water of this river seems particularly qualified for the use of the clothiers; that is to say, for dyeing the best colours, and for fulling and dressing the cloth, so that the clothiers generally plant themselves upon this river, but especially the dyers, as at Trowbridge, and Bradford, which are the two most eminent clothing towns in that part of the vale for the making fine Spanish cloths, and of the nicest mixtures.

From these towns south, to Westbury, and to Warminster, the same trade continues, and the finest medley Spanish cloths, not in England only, but in the whole world, are made in this part. They told me at Bradford, that it was no extraordinary thing to have clothiers in that country worth, from ten thousand, to forty thousand pounds a man, and many of the great families, who now pass for gentry in those counties, have been originally raised from, and built up by this truly noble manufacture.

If I may speak here from the authority of the ancient inhabitants of the place, and who have been curious observers upon this subject, the country which I have now described, as principally employed in, and maintained by this prodigy of a trade, contains two million, three hundred and thirty thousand acres of land, and has in it seven hundred eighty-eight parishes, and three hundred and seventy-four thousand people. It is true, that this is all guess-work; but I must confess myself very willing to believe, that the reckoning is far short of the account; for the county is exceeding large and populous.

It may be worth enquiry, by the curious, how the manufacturers, in so vast a consumption of the wool, as such a trade must take up, can be supplied with wool for their trade; and, indeed, it would be something strange, if the answer were not at hand.

1. We may reasonably conclude, that this manufacture was at first seated in this county, or, as we may say, planted itself here at first, because of the infinite numbers of sheep, which

were fed at that time upon the downs and plains of Dorset, Wilts, and Hampshire, all adjoining, as a trading town is seated, or rises gradually upon some large river, because of the benefit of navigation; and as gentlemen place the mansion houses of their estates, and seats of their families, as near the pleasant rivers, woods, and fine prospects as possible, for the delight of their living; so the first planters of the clothing manufacture, doubtless, chose this delightful vale for its seat, because of the neighbourhood of those plains, which might be supposed to be a fund of wool for the carrying it on. Thus, the manufacture of white cloth was planted in Stroud Water in Gloucestershire, for the sake of the excellent water there for the dying scarlets, and all colours that are dyed in grain, which are better dyed there, than in any other place of England, some towns near London excepted. Hence, therefore, we first observe, they are supplied yearly with the fleeces of two or three million sheep.

2. But as the number of sheep fed on these downs is lessened, rather than increased, because of the many thousand acres of the carpet ground being, of late years, turned into arable land, and sowed with wheat; which, by the way, has made Warminster a market town, on the edge of Somersetshire, as it now is, without exception, the greatest market for wheat in England, with this exception only, *viz*. where none of it is bought to send to London.

I say, the number of sheep, and consequently the quantity of wool, decreasing, and at the same time the manufacture, as has been said, prodigiously increasing, the manufacturers applied themselves to other parts for a supply, and hence began the influx of north-country wool to come in from the counties of Northampton, Leicester, and Lincoln, the centre of which trade, is about Tetbury and Cirencester, where are the markets for the north-country wool, and where, as they say, several hundred packs of wool are sold every week, for the supply of this prodigious consumption.

3. From London, they have great quantities of wool, which is generally called Kentish wool, in the fleece, which is brought up from thence by the farmers, since the late severe Acts against their selling it within a certain number of miles of the sea, also fell-wool for the combers, bought of the wool-staplers[128] in Barnaby Street, and sent back by the carriers, which bring up the cloths to market.

4. They have also, sometimes, large quantities of Irish wool, by the way of Bristol, or of Minehead, in Somersetshire; but this is uncertain, and only on extraordinary occasions. I omit the Spanish wool, as being an article by itself.

Thus, in short, as those that see the numbers of sheep fed on the downs and plains, as above, and that see the quantity of wool brought to the markets of Tetbury, and other towns, and the quantity sent from London, all into this one vale, would wonder how it was possible to be consumed, manufactured, and wrought up; so on the other hand, those that saw the numbers of people employed, and the vast quantity of goods made in this part of England, would wonder where the whole nation should be able to supply them with wool.

And yet, notwithstanding the whole country is thus employed in the broad-cloth manufacture, as above, I must not omit to mention, that here is a very great application to another trade or two, which I am obliged, by my first scheme, not to forget to mention, *viz*. the supplying the city of London with provisions; though it is true, that the general employment of the people in all this county, is in the woollen manufacture; yet, as the spinning is generally the work of

[128] The wool-stapler buys wool from the farner, sorts and grades it, and sells it to manufacturers. (W)

the women and children, and that the land is here exceeding rich and fertile, so it cannot be supposed, but that here are farmers in great numbers, whose business it is to cultivate the land, and supply the rest of the inhabitants with provisions; and this they do so well, that notwithstanding the county is so exceeding populous, yet provisions of all sorts are very cheap, the quantity very great, and a great overplus sent every day to London for the supply of their demand, which, as I said before, is great enough to exhaust a whole nation.

All the lower part of this county, and also of Gloucestershire, adjoining, is full of large feeding farms, which we call dairies, and the cheese they make, as it is excellent good of its kind, so being a different kind from the Cheshire, being soft and thin, is eaten newer than that from Cheshire. Of this, a vast quantity is every week sent up to London, where, though it is called Gloucestershire cheese, yet a great part of it is made in Wiltshire, and the greatest part of that which comes to London, the Gloucestershire cheese being more generally carried to Bristol, and Bath, where a very great quantity is consumed, as well by the inhabitants of two populous cities, as also for the shipping off to our West-India colonies, and other places.

This Wiltshire cheese is carried to the river of Thames, which runs through part of the county, by land carriage, and so by barges to London.

Again, in the spring of the year, they make a vast quantity of that we call green cheese, which is a thin, and very soft cheese, resembling cream cheeses, only thicker, and very rich. These are brought to market new, and eaten so, and the quantity is so great, and this sort of cheese is so universally liked and accepted in London, that all the low, rich lands of this county, are little enough to supply the market; but then this holds only for the two first summer months of the year, May and June, or little more.

Besides this, the farmers in Wiltshire, and the part of Gloucestershire adjoining, send a very great quantity of bacon up to London, which is esteemed as the best bacon in England, Hampshire only excepted. This bacon is raised in such quantities here, by reason of the great dairies, as above, the hogs being fed with the vast quantity of whey, and skimmed milk, which so many farmers have to spare, and which must, otherwise, be thrown away.

But this is not all, for as the north part of Wiltshire, as well the downs, as the vales, border upon the river Thames, and, in some places, comes up even to the banks of it; so most of that part of the county being arable land, they sow a very great quantity of barley, which is carried to the markets at Abingdon, at Farrington, and such places, where it is made into malt, and carried to London. This employs all the hill country from above Malmsbury to Marlborough, and on the side of the Vale of White Horse, as it is called, which is in Berkshire, and the hills adjoining, a tract of ground, able to furnish, considering its fertility, a prodigious quantity of barley, and does so.

Thus, Wiltshire itself helps to supply London with cheese, bacon, and malt, three very considerable articles, besides that vast manufacture of fine Spanish cloths, which I have said so much of, and I may, without being partial, say, that it is thereby rendered one of the most important counties in England, that is to say, important to the public wealth of the kingdom. The bare product is in itself prodigious great; the downs are an unexhausted store-house of wool, and of corn, and the valley, or low part of it, is the like for cheese and bacon.

One thing here is worthwhile to mention, for the observation of those counties in England, where they are not yet arrived to that perfection of husbandry, as in this county, and I have

purposely reserved it to this place. The case is this, The downs or plains, which are generally called Salisbury Plain; but, particularly, extend themselves over the counties of Southampton, Wilts, and Dorset, were formerly all left open to be fed by the large flocks of sheep so often mentioned; but now, so much of these downs are ploughed up, as has increased the quantity of corn produced in this county, in a prodigious manner, and lessened their quantity of wool, as above; all which has been done by folding their sheep upon the ploughed lands, removing the fold every night to a fresh place, 'till the whole piece of ground has been folded on; this, and this alone, has made these lands, which in themselves are poor, and where, in some places, the earth is not above six inches above the solid chalk rock, able to bear as good wheat, as any of the richer lands in the vales, though not quite so much. I say this alone; for many of these lands lie so remote from the farmers houses, and up such high hills, for the farmers live always in the valleys, and by the rivers, that it could not be worth their while to carry dung from those farm-houses, to those remote lands; besides, the draught uphill would be so heavy, and the ways so bad, that it would kill all their cattle.

If this way of folding sheep upon the fallows, and ploughed lands, were practised, in some parts of England, and especially in Scotland, they would find it turn to such account, and so effectually improve the waste lands, which now are useless and uncultivated, that the sheep would be more valuable, and lands turn to a better account than was ever yet known among them. In Wiltshire it appears to be so very significant, that if a farmer has a thousand of sheep, and no fallows to fold them on, his neighbours will give him ten shillings a night for every thousand.

I am come now to Marlborough. On the downs, about two or three miles from the town, are abundance of loose stones, lying scattered about the plain; some whereof are very large, and appear to be of the same kind with those at Stonehenge, and some larger. They are called by the country people, not for want of ignorance, The Gray Weathers.[129] I do not find any account given of them in history, or by the greatest of our antiquaries, so I must leave them as I find them.

At Marlborough, and in several villages near, as well as on the downs, there are several of those round rising mounts, which the country people call barrows, and which all our writers agree, were monuments of the dead, and particularly of soldiers slain in fight. This in Marlborough, stands in the Duke of Somerset's garden, and is, by that means, kept up to its due height. There is a winding way cut out of the mount, that goes several times round it, 'till insensibly it brings you to the top, where there is a seat, and a small pleasant green, from whence you look over great part of the town.

This is an ancient town, and, at present, has a pretty good shop-keeping trade, but not much of the manufacturing part. The river Kennet, lately made navigable by Act of Parliament, rises just by this town, and running from hence to Hungerford, and Newbury, becomes a large stream, and passing by Reading, runs into the Thames near the town. This river is famous for craw-fish, which they help travellers to at Newbury; but they seldom want for price.

Between this town of Marlborough, and Abington, westward, is the Vale of White Horse. The inhabitants tell a great many fabulous stories of the original of its being so called; but there is nothing of foundation in them all, that I could see; the whole of the story is this.

[129] Fyfield Down is part of the Marlborough Downs and has the best assemblage of sarsen stones in England, known as the Grey Wethers. (W)

Looking south from the vale, we see a trench cut on the side of a high green hill, this trench is cut in the shape of a horse, and not ill-shaped I assure you. The trench is about two yards wide on the top, about a yard deep, and filled almost up with chalk, so that at a distance, for it is seen many miles off, you see the exact shape of a White Horse; but so large, as to take up near an acre of ground, some say, almost two acres. From this figure the hill is called, in our maps, White Horse Hill, and the low, or flat country under it, the Vale of White Horse.

It is a very fertile and fruitful vale, and extends itself from Farrington almost to Abington, the though not exactly in a line. Some think 'twas done by the Saxons, whose device was a white horse, and is so still.

Having spoken of what is most remarkable, or at least, what most occurred to my observation from the Land's End to Newbury in Berkshire, I must here take the liberty to look round upon some passages in later times, which have made this part of the country more famous than before.

1. On the hills on this side the Devizes, is Roundway Down, where the Lord Wilmot,[130] and the king's forces, beat, and entirely routed, the famous Sir William Waller,[131] in the late Rebellion, or Civil War; from whence the place is called, by some, Runaway Down to this day. A little nearer towards Marlborough, is St. Ann's Hill, where, notwithstanding several high hills between, and the distance of twenty-two miles, or more, is a fair view of Salisbury steeple, or spire, which is, without all dispute, the highest in England. The defeat of Sir William Waller, take in the few words of one of the most impartial historians of those times. The action was, in short, thus,

> Waller had always the misfortune to be beaten when he pursued his enemy to force a fight. This was his case now. He heard that the Lord Wilmot, with a body of the king's forces, were marched into the west to join Colonel Greenville, Sir Arthur Slanning, and the loyal troops in Dorsetshire. Upon this, he makes long marches to overtake, and intercept them, pretending to fight them, joined, or not joined; but my Lord Wilmot advancing with 1500 horse of the king's best troops, joined the western forces at the Devizes, and facing about upon Waller, met him upon Roundway Down, not far from St. Ann's Hill, mentioned above.
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> As I said, he who was seeking out his enemy, must himself be easy to be found, and therefore they soon came together; for though Waller seeing too late, that he was in an error, would have been glad to have got off without fighting, yet seeing the king's troops advance in full march to attack him, boldly drew up in order of battle, and marched forward to meet them. Upon which ensued an obstinate, and very bloody, fight; for Waller was brave, and his men had been enured to victory, especially his infantry, and though they were gallantly attacked by Colonel Slanning, and Greenville, the latter of whom was slain, yet they stood their ground, and could not be broken, but rather gained upon the Royalists. But the Lord Wilmot charging with an irresistible fury at the head of the cavalry, the rebel horse were broken, and put into confusion, a body of Wilmot's horse pushing them quite out of the field. Lord Wilmot then falling with the like fury upon the rear of the foot, while the king's foot lay hard upon them in

[130] Lieutenant-General Henry Wilmot, 1st Earl of Rochester (1612 - 1658), known as The Lord Wilmot between 1643 and 1644 and as The Viscount Wilmot between 1644 and 1652, fought for the Royalist cause. (W)

[131] Sir William Waller (c. 1597 - 1668) was an English soldier and politician, who commanded Parliamentary armies during the First English Civil War, before relinquishing his commission under the 1645 Self-denying Ordinance, which prevented all members of the House of Commons or Lords being army or naval officers. (W)

> the front. They were, at last, broken also; and, in a word, quite overthrown. And there being no way to escape the horse, upon an open wild down, as that is, they were most of them cut in pieces, or taken prisoners. All their cannon and baggage were also taken, with their arms and ammunition; and Waller himself, with great difficulty, escaped. This was in the month of August, 1643.[132]

From this action, as I said, this place was ever after called Runaway-Down, instead of Roundway-Down.

BERKSHIRE

At Newbury there was another, or rather a double scene of blood; for here were two obstinate, and hard fought, battles, at two several times, between the king's army, and the Parliament's, the king being present at them both, and both fought almost upon the same spot of ground. In these two battles, said an old experienced soldier, that served in the king's army, there was more generalship shewn on both sides, than in any other battle through the whole course of the war; his meaning was, That the generals, on both sides, shewed the most exquisite skill in the managing, posting, bringing up, and drawing off their troops; and as the men fought with great bravery on both sides, so the generals, and officers, shewed both their bravery, and their judgment. In the first of these battles, the success was doubtful, and both sides pretended to the advantage. In the last, the king's army had apparently the worst of it, and yet the king, in a very few days, with a great body of horse, fetched off his cannon, which he had, in the close of the battle, thrust into Dunington Castle,[133] and carried them away to Oxford, the head quarter of his army, or his place of arms, as it would be called now; and this he did in the sight of the victorious army, facing them at the same time, with a body of six thousand horse, and they, on the other hand, did not think fit to draw out to attack him. That retreat, in point of honour, was equal to a victory, and gave new courage, as well as reputation, to the king's troops. Indeed the Parliament's army was outgeneraled in that part; for as they had beaten the king's army out of the field, and obliged them to shelter their train of artillery and carriages in the castle, which was in itself a place of no great strength; they ought immediately, even the same night, to have invested the place, and posted their army so, as to cover the siege; in which case, the cannon, and all that was in the castle, had been their own; for though the king had indeed, a gallant body of horse, and superior to the Parliament cavalry by almost three thousand, yet his best regiments of foot had been roughly handled in the battle, and some of them quite cut in pieces; so that his majesty would not have been in condition to have attacked them in their posts, in order to have raised the siege.

But this is not my business. This town of Newbury is an ancient clothing town, though, now, little of that part remains to it; but it retains still a manufacturing genius, and the people are generally employed in making shalloons, a kind of stuff, which, though it be used only for the

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[132] The Battle of Roundway Down was on 13 July 1643. The change from the Julian Calendar to the Gregorian Calendar in 1751, requiring the removal of eleven days to bring the calendar back in synchrony with the seasons but does not explain this discrepancy of dates. (Ed)

[133] Donnington Castle is now a ruined medieval castle, situated in the small village of Donnington, just north of the town of Newbury in Berkshire. It was founded by Sir Richard Abberbury the Elder in 1386 and was bought by Thomas Chaucer before the castle was taken under royal control during the Tudor period. During the First English Civil War the castle was held by the royalist Sir John Boys and withstood an 18-month siege; after the garrison eventually surrendered, Parliament voted to demolish Donnington Castle in 1646. Only the gatehouse survives. The site is a scheduled monument under the care of English Heritage. (W)

lining and insides of men's clothes, for women use but little of it, nor the men for anything but as above, yet it becomes so generally worn, both at home and abroad, that it is increased to a manufacture by itself, and is more considerable, than any single manufacture of stuffs in the nation. This employs the town of Newbury, as also, Andover, another town on the side of Wiltshire, about twelve miles from it, and abundance of other towns, in other counties of England, of which I shall speak in their place. And, having mentioned Andover, though out of the road that I was in, I must digress to tell you, that the town of Andover lies on the very edge of the downs which I have so often mentioned, and is in the road from Newbury to Salisbury, as it is from London to Taunton, and all the manufacturing part of Somersetshire; it is a handsome town, well built, populous, and much enriched by the manufacture, as above, and may be called a thriving town. It sends two members to Parliament and is an ancient corporation.

But the chief reason of my making this digression, is to mention, that within a mile, or thereabouts, of this town, at the place where the open down country begins, is Wey-Hill, where the greatest fair for sheep is kept, that this nation can shew. I confess, though I once saw the fair, yet I could make no estimate of the number brought thither for sale; but asking the opinion of a grazier, who had used to buy sheep there, he boldly answered that there were many hundred thousands. This being too general, I pressed him farther; at length he said, He believed there were five hundred thousand sheep sold there in one fair. Now, though this might, I believe, be too many, yet it is sufficient to note, that there are a prodigious quantity of sheep sold here; nor can it be otherwise, if it be considered, that the sheep sold here, are not for immediate killing, but are generally ewes for store sheep for the fanners, and they send for them from all the following counties, Berks, Oxford, Bucks, Bedford, Hertford, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. The custom of these farmers, is, to send one farmer in behalf of (perhaps) twenty, and so the sheep come up together, and they part them when they come home. These ewes have also this property, that they generally bring two lambs at a time. What weathers[134] are bought here, are carried off by the farmers, who have feeding grounds, in order to fat them for Trilling; but they are but few compared to the ewes.

But to go back to Newbury. Not to insist upon the famous Jack of Newbury, who was so great a clothier, that when King James met his waggons loaden with cloths going to London, and inquiring whose they were, was answered by them all, "They were Jack of Newbury's", the king returned, if the story be true, that this Jack of Newbury was richer than he. But not to insist upon this man's story, which is almost grown fabulous, yet another story is fact, and to be proved, *viz.* that this is one of the two legatee towns (as they were called) in the will of the late famous Mr. Kenrick,[135] who being the son of a clothier of Newbury, and afterwards a merchant in London, left four thousand pounds to Newbury, and seven thousand five hundred pounds to Reading, to encourage the clothing trade, and set the poor at work, besides other gifts of extraordinary value to the poor as such. This gentleman I shall have occasion to mention again, and therefore I say no more now, only, that his effigy, or picture, was to be seen, before the Fire, in St. Christopher's Church[136] in Thread Needle Street, London, where he is buried, and where the benefaction he left for prayers every morning at six a clock,

[134] Wethers are castrated male sheep. (Ed)

[135] John Kendrick (1573 - 30 December 1624) was a prosperous English cloth merchant and patron of the towns of Reading and Newbury in Berkshire. (W)

[136] St. Christopher le Stocks was a parish church on the north side of Threadneedle Street in the Broad Street Ward of the City of London. Of Medieval origin, it was rebuilt following the Great Fire of London in 1666, but demolished in 1781 to make way for an extension of the neighbouring Bank of England. (W)

winter and summer, in that church, is still enjoyed, and the prayers performed there accordingly. As likewise, it is at Reading, and at Newbury.
This extraordinary will is to be seen at large in Stow's Survey of London, to which I refer, and which it is well worth the reader's while to look over, the like not being heard of in England, before. It seems he died a bachelor, or, at least, without children, and his legacies, all in ready money, cannot amount to less than forty thousand to fifty thousand pounds, besides what might be included in the general clause of leaving all the rest of his estate to him who he made his universal heir; which estate, as I have heard, amounted to a very great value. That forty or fifty thousand pounds also, being considered at the time it was left, might well be rated at four times the value, as the rate of things goes now, it being in the year 1624. What improvement the town of Newbury, or the town of Reading, has made of the great sums he left to their management, that I did not inquire into.

Near this town of Newbury, the late Earl of Craven[137] built a very stately pile of buildings for his own dwelling, called Spine; but as it was never quite finished, so I do not understand, that his lordship ever came to live in it, and, within these few years, it was, by a sudden fire, which no-body can, or no-body will, tell how it began, burnt down to the ground. It was reported, the old lord built this magnificent palace, for such it really was, at a time when he (flattered himself, at least, with expectation, and) had hopes of marrying Madam Royal, as she was then called, the Queen of Bohemia, sister to King Charles I, who was then a widow, and lived under the shadow of the English Court; but being frustrated afterwards in that view, his lordship went no farther in his building.

Here it was that the vanguard, or first line of the Prince of Orange's army, was posted, when the Irish dragoons, who were posted in Reading, finding they should be attacked in a few days, had put the town's people into such a fright, by threatening to burn and plunder the town, and cut all the peoples' throats, that they sent express messengers to the Dutch general officer Grave Van Nassau for help; who sent them a detachment of but two hundred and eighty dragoons, though the troops in the town were near seven hundred men. What success they met with, I shall mention presently.

The next town of note, I say, is Reading, a very large and wealthy town, handsomely built, the inhabitants rich, and driving a very great trade. The town lies on the River Kennet, but so near the Thames, that the largest barges which they use, may come up to the town bridge, and there they have wharfs to load, and unload them. Their chief trade is by this water-navigation to and from London, though they have necessarily a great trade into the country, for the consumption of the goods which they bring by their barges from London, and particularly coals, salt, grocery wares, tobacco, oils, and all heavy goods.

They send from hence to London by these barges, very great quantities of malt, and meal, and these are the two principal articles of their loadings, of which, so large are those barges, that some of them, as I was told, bring a thousand, or twelve hundred quarters of malt at a time, which, according to the ordinary computation of tonnage in the freight of other vessels, is from a hundred, to an hundred and twenty ton, dead weight.

[137] This earldom was created in 1664 in favour of the soldier William Craven, 1st Baron Craven (1608 - 1697) the eldest son of Sir William Craven, Lord Mayor of London in 1610. He was made Viscount Craven, of Uffington in the County of Berkshire, at the same time. (W)

They also send very great quantities of timber from Reading; for Berkshire being a very-well wooded county, and the River Thames a convenient conveyance for the timber, they send most of it, and especially the largest and fairest of the timber, to London, which is generally bought by the shipwrights in the river, for the building merchant ships; as also, the like trade of timber is at Henley, another town on the Thames, and at Maidenhead, of which by itself.

Here was a large manufacture of sailcloth set up in this town, by the late Sir Owen Buckingham,[138] Lord Mayor of London, and many of the poor people were, profitably (to them) employed in it; but Sir Owen himself dying, and his son being unhappily killed in a duel, a little while after, that manufacture died also.

There is, however, still a remnant of the woollen manufacture here; I say a remnant, because this was once a very considerable clothing town, much greater than it is now; and this town, as well as Newbury, and principally before Newbury, has enjoyed the munificent legacies of that generous merchant I mentioned before, I mean Mr. Kenrick, who left them £7500 to set the poor at work, and encourage the clothing trade. How they manage for the poor, that they can give the best account of.

Mr. Camden's[139] continuator, Dr. Gibson, says, there was once a hundred and forty master-clothiers in this one town; but that now, they are almost all gone. During the civil wars in England, this town was strongly fortified, and the remains of the bastions, and other works are still to be seen; but the Royalists abandoning it afterwards, it was possessed by the Parliament, soon after the battle at Newbury.

There are three churches, and two large meeting houses in this town, besides that of the Quakers; and the town, Camden calls it a little city, is said to contain about eight thousand people, including a little hamlet at the bridge over the Thames.

Here was once a most famous monastery, founded by King Henry I, younger son of William the Conqueror, who lies buried in it with his queen, and his daughter Maud; of whom it was said, she was a king's daughter, a king's wife, and a king's mother, but herself no queen; this is made out, in that she was daughter to Henry I, wife to the Emperor of Germany, and mother to King Henry II, so she was an empress, but not a queen.[140] This abbey is now so demolished, that scarce any remains of it are found, or the place of it known.

As I have noted above, it was here that the Dutch with two hundred and eighty horse and dragoons, attacked the forces of the late King James, in aid of the distressed town's-men, who they threatened to murder and plunder that very day. It was on a Sunday morning, that the Irish dragoons had resolved on the designed mischief, if they really intended it. In order to it,

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[138] Sir Owen Buckingham (c. 1649 - 20 March 1713) was an English merchant, alderman, MP and Lord Mayor of London. (W)

[139] William Camden (2 May 1551 - 9 November 1623) was an English antiquarian, historian, topographer, and herald, best known as author of *Britannia*, the first chorographical survey of the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, and the *Annales*, the first detailed historical account of the reign of Elizabeth I of England. (W)

[140] It is often stated as an alternative that she was daughter of a Henry, wife of a Henry and mother of a Henry. She and her cousin, Stephen of Blois, both grandchildren of William I, fought for supremacy during the civil war in England know as the Anarchy (1135 - 1154). She was known as both Matilda and Maude. She was never formally declared as Queen of England but was also known as the Empress Matilda although never crowned as such. (Ed)

they posted a guard at the principal church in the piazza there, and might, indeed, easily have locked all the people in, and have cut their throats; also they placed a company of foot in the church-yard of another church, over-against the Bear Inn; so that if they really did not intend to massacre the people, as their officers said they did not, yet that way of posting their men, joined to the loud oaths and protestations, that they would do it, made it look as like such a design, as anything unexecuted, or unattempted, could do.

In this posture things stood when the Dutch entered the town. The Irish had placed a sentinel on the top of the steeple of the great church, with orders, if he saw any troops advance, to fire his piece, and ring the bell; the fellow, being surprised with the sight, for he discovered the Dutch but a little before they reached the town, fired his musket, but forgot to ring the bell, and came down. However, his firing gave the alarm sufficiently, and the troops in the town, who were all under arms before, whether for the designed execution, or not, I will not determine; but, I say, being under arms before, they had little more to do, but to post their troops, which they did with skill enough, being commanded by Sir John Lanier,[141] an experienced officer, and colonel of a regiment of horse in King James's army; and had the men done their duty, they might easily have repulsed the few troops that attacked them; but the Dutch entering the town in two places, one by the ordinary road from Newbury, and the other by the Broad Street near where the horse-fair is kept, forced both the posts, and entered the market place, where the main body of the Irish troops were drawn up.

The first party of the Dutch found a company of foot drawn up in the church-yard over-against the Bear Inn, and a troop of dragoons in the Bear Inn yard; the dragoons hearing the Dutch were at hand, their officer bravely drew them out of the inn yard, and faced the Dutch in the open road, the churchyard wall being lined with musketeers to flank the street; the Dutch, who came on full gallop, fell in upon the dragoons, sword in hand, and with such irresistible fury, that the Irish were immediately put into confusion, and after three or four minutes bearing the charge, they were driven clear out of the street. At the very same instant, another party of the Dutch dragoons, dismounting, entered the churchyard, and the whole body posted there, fled also, with little or no resistance, not sufficient, indeed, to be called resistance. After this, the dragoons, mounting again, forced their squadrons, and entered the marketplace.

Here, the troops being numerous, made two or three regular discharges; but finding themselves charged in the rear by the other Dutchmen, who had by this time entered the said Broad Street, they not knowing the strength, or weakness of their enemy, presently broke, and fled by all the ways possible. Sir John Lanier, having a calash and six horses, got away with the first, though he was twice headed by a Dutch trooper, who endeavoured to shoot one of the horses, but missed his shot, so the colonel got away.

The Dutch having cleared the town, pursued some of them as far as Twyford, and such was the terror that they were in, that a person, from whom I had this part of the relation, told me, he saw one Dutch trooper chase twelve of the Irish dragoons to the river near Twyford, and ride into the water a good way after them; nor durst Sir John Lanier's regiment of horse, and

[141] Lieutenant-General Sir John Lanier (died 1692) was an English army officer. He served as Lieutenant Governor of Jersey from 1679 to 1684. In 1685 he raised Lanier's Regiment of Horse or the 2nd Queen's Regiment of Horse, named in honour of Queen Mary, consort of King James II, as part of the response to the Monmouth Rebellion. Later he declared allegiance to William III and secured Edinburgh Castle for him in 1689. He was deployed to Ireland and took part in the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690. (W)

Sir John Fenwick's,[142] and a third, whose colonel I do not remember, advance to relieve their friends, though they, having had the alarm, stood drawn up on the hill on Twyford side of the river, where they might see by what a contemptible number their numerous party was pursued; for there were not above five and forty, or fifty at most, of the Dutch, that pursued about three hundred of the Irish dragoons to Twyford.

Thus, the town of Reading was delivered from the danger they were threatened with, and which they as really expected, as they expected the sun would rise. It is true, the Irish officers denied afterwards, that there was any such design, or that they intended to offer the people any violence; but it is true, that several of their soldiers confessed it, and gave private intimations of it, to the people in the houses where they quartered, especially some that had been kindly treated in their quarters, and had a little more gratitude and humanity than the rest.

I cannot omit to observe one thing here, to which I was an eye-witness, and which will resolve a difficulty that to this day has puzzled the understandings of a great many people, if not of the whole nation; namely, that here began the universal alarm that spread over the whole kingdom (almost at the same time) of the Irish being coming to cut everybodys' throats. The brief account of which, because it has something curious in it, I believe will be agreeable to you. The state of it is thus.

As the terror which the threatening of these Irishmen had brought upon the whole town of Reading, obliged the magistrates, and chief of the inhabitants, to apply to the Prince of Orange's army for immediate help, so you cannot doubt, but that many of the inhabitants fled for their lives by all the ways that they could; and this was chiefly in the night; for in the day, the soldiers, who had their eyes everywhere, stopped them, and would not permit them to stir, which still increased their terror.

Those that got away, you may be sure, were in the utmost fright and amazement, and they had nothing less in their mouths, but that the Irish would (and by that time had) burnt the town, and cut the throats of all the people, men, women, and children. I was then at Windsor, and in the very interval of all this fright, King James being gone, and the army retreated from Salisbury, the Lord Feversham calls the troops together, and causing them to lay down their arms, disbands them, and gives them leave, every man, to go whither they would.

The Irish dragoons, which had fled from Reading, rallied at Twyford, and having not lost many of their number (for there were not above twelve men killed) they marched on for Maidenhead, swearing, and cursing, after most soldierly a manner, that they would burn all the towns where-ever they came, and cut the throats of all the people. However, whether it was, that they thought themselves too near the Dutch at Maidenhead, or what else was the matter, they did not offer to take quarters at Maidenhead, the town also being full of King James's troops, so they marched on for Colebrook, blustering in the same manner, of what they would do when they came there. The town of Colebrook had notice of their coming, and how they had publicly threatened to burn the town, and murder all the people; but, happily for them, they had quartered there a regiment of Scots foot, of those regiments which King James had caused to march from Scotland to his aid on this occasion; and they had with them, as

[142] Sir John Fenwick, 3rd Baronet (c. 1645 - 28 January 1697) was an English Jacobite conspirator, who succeeded to the Baronetcy of Fenwick on the death of his father in 1676. He was involved in a Jacobite plot to assassinate the monarch. He was beheaded in 1697. (W)

was the usage of all the foot in those times, two pieces of cannon, that is to say, field-pieces, and they stood just in the market-place, pointing westward to the street where these gentlemen were to come.

The people of Colebrook applied immediately to the Scots colonel, whose name I am very sorry I cannot remember, because it is to his honour that I should mention it, and begged his protection. The colonel calling together a council of his officers, immediately resolved, they would make good their quarters, unless they received orders from their superior officers to quit them, and that they would defend the town from plunder; and upon this, immediately the drums beat to arms, and the regiment came together in a few moments. It was in the depth of winter, and, by consequence, was night, and being a wet day, the evening was exceeding dark, when some advanced sentinels gave notice, that they heard the drums beat the dragoons march, at some distance upon the road.

Upon this the colonel ordered a lieutenant, with thirty musketeers, to make an advanced guard at the extreme part of the town, and he was supported by another party of forty men, most pikes, at a small distance, who were to advance upon a signal; and if these last should engage, the drums of the whole regiment were to beat a march, and half the battalion, to advance with the two pieces of cannon.

It was near ten a clock at night before the dragoons reached the town, when the two advanced dragoons, which, by the discipline at that time, always rode at a distance from the regiment, were challenged by the sentinels placed by the lieutenant, as above; upon which they gave notice to the regiment, who immediately halted, and an officer, with some dragoons (they could not tell how many, because it was dark) came up, and demanded to know who they were that challenged. The sentinel called his corporal, and he the serjeant, with three files of musketeers, and they told the officer what regiment they belonged to, and that they had orders to stop any troops from entering the town, ‘till their colonel should be acquainted with it, and give further orders.

The dragoons, as the ground would admit, drew up in front, and their officers began to huff and threaten, that they were the king’s troops, and within the line of the army; that they must have quarters in the town, and ought not to be refused by their own side.

By this time the lieutenant came up also. He gave the officer of dragoons very good words, and told him that he knew too well what belonged to the duty of a subaltern officer, to blame him for doing his duty; but that the regiment was under arms, and the colonel at the head of them in the market-house, and he would immediately send to him for orders, and doubted not, but that the colonel would give them quarters in the town. The dragoons, not satisfied with this civil usage, threatened, swore, raged, and damning the colonel, and the regiment, though not present, said they would have quarters without asking leave of any man, and the officer turning about to a sergeant, bid him go back, and cause the regiment to advance.

The lieutenant told him calmly that he was sorry to see him act so; but if that was his resolution, he was ready for him, and immediately called out to his sergeant to give the signal to the next party to advance, and told the officer of dragoons, that if he stirred one foot forward, or any of his men, he would fire upon them immediately. The forty men advanced, and in two minutes after, they could hear the drums of the regiment beat the Scots march.

Upon this, the dragoons halted again, and the major of the dragoons advancing to the parlee, the lieutenant colonel of the foot, was also come up to the lieutenant's party, with the forty men, and with the colonel's answer to the demand of quarters; namely, That if the dragoons had any orders in writing from the general for quartering in the town, or for marching that way, he was very ready to give them admittance; but if not, they were his quarters, and he would defend them to the last man, and no-body should come in there, especially at that time of night.

The dragoons, however, insulted and menaced the major also, and that at such a rate, that he gave orders immediately to acquaint the colonel of it, who instantly advanced, in full march, with the whole regiment, having about one hundred links lighted to let them see the way, the night being exceeding dark.

When the dragoons saw this, and having no stomach to engage, they desisted; but raged and stormed at such a rate, as I cannot express, and taking the road to Stanes, swore, they would go thither, and burn the town, and kill man, woman and child.

Those blusters were so loud, and the fellows, by nation, such as from whom it might be expected, as put the people of Colebrook the fright they had been in for themselves being a little over, into a second concern for their neighbours at Stanes, and some of them shewed the concern to be so real, that they sent express upon express to Stanes, to acquaint the people there of their danger, knowing there was, at that time, only two companies of foot, of Colonel ****'s regiment, in the town. When these messengers came there, they found the people already alarmed by others, who had come from the same town of Colebrook, in the first fright, with the news, that the Irish were coming to burn the said town of Colebrook, and that, by that time, they did not question but they had done it, and they were surprized to hear now, that it was not done; but upon the arriving of these messengers, bringing word, that they had burnt Colebrook, but for the assistance of the Scots regiment and that they were coming to Stanes, and swore, they would kill man, woman and child; it is impossible to express the consternation of the people. Away they ran out of the town, dark, and rainy, and midnight as it was, some to Kingston, some over the heath to Hounslow, and Brentford, some to Egham, and some to Windsor, with the dreadful news; and by that time they reached those places, their fears had turned their story from saying, they would burn and kill, to they had burned and killed, and were coming after you to do the like.

The same alarm was carried by others from Colebrook to Uxbridge; for thither the dragoons were for marching at first; and thus, some one way, and some another, it spread like the undulations of the water in a pond, when a flat stone is cast upon the surface. From Brentford and Kingston, and from Uxbridge it came severally, and by different roads, to London, and so, as I may say, all over England; nor is it wonderful, that it seemed to be all over the nation in one day, which was the next after this beginning. Fear gave wings to the news, no post could carry it as it flew from town to town, and still every messenger had two articles with him, 1. Not that such and such towns were to be burnt and plundered by them; but that they were already burnt; and 2. That the Irish were at their heels to do the like.

This, I think, is a clear account of this alarm, and what can be more natural? Colebrook was not the case, for where-ever the Colebrook men came, they were asked, if their town was down? I rode the next morning to Maidenhead. At Slough they told me, Maidenhead was burnt, and Uxbridge, and Reading, and I know not how many more, were destroyed; and when I came to Reading, they told me, Maidenhead and Okingham were burnt, and the like.

From thence I went to Henley, where the Prince of Orange, with the second line of his army, entered that very afternoon, and there they had had the same account, with the news of King James's flight; and thus it spread every way insensibly. The manner is too recent in memory, to need my giving any description of it.

My next stage from Reading, was to Great Marlow in Buckinghamshire, which, though not in the direct road, yet lying on the banks of the river of Thames, is, in my course, proper enough to be spoken of, and is particularly worth notice for several things.

1. It is a town of very great embarkation on the Thames, not so much for goods wrought here, (for the trade of the town is chiefly in bone-lace) but for goods from the neighbouring towns, and particularly, a very great quantity of malt, and meal, is brought hither from High-Wickham, a large market town, about miles off, which is one of the greatest corn markets on this side of England, and lies on the road from London to Oxford.

2. Between High Wickham and Marlow, is a little river called the Loddon, on which are a great many mills, and particularly corn mills, and paper mills; the first of these, grind and dress the wheat, and then the meal is sent to Marlow, and loaded on board the barges for London. And the second makes great quantities of printing paper, and that, very good of its kind, and cheap, such as generally is made use of in printing our newspapers, journals, &c. and smaller pamphlets; but not much fine, or large, for bound books, or writing.

3. On the river of Thames, just by the side of this town, though on the other bank, are three very remarkable mills, which are called the Temple-Mills, and are called also, the Brass-Mills, and are for making Bisham Abbey Battery Work, as they call it, *viz.* brass kettles, and pans, &c. of all sorts. They have first a foundry, where, by the help of lapis caliminaris,[143] they convert copper into brass, and then, having cast the brass in large broad plates, they beat them out by force of great hammers, wrought by the water mills, into what shape they think fit for sale. Those mills went on by the strength of a good stock of money in a company or partnership, and with very good success, 'till at last, they turned it into what they call a Bubble, brought it to Exchange-Alley, set it a stock-jobbing in the days of our South Sea madness, and brought it up to be sold at one hundred pounds per share, whose intrinsic worth was perhaps ten pounds, 'till, with the fall of all those things together, it fell to nothing again. Their treasurer, a tradesman in London, failed, having misapplied about thirty thousand pounds of their money, and then, as it is usual where want of success goes before, quarrelling among themselves followed after, and so the whole affair sunk into a piece of mere confusion and loss, which otherwise was certainly a very beneficial undertaking.

4. Next to these are two mills, both extraordinary in themselves, one for making of thimbles, a work excellently well finished, and which performs to admiration, and another for pressing of oil from rape-seed, and flax-seed, both which, as I was told, turn to very good account to the proprietors.

Here is also brought down a vast quantity of beech wood, which grows in the woods of Buckinghamshire more plentifully than in any other part of England. This is the most useful wood, for some uses, that grows, and without which, the city of London would be put to more difficulty, than for any thing of its kind in the nation.

[143] Zinc carbonate. (Ed)

1. For fellies[144] for the great cars, as they are called, which ply in London streets for carrying of merchandises, and for coal-carts, dustcarts, and such like sorts of voiture, which are not, by the city laws, allowed to draw with shod wheels, or wheels tyred with iron.

2. For billet wood for the king's palaces, and for the plate and flint glass houses, and other such nice purposes.

3. Beech quarters for divers uses, particularly chairmakers, and turnery wares. The quantity of this, brought from hence, is almost incredible, and yet so is the country overgrown with beech in those parts, that it is bought very reasonable, nor is there like to be any scarcity of it for time to come.

At Bisham, over against this town, was formerly an abbey,[145] and the remains of it are still to be seen there. The estate belongs to the ancient family of the name of Hobby. Some of the heads of this family, were very eminent in former days, particularly Sir William Hobby, and Sir Edward Hobby, the latter having been employed by Queen Elizabeth in the most important foreign negotiations. Their monuments, with those of their ladies, and sons, are now to be seen, and well worth seeing they are, in the little church of Bisham. The seat of the family, is now in Dorsetshire, where Sir Thomas Hobby[146] is still living; but they are generally all brought hither, when they die, to be buried with their ancestors.
A little higher, on the same side of the river, is Hurley, an ancient seat of the Lord Lovelace,[147] and that family being extinct, it came, by the daughter and heiress, to Sir Henry Johnson[148] of Blackwall, near Ratcliff, who originally was only a shipwright, or master-builder, at the great yard and dock there, of which I shall speak in their place. This lady left only one daughter, married to the Earl of Stafford, and who now enjoys the Hurly estate, in the right of the above marriages of the daughters.

There are two other towns on the Thames, which I have already mentioned, *viz.* Henley and Maidenhead, which have little or nothing remarkable in them; but that they have great business also, by the trade for malt and meal and timber for London, which they ship, or load, on their great barges for London, as the other towns do.

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[144] Timbers that form the rim of a cartwheel. (W)
[145] Bisham Abbey is a Grade I listed manor house at Bisham in the English county of Berkshire. The name is taken from the now lost monastery which once stood alongside. This original Bisham Abbey was previously named Bisham Priory, and was the traditional resting place of many Earls of Salisbury. It was was founded by Augustinians Canons in 1337. (W)
[146] Sir Thomas Hoby (1530 - 1566) was the second son of William Hoby of Leominster, Herefordshire. He was a cousin of Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, who succeeded his father as the Queen's principal minister. In Defoe's time there was Sir Thomas Hoby, 3rd Baronet (1685–1730). (W)
[147] John Lovelace, 4th Baron Lovelace (1672 - 1709) was the Governor of both New York and New Jersey. He was the son of William Lovelace of Hurst, Berkshire. (W)
[148] Defoe has a confusion here. According to Wikipedia, Sir Henry Johnson (13 August 1661 - 29 September 1719) of The Gate House, Blackwall, Middlesex; Bradenham, Buckinghamshire; and Toddington, Bedfordshire was a British shipbuilder and a Member of Parliament for 30 years. Henry Johnson's first wife, whom he married 20 May 1686, was Anne Smithson, daughter and heiress of London haberdasher Hugh Smithson; they had one daughter, Anne, who married Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford (1672-1739) and had four children. His second wife, married on 11 March 1693, was Martha Lovelace, soon to become the 8th Baroness Wentworth, daughter and heiress of John Lovelace, 3rd Baron Lovelace

And now I am, by just degrees, come to Windsor, where I must leave talking of trade, river, navigation, meal, and malt, and describe the most beautiful, and most pleasantly situated castle, and royal palace, in the whole isle of Britain.

Windsor Castle, founded, as some say, by William the Conqueror, if there was anything in that part, was at least rebuilt, by Edward III. But the truth of the story is this, William the Conqueror did pitch upon it as a pleasant situation, in a delightful sporting country, and agreeable to him, who delighted much in hunting; and, as he says of it, a place fitted for the entertainment of kings, and therefore treated with the Abbot of Westminster for an exchange, and so took possession of it. He also had several little lodges, or hunting houses, in the forest adjoining, and frequently lodged, for the conveniency of his game, in a house which the monks before enjoyed, near, or in the town of Windsor, for the town is much more ancient than the castle, and was an eminent pass upon the Thames in the reign of the Saxon kings. But to pass over the antiquity or history of the town, this is certain, that King Edward III took an extreme liking to the place, because of its beautiful situation, and pleasing prospect, which, indeed, is not to be outdone in any part of the kingdom. Here, at length, the king resolved to fix his summer residence, and himself laid out the plan of a most magnificent palace, the same, as to the outward form and building, as we now see it; for whatever has been done for beautifying, altering, or amending the inside and apartments, there has nothing been added to the building itself, except that noble terrace, which runs under the north front, and leads to the green on the park, at the east side, or end of it, along which east end, the fine lodgings, and royal apartments, were at first built, all the north part being then taken up in rooms of state, and halls for public balls, &c.

The house itself was, indeed, a palace, and without any appearance of a fortification; but when the building was brought on to the slope of the hill on the town side, the king added ditches, ramparts, the round tower, and several addenda of strength; and so it was immediately called a castle.

The pretence which some made to an old story, that William of Wickham[149] built this castle, is a story so evidently fabulous, and so plainly detected, that the very relations which pretend to it, discover the contrary; owning, that the king was so incensed against him, but for a suggestion, that he had a project of assuming the honour of being the founder, that it had like to have cost William all his interest in the king's favour, which, at that time, was very great; and the Duke of Lancaster,[150] who was his irreconcilable enemy, took the advantage of prompting the king to make that suggestion; but he cleared himself by denying, that he ever made any pretence to being the founder, only put this construction upon the words, that the money, and the reputation he had gained by building that castle for the king, had been the making of him. The words were these,

THIS MADE WICKHAM.

[149] William of Wykeham (1320 or 1324 - 27 September 1404) was Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England. He founded New College, Oxford, and New College School in 1379, and founded Winchester College in 1382. He was also the clerk of works when much of Windsor Castle was built. (W)

[150] John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (6 March 1340 - 3 February 1399) was an English royal prince, military leader, and statesman. He was the fourth son (third to survive infancy) of King Edward III and became the father of King Henry IV. (W)

These words, they say, he had caused to be cut on a stone in the inner wall of the little tower, which, from him, is to this day called Winchester Tower.

But to pass over this fiction, this is certain, King Edward was the founder of the whole work, and the plan of it was much of his own contrivance; but he committed the overseeing, and direction of the works, to William of Wickham, or, if you please, William of Wickham was the Sir Christopher Wren of that Court; for William was then a layman, not having had a liberal education, but had a good genius, a mighty lover of building, and had applied his head much that way; nor, indeed, does the building itself fail to do the head, or master-builder, a great deal of honour; for in all the decorations and ornaments, which have been made since by the princes who have liked Windsor best, they have found no occasion to alter any of the front, or to pull down, or build up, add, or diminish, except it be some small matter at the entrance to the great stair-case, the kitchen, and offices below stairs, and the like; but the great north, and east fronts, the square of the inner court, the great gates at the entering from the town, with the Round Tower, and the walls annexed, are all standing in the very form in which King Edward III left them.

The only addition in the inside, is a fine equestrian statue of King Charles II which stands over the great well, sunk, as may be supposed, in the first building, for the supply of the castle with water, and in which was an engine for raising the water, notwithstanding the great depth, by very little labour; the contrivance and performance done by the great Sir Samuel Morland,[151] one of the best-natured mechanics of his time, and as good a mathematician.

On the outside was added, the terrace walk, built by Queen Elizabeth, and where she usually walked for an hour every day before her dinner, if not hindered by windy weather, which she had a peculiar aversion to; for as to rainy weather, it would not always hinder her; but she rather loved to walk in a mild, calm rain, with an umbrella over her head.

This walk was really a magnificent work; for as it is raised on the side of a precipice, or steep declivity of the hill, so that hill was necessarily cut down a very great depth to bring the foundation to a flat equal to the breadth, which was to be formed above. From the foundation it was raised by solid stonework, of a vast thickness, with cross walls of stone, for banding the front, and preventing any thrust from the weight of earth within. Then this work was all to be filled up again within, after all was first taken out, was thrown down the front of the hill, to push out the precipices still farther, that it might be the same slope from the terrace, as it was before from the foot of the castle

This noble walk is covered with fine gravel, and has cavities, with drains, to carry off all the water; so that let it rain as it will, not a drop of it is seen to rest on the walk, but it is dry, hard, and fit to walk on immediately. The breadth of this walk is very spacious on the north side, on the east side it is narrower; but neither at Versailles, or at any of the royal palaces in France, or at Rome, or Naples, have I ever seen anything like it. The grand seignior's terrace in the outer court of the Seraglio, next the sea, is the nearest to it, that I have read of, and yet not equal to it, if I may believe the account of those who have seen it; for that, I acknowledge, I have not seen. At the northeast corner of this terrace, where it turns south, to run on by the east side of the castle, there are steps, by which you go off upon the plain of the park, which

[151] Sir Samuel Morland, 1st Baronet (1625 - 30 December 1695), or Moreland, was an English academic, diplomat, spy, inventor and mathematician of the 17th century, a polymath credited with early developments in relation to computing, hydraulics and steam power. (W)

is kept smooth as a carpet, and on the edge of which, the prospect of the terrace is doubled by a vista, south over the park, and quite up to the great park, and towards the forest. Here also is a small seat, fit for one, or but two at the most, with a high back, and cover for the head, which turns so easily, the whole being fixed on a pin of iron, or brass, of strength sufficient, that the persons who sit in it, may turn it from the wind, and which way soever the wind blows, or how hard soever, yet they may sit in a perfect tranquillity, and enjoy a complete calm. This is said also, to be Queen Elizabeth's own invention, who, though she delighted in being abroad in the air, yet hated to be ruffled with the wind. It is also an admirable contrivance for the person sitting in it, to shelter himself from the sun.

This lofty terrace makes the castle quite another thing and gives an egress to the people within to the park, and to a most beautiful walk, which King Edward III nor his successors for some hundreds of years, knew nothing of, all their prospect being from the windows of the castle.

On that side of the building which looks out upon the terrace, are all the royal apartments, King Edward III's were on the east side. The east side is now allotted to great officers of state, who are obliged to attend whenever the Court removes to Windsor, such as the Lord Treasurers, Secretaries of State, Lord High Chancellor, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the like; and below they have proper offices for business, if they please to order any to be done there.

You mount into the royal apartments, by several back stairs; but the public way is up a small ascent to a flat, or half pace (for I love to make my account speak English) where there are two entries of state, by two large stair-cases, one on the left hand to the royal apartments, and the other, on the right, to St. George's Hall, and the royal chapel.
Before the entrance to these, on either side, you pass through the guard chambers, where you see the walls furnished with arms, and the king's Beef-eaters, as they call the yeomen of the guard,[152] keep their station, or, as it may be called, their main guard. These rooms lead either way, towards the fine lodgings, or towards St. George's Hall, which you please.

In the royal lodgings, there have been so many alterations of furniture, that there can be no entering upon the particular description. In one of those lodgings, the late Queen Mary set up a rich atlas, and chints bed, which, in those times, was invaluable, the chints being of Masslapatan, on the coast of Coromandel,[153] the finest that was ever seen before that time in England; but the rate of those things have suffered much alteration since that time. Also here was, some time before that, the picture of the late Duchess of Portsmouth[154] at full length, a noble piece, and of which 'twas said, King Charles II should say, "T'was the finest painting of the finest woman in Christendom" but our English ladies of Queen Mary's court, were of another opinion, and the Gallery of Beauties, as it was called, which her majesty placed in the water gallery at Hampton Court, shews several as good faces, and as good painting.

[152] The Yeomen Warders of His Majesty's Royal Palace and Fortress the Tower of London, and Members of the Sovereign's Body Guard of the Yeoman Guard Extraordinary, popularly known as the Beefeaters, are ceremonial guardians of the Tower of London. (W)
[153] A region of southeast India bounded by the Bay of Bengal and the Eastern Ghats. The coast is known for its monsoons and turbulent waters. (W)
[154] Louise-Renée de Kérouaille (1649 - 1734) was a mistress of Charles II, and he made her the Duchess of Portsmouth. (W).

In the chimneypiece of one of these apartments, is a piece of needle-work exquisitely fine, performed, as they say, by the Queen of Scots, during the time of her confinement in Fotheringay Castle.[155] There are several family pieces in the chimneypieces, and other parts of those lodgings, that are valuable, because of the persons they represent. But the finery of painting is to come.

These rooms look all out north towards the terrace, and over part of the finest, and richest, vale in the world; for the same vale attending the course of the River Thames, with very little interruption, reaches to, and includes the city of London east, and the city of Oxford west. The river, with a winding, and beautiful stream, gliding gently through the middle of it, and enriching by its navigation, both the land and the people on every side.

It must be confessed, that, as William the Conqueror expresses it in his letter to the monks at Windsor, it was a place fit for the entertainment of kings, so it is; for it seems, by nature, to be formed for a palace; and for delight; all kinds of pleasure and convenience, that any country, at least in England, can afford, are to be found here.

It may be proper here to say something to the beauties and ornaments of St. George's Hall, though nothing can be said equal to what the eye would be witness to; it is surprizing, at the first entrance, to see at the upper end, the picture of King William on horseback, under him, an ascent with marble steps, a balustrade, and a half pace, which, formerly, was actually there, with room for a throne, or chair of state, for the sovereign to sit on, when on public days he thought fit to appear in ceremony.

No man that had seen the former steps or ascent, and had gone up to the balustrade and throne, as I had done, could avoid supposing, they were there still; and as on a casual view, having been absent some years out of the nation, I was going forward towards the end of the hall, intending to go up the steps, as I had done formerly, I was confounded, when I came nearer, to see that the ascent was taken down, the marble steps gone, the chair of state, or throne, quite away, and that all I saw, was only painted upon the wall below the king and his horse; indeed it was so lively, so bright, so exquisitely performed, that I was perfectly deceived, though I had some pretension to judgment in pictures too; nor was my eye alone deceived, others were under the same deception, who were then with me.

When I came to the farther end, and looked from the throne, as I called it, down the hall. I was again surprized, though most agreeably, I confess, by the painting on the side of the hall, which was the representation of Prince Edward's triumph, in imitation of Caesar's glorious entry into Rome, and which was drawn marching from the lower end of the room, to the upper, that is to say, from the door, which is in the corner on the north side of the hall, was now wholly inverted, and the same triumph was performed again; but the march turned just the other way.

That this could be done no other way, but by wiping the whole work out, and painting it all over again, was easy to conclude, seeing it was not done upon cloth, but upon the mere

[155] Fotheringhay Castle was a High Middle Age Norman Motte-and-bailey castle in the village of Fotheringhay 3.5 miles to the north of the market town of Oundle, Northamptonshire. It was the final place of imprisonment of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was tried and executed in the castle in 1587. The castle was dismantled in the 1630s and most of the masonry was removed, leaving only the earthworks. (W)

plaster of the wall, as appeared by the salts of the lime in the wall, having worked out, and spoiled a great piece of the paint; besides, the nature of the thing forbids; for if it had been a canvas, turning it would have been impracticable, for then all the imagery would have stood heels up, unless it had been carried on to the directly opposite part of the hall, and that could not be, because there were the windows, looking all into the inner court of the castle.

The first painting was done by Mr. Varrio,[156] who, after finishing this work, was entertained for 12 years at Burley House,[157] near Stamford, by that great lover of art, and particularly of fine painting, the Earl of Exeter. After which King William entertained him again, and, as they told me, he performed this second painting of the hall, with greater mastership of hand, than he had done the first. The painting of the ceilings generally remain, being finished by the same hand in a most exquisite manner at first.

At the west end of the hall, is the chapel royal, the neatest and finest of the kind in England; the carved work is beyond any that can be seen in England, the altar-piece is that of the institution, or, as we may call it, our Lord's first supper. I remember, that going with some friends to shew them this magnificent palace, it chanced to be at the time when the Dissenters were a little uneasy at being obliged to kneel at the Sacrament; one of my friends, who, as I said, I carried to see Windsor Castle, was a Dissenter, and when he came into the chapel, he fixed his eyes upon the altar-piece with such a fixed, steady posture, and held it so long, that I could not but take notice of it, and asked him, Whether it was not a fine piece? Yes, says he, it is; but, whispering to me, he added, How can your people prosecute us for refusing to kneel at the Sacrament? Don't you see there, that though our Saviour himself officiates, they are all sitting about the table?

I confess it surprized me, and, at first, I knew not what answer to make to him; but I told him, That was not a place for him and I to dispute it, we would talk of it afterwards, and so we did, but brought it to no conclusion, so it is needless to mention it any more here.

After we had spent some hours in viewing all that was curious on this side, we came down to the dungeon, or Round Tower, which goes up a long, but easy, ascent of steps, and is very high. Here we were obliged to deliver up our swords, but nowhere else.

There is nothing curious here. The governor, or constable's lodgings, are very well, and neatly furnished, but nothing extraordinary, especially they will not look so, after seeing the fine lodgings, as above. From this tower, you see St. Paul's Cathedral at London, very plainly. Coming down from hence, we came into the other court, where is the great Chapel of the Garter, and the house or college for the poor knights, as they are called.

The late Duke of Northumberland, who was constable of this castle, met with a very strange, and uncommon accident in coming hither from Stanes[158] in his coach; for being benighted, as we call it in England, the night also very dark, and passing by a place where there are some houses, though not a town, and where the road goes close to the river, whether his coachman

[156] Antonio Verrio (c. 1636 – 15 June 1707) was an Italian painter. He was responsible for introducing Baroque mural painting into England and served the Crown over a thirty-year period. (W)
[157] Burghley was built for Sir William Cecil, later 1st Baron Burghley, who was Lord High Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth I of England, between 1555 and 1587, and modelled on the privy lodgings of Richmond Palace. It was subsequently the residence of his descendants, the Earls, and since 1801, the Marquesses of Exeter. (W)
[158] Staines-upon-Thames is a town on the left bank of the River Thames in Surrey. (Ed)

did not see the water, or mistook it for the water in the road, I know not, but he plunged in the horses, coach and all, into the river, and at a place where the water was exceeding deep, and the bank steep; so that if help had not come immediately from a gentleman's house, which was close to the road, the servants crying out loud enough to alarm them, his grace, and a gentleman who was in the coach with him, had unavoidably perished; and, as it was, he was a considerable time under water, so that he was in the extremity of danger.

I might go back here to the history of the Order of the Garter, the institution of which by King Edward III not only had its original here, but seems to be seated here, as a native of the place; and that this is the place where the ceremonies of it, the instalments, feasts, &c. are always to be performed. But this is done so fully in other authors, and by so many, that it would be falling into that error, which I condemn in others, and making my accounts be, what I resolved, from the beginning, they should not be; namely, a copy of other men's performances. I shall only give you out of Mr. Ashmole,[159] a list of the first knights who had the honour of this Order, and who have been succeeded by so many kings, dukes, and sovereign princes abroad, as well as noble-men, and peers of this kingdom at home. The names of the first knights are as follow.[160]

King Edward III.	Ralph, Earl of Stafford,
His Son, Edward the Black Prince	William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury,
Henry, Duke of Lancaster	Roger Mortimer, Earl of March,
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	John de Lysle,
Peers Capitow de la Bouch	Bartholomew Burghersh,
John de Beauchamp	Hugh Wrotesley,
John de Mohun	Nele Loring,
Hugh Courtenay	John Chandos,
Thomas Holland	James de Audeley,
John de Grey	Otho Holland,
Richard Fitz Simon	Henry Earn,
Miles Stapleton	Sanchet Daubricourt,
Thomas Wale	Walter Paveley, alias Pevrell.

It is true, these were not all noble-men, that is to say, not all peers, neither does the institution confine the order to such; but it is certain, they were all men of great characters and stations, either in the army, or in the civil administration, and such as the sovereign did not think it below him to make his companions; for so they are called.

The lower court, as I mentioned, of the castle, though not so beautiful, for the stately lodgings, rooms of state, &c. is particularly glorious for this fine chapel of the Order, a most beautiful and magnificent work, and which shews the greatness, not only of the Court in those days, but the spirit and genius of the magnanimous founder. The chapel is not only fine within, but the workmanship without is extraordinary; nothing so ancient is to be seen so very beautiful. The chapel of St. Stephen's in Westminster Abbey, called Henry VIIth's Chapel, and King's College Chapel at Cambridge, built by Henry VI are fine buildings; but they are

[159] Elias Ashmole FRS (23 May 1617 - 18 May 1692) was an English antiquary, politician, officer of arms, astrologer and student of alchemy. Ashmole donated most of his collection, his antiquarian library and priceless manuscripts to the University of Oxford to create the Ashmolean Museum.

[160] Full lists of knights of the garter from 1348 are available on the internet so I have not given footnotes to identify those mentioned here. (Ed)

modern, compared to this, which was begun, as by the inscribed dates upon the works appears, in the year 1337.

The coats of arms, and the various imagery &c. even inside and outside, not only of the king, but of several of the first Knights Companions, are most admirably finished, and the work has stood out the injury of time to admiration; the beauty of the building remains without any addition, and, indeed, requiring none.

'Tis observable, that King Edward owns this chapel was begun by his ancestors, and some think it was by King Edward I and that he himself was baptized in it, and that there was a castle built by William the Conqueror also. As to the chapel, which was then called a church, or a convent, King Edward III did not pull down the old building entirely, but he added all the choir to the first model, and several other proper parts for the purposes intended; as houses and handsome apartments for the canons, dignitaries, and other persons belonging to the church, which are generally situated on the north side of the square, out of sight, or rather screened from the common view by the church itself, which dwellings are, notwithstanding, very good, and well accommodated for the persons who are possessors of them; then the king finished it in the manner we now see it. As for the old castle, the building of William the Conqueror, the king pulled it entirely down, even to the very foundation, forming a new building according to the present plan, and which stood, as above, to the time of King Charles II without any alteration.

The establishment for this chapel was very considerable, by the donation of divers subjects, before it was set apart to be the chapel of the Order; the Duke of Suffolk in particular, as appears in Dugdale's Monasticon, gave near three thousand acres of land, nineteen manors, one hundred seventy messuages and tofts, and several advowsons of churches to it, which, with other gifts afterwards, made the revenue above one thousand pounds a year in those days, which was a prodigious sum, as money went at that time.

In the choir are the stalls for the knights of the Order, with a throne for the sovereign; also stalls in the middle of it for the poor knights pensioners, who live in their house or hospital on the south side of the square or court which the church stands in.

Here are to be seen, the banners of the knights who now enjoy the honour of the Garter. When they die, those banners are taken down, and the coat of arms of the deceased knight set up in the place allotted for those arms over the same stall, so that those coats of arms are a living history, or rather a record of all the knights that ever have been since the first institution of the Order, and how they succeeded one another; by which it appears, that kings, emperors and sovereign princes, have not thought it below them to accept of the honour of being Knights Companions of this Order; while, at the same time, it must be noted to the honour of the English Crown, that our kings have never thought fit to accept of any of their Orders abroad, of what kind soever, whether Popish or Protestant; that of the Cordon Blue, or the Cordon Blanc, the Cordon Noir, or the Cordon Rouge, the Golden Fleece of Spain, the Holy Ghost of France, or the Black Eagle of Prussia, or any other; whereas of the Garter, there is an account by the register of the Order, that there are reckoned up of this most noble company,

Eight Emperors of Germany.	One Prince of the House of the King of Bohemia,
Three Kings of Sweden.	Prince Rupert

Five Kings of Denmark.	One Prince of Denmark, Prince George
Two Kings of Prussia.	One Bishop of Osnaburg.
Three Kings of Spain	Five Princes of Lunenburg.
Five Princes of Orange.	One Elector of Brandenburg,
Five Kings of France.	Seven Electors Palatines.
Four Dukes, Peers of France.	Two Electors of Saxony
Two Noblemen of the House of Duras in France, viz. Galliard de Duras, & Lewis de Duras,	Two Dukes of Lorrain Earl of Feverham
One King of Scotland besides James , VI, who became sovereign of the order	Two Dukes of Holstein.
Five Kings of Portugal	Three Dukes of Wirtemberg
Two Grandees of Spain	Two Dukes de Urbino in Italy
One King of Poland	One Duke of Savoy.
Two Kings of Naples	Three Princes of England not Kings, *viz.* Edward the Black Prince, the Duke of Gloucester and Prince Frederick.
One King of Aragon	Three Infants of Portugal

Several kings, and persons of high rank have been buried also in this chapel; as Edward IV and Charles I. Also here is the family repository, or burying ground of the Dukes of Beauford, who are a natural branch of the royal family, by the ancient House of Lancaster; and in the chapel where the vault is there is a very noble monument of the last duke save one.

All the ceremonies observed here in the installment of the knights, are so perfectly and fully set down in Mr. Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter, that nothing can be said, but what must be a copy from him, which, as above, I studiously decline, and therefore refer you to him.

Besides the foreign princes, Companions of this famous Order as above; there is a little galaxy of English nobility, the flower of so many Courts, and so many ages, to whose families the ensigns of the Order have been an honour, and who are not the least of the honour this Order has to boast of.

In the first institution, there was but one duke, namely, the great Duke of Lancaster; but as that order of nobility is since much increased in England, since the days of King Edward III. so in the present list of knights, we find no less than fifteen dukes, including the Prince of Wales, who is also Duke of Cornwall. The list of the present knights are as follow, *viz.*

King George ,	Duke of Kingstone
George Prince of Wales,	Duke of Montague
Duke of York, the king's brother	Duke of Grafton
Prince Frederick	Duke of Dorset
Duke of Cleveland and Southampton	Duke of Rutland
Duke of Somerset	Earl of Lincoln
Duke of Richmond	Earl of Pembroke
Duke of St. Albans	Earl of Berkley
Duke of Devonshire	Earl Paulet
Duke of Argyle	Earl of Peterborough
Duke of Newcastle	Earl of Stafford
Duke of Kent	Earl of Scarborough
	Lord Visc. Townshend.

As the upper court and building are fronted with the fine terrace as above, so the lower court, where this fine chapel stands, is walled round with a very high wall, so that no buildings, if there was room for any, could overlook it, which wall goes round the west end of the court to the gate, which looking south, leads into the town, as the gate of the upper court looks likewise S.E. into the park, which they call the Little Park.

The parks about Windsor are very agreeable, and suitable to the rest; the little park, which is so, only compared to the great park, is above three miles round, the great one fourteen, and the forest above thirty. This park is particular to the Court, the others are open for riding, hunting, and taking the air for any gentlemen that please.

The lodges in those parks, are no more lodges, though they retain the name, but palaces, and might pass for such in other countries; but as they are all eclipsed by the palace itself, so it need only be added, That those lodges are principally beautified by the grandeur of the persons to whom the post of rangers have been assigned, who, having been enriched by other advancements, honours and profitable employments, thought nothing too much to lay out to beautify their apartments, in a place, which it was so much to their honour, as well as conveniency, to reside; such is the lodge, which belongs to Admiral Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough and others.

I cannot leave Windsor, without taking notice, that we crossed the Thames upon a wooden bridge, for all the bridges on the river, between London and Oxford, are of timber, for the conveniency of the barges. Here we saw Eaton College, the finest school for what we call grammar learning, for it extends only to the humanity class, that is in Britain, or, perhaps, in Europe.

The building, except the great school room, is ancient, the chapel truly Gothick; but all has been repaired, at a very great expense, out of the college stock, within these few years.

The gardens are very fine, and extended from the college, down, almost, to the bank of the Thames; they are extremely well planted, and perfectly well kept.

This college was founded by King Henry VI a prince munificent in his gifts, for the encouragement of learning, to profusion; Witness, besides this noble foundation, that of King's College in Cambridge, to which the scholars of Eaton are annually removed

This college has a settled revenue of about five thousand pounds per annum, and maintains as follows.

A provost.

A vice provost, who is also a fellow. Seven fellows, inclusive of the vice provost. Seventy scholars on the foundation, besides a full choir for the chapel, with officers, and servants usual.

The school is divided into the upper and lower, and each into three classes.

Each school has one master, and each master four assistants, or ushers.

None are received into the upper school, ‘till they can make Latin verse, and have a tolerable knowledge of the Greek.

In the lower school, the children are received very young, and are initiated into all school-learning.

Besides the seventy scholars upon the foundation, there are always abundance of children, generally speaking, of the best families, and of persons of distinction, who are boarded in the houses of the masters, and within the college.

The number of scholars instructed here, is from 400 to 550; but has not been under 400 for many years past.

The elections of scholars for the university out of this school, is worth taking notice of. It being a time of jubilee to the school.

The election is once every year and is made on the first Tuesday in August. In order to the election, there are deputed from King’s College in Cambridge, three persons, *viz.* The Provost of King’s College for the time being, with one senior, and one junior poser, fellows of the same college. To these are joined, on the part of Eaton College, the provost, the vice provost, and the headmaster.

These calling the scholars of the upper class, called the sixth class, before them, and examining them in the several parts of their learning, choose out twelve such as they think best qualified, and these are entered in a roll, or list, for the university. The youths thus chosen, are not immediately removed from the school, but must wait till vacancies fall in the said King’s College, to make room to receive them; and as such vacancies happen, they are then called up, as they stand in seniority in the said list, or roll of election.

When a scholar from Eaton, comes to King’s College, he is received upon the foundation, and pursues his studies there for three years, after which, he claims a Fellowship, unless forfeited in the terms of the statutes; that is to say, by marriage, accepting of ecclesiastic preferments, &c. The present governors at Eaton, are,

The Provost, The Reverend and Honourable Dr. Godolphin, Dean of St. Paul’s.
Vice Provost, and Senior Fellow, The Right Reverend Dr. Wiston, Bishop of Exeter.
Second Fellow, The Right Reverend Dr. Waddington, Bishop of Chichester.

Third Fellow, The Reverend Dr. Richardson, Master of Peter House in Cambridge.
Fourth Fellow, The Reverend Dr. Evans.
Fifth Fellow, The Reverend Dr. Carter.
Sixth Fellow, The Reverend and Honourable Mr. Hill, once one of the Lords of the Treasury.
Seventh Fellow, The Reverend Dr. Sleech.
The present masters are Dr. Henry Bland, Head Master and Mr. Francis Goode, Second Master.

N.B. The Provost has a noble house and garden, besides the use of the college gardens, at his pleasure.

And now being come to the edge of Middlesex, which is a county too full of cities, towns, and palaces, to be brought in at the close of a letter, and with which I purpose to begin my next travels; I conclude this letter, and am,

SIR, Your most humble servant.

THE END OF THE FOURTH LETTER