Harrison's Description of England.

A.D. 1577—1587

PART III. THE SUPPLEMENT, § 1.

Harrison's Description of England

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH.

BEING

THE SECOND AND THIRD BOOKS

OF HIS

Description of Britaine and England.

EDITED FROM THE

FIRST TWO EDITIONS OF HOLINSHED'S *CHRONICLE* A.D. 1577, 1587,

BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF *THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY* ETC.

PART III. THE SUPPLEMENT, § 1.

FOUR CHAPTERS OF HARRISON'S FIRST BOOK, AND EXTRACTS FROM CHURCHYARD 1593, 1594, AND JOHN NORDEN 1608, WITH A CHROMO-FOTO-LITHOGRAF OF THE ONLY GENUINE EARLIEST FULL VIEW OF OLD LONDON BRIDGE, AS SHAKSPERE SAW IT, A LARGE VIEW OF THE BEAUTY OF LONDON, AND EDW. VI.'S PROCESSION FROM THE TOWER TO WESTMINSTER IN 1547, VIEWS OF WEST CHEPE IN 1585, AND THE PREACHING AT PAUL'S CROSS IN 1620, AND AN APPENDIX BY W. NIVEN, ESQ., ON ENGLISH HOUSES IN SHAKSPERE'S TIME, WITH 4 ETCHINGS.

PUBLISHT FOR

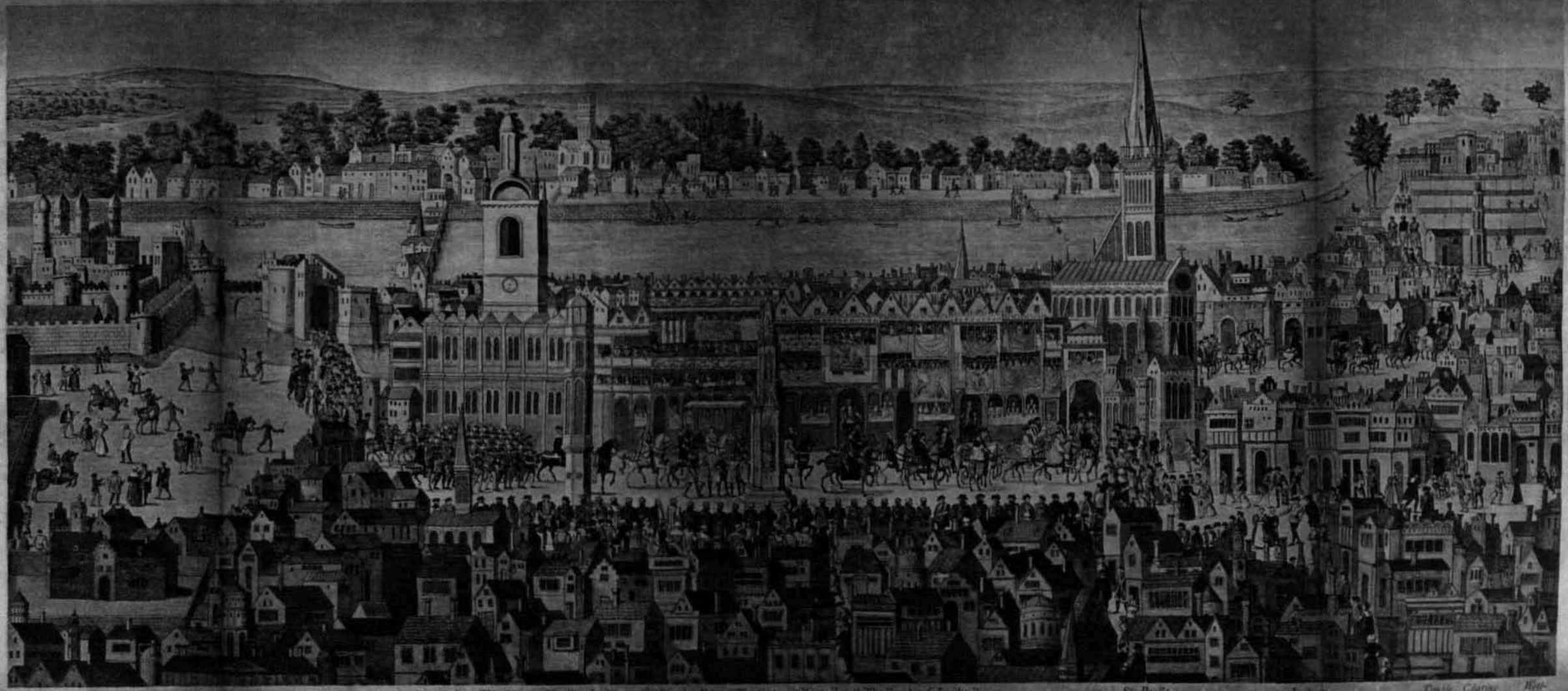
The New Shakspere Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,

LONDON, E.C., 1881.

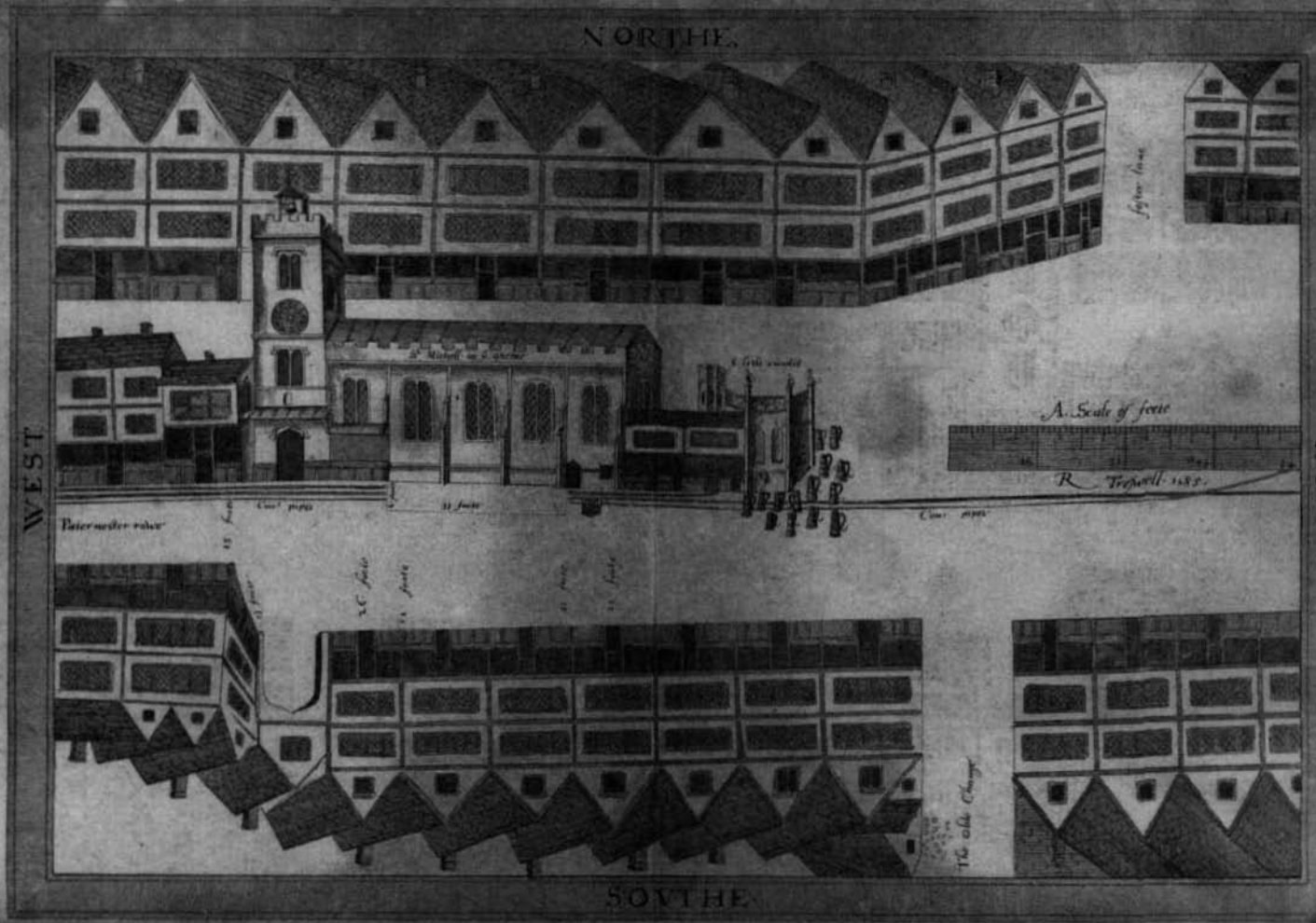
Series VI. No. 8.

BUNGAY: CLAY AND TAYLOR, THE CHAUCER PRESS



THE PROCESSION OF K. EDWARD VI. FROM THE TOWER TO WESTMINSTER, ON FEBRUARY 19TH, 1546-7,

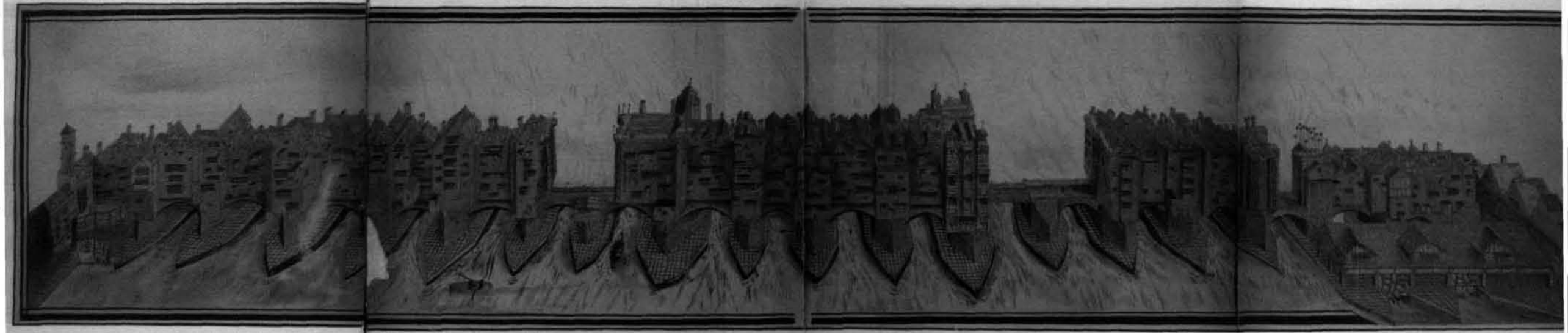
before his Coronation on February 20th.



WEST-CHEAP,

AS IT STOOD ANNO 1585.

From a Drawing in the Archives, by R. Treswell.



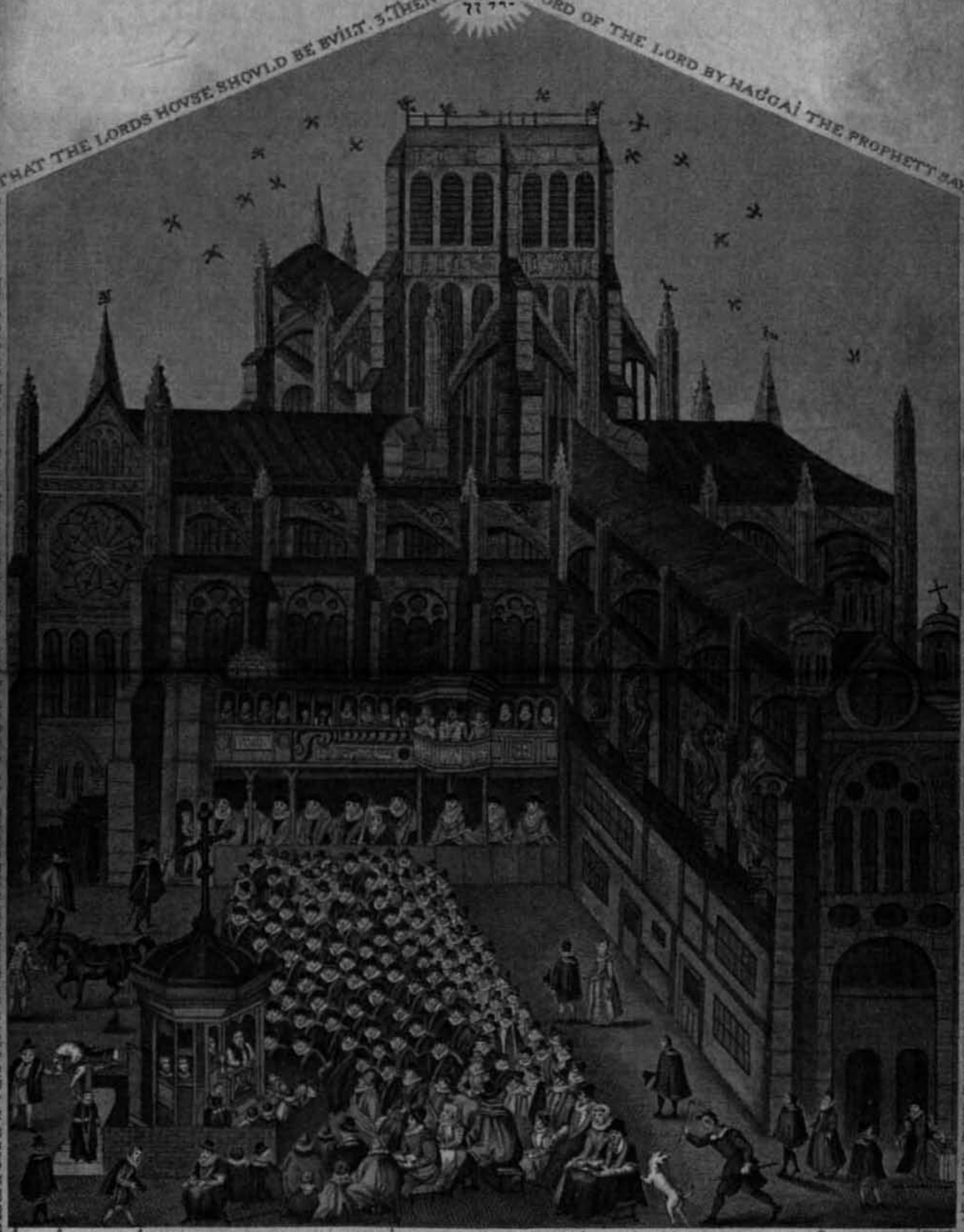
OLD LONDON BRIDGE

as SHAKSPERE saw it about 1600, A.D.,

AFTER 1578, WHEN THE TRAITORS' HEADS WERE REMOV'D TO THE SOUTHWARK GATE. see HARRISON'S DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND, in *Furnivall Pt. I. p. lvi.*

The earliest genuine full view, from a unique drawing in Pepys's Collection in Magdalen College, Cambridge, traced, & photo-chromo-lithograph

for the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY, 1884, by W. Griggs, Elm House, Harvard St. Peckham, S. E.



IT IS WRITTEN; MY HOVSE IS THE HOVSE OF PRAYER: &c;

S^T PAUL'S CROSS.

An accurate delineation, the only Correct Vestige that remains of this Ancient and Curious Object, as it appeared on Sunday the 16^th of March, 1620: at which time, it was visited by King James, the Queen, and Charles, Prince of Wales; attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops, Officers of State, Nobility, Ladies &c &c; Who were received with great Magnificence by Sir William Cockaine, Lord Mayor of London, assisted by the Court of Aldermen, Recorder &c; When a most excellent Sermon was preach'd from a text purposely selected, by his Majesty, (Psalm CII Verse 13 14) by W. John King, Bish. of London; recommending the speedy reparation of the Venerable Cathedral of S^t Paul; which, with its watergoild Vane, and incumbrances of Houses &c. appear on the back and side ground.

This Print is Engraved from an Original Picture, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries London.

London, Published June 4^th 1821, by Rob^t Wilkinson, N^o 58 Cornhill.

TEMPORARY FORETALK TO *HARRISON*,

PART II.

THE Society hasn't money, and I haven't had time, to finish my *Harrison* this year. The First Section of the *Supplement* therefore goes out as it is. The Second Section will, I hope, follow next year, 1882, and will contain, at least, Norden's Map of Westminster, to complete his 'London,' issued in *Harrison*, Part I, 1877, some fine cuts of old Cheshire timber houses promist me by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, author of the '*History of East Cheshire*,' some Illustrative Extracts, such Notes as have accumulated, Hindwords, and an Index to the whole book. I sha'n't try to make the Notes full, as my *Stubbes* Part I has shown that many Notes stop fresh Reprints.

The prezent Section I of the *Supplement to Harrison* contains—1. The four generally-interesting Chapters of the worthy Canon's First Book of his *Description*, the other chapters being almost wholly topographical; 2. Extracts (p. 167—173) from Churchyard's *Challenge*—on the duty of Landlords staying at home in the country, as their fathers did, and helping their neighbours, instead of running up to London and wasting their money on barmaids, fine clothes, gambling and riot;—a bit from Churchyard's *Mirror and Manners of Men*, one page (174), on the evils of the time, 1594; and then several pieces from John Norden's *Surueyors Dialogue*, 1608, on many of the subjects treated by *Harrison* in our Parts I & II, with good bits about the causes of the rise in Prices, and the ambition of every class to get into the one above it, p. 175; on the 'comfortable smoke' of kitchens, p. 178; the quick felling of oaks, p. 184, 189—Harrison's bugbear, Pt. I, p. 343;—the new roots, Carrots, being grown, p. 186; the duty of planting Apple-trees, &c., and making Cider and Perry, p. 188; the Iron-Furnaces and Glass-Kilns in the Wealds of Kent, Surrey, and

Sussex, p. 191; the Supply of Pond-Fish to London, p. 192; London street and stable soil being taken out by the river, p. 194; the 'Paradise' of England, Tandean in Somersetshire, p. 194, &c. (See the list of the Norden subjects, on p. 174.)

As a separate Appendix—to follow Mr. Rendle's in Part II on the Globe Theatre and the Bankside, Southwark—Mr. W. Niven, an accomplisht architect, the author of '*Old Warwickshire Houses*,' '*Old Worcestershire Houses*,' &c., has most kindly written us a Paper on 'English Houses in Shakspere's Time,' with a most valuable list (p. xlii) of the principal Houses built in England in Sh.'s Lifetime, their material, owners, dates, and architects. And as Mr. Niven is also an etcher, and has himself illustrated his own books, he has been good enough to lend us four of his plates—cutting down the Charlecote one to our size—that we may print from them copies to realize the better by eye what he has told us in words. The thanks of all of us are due to Mr. Niven for his so kind help.

But before the Texts describd abuv, cum the large cuts. To take them in order of time:—

1. *The Procession of Edward VI* from the Tower of London, thro' the City, to Westminster, on the day before his Coronation (Feb. 20), namely, on Febr. 19, 1546-7 (see Stowe's *Annales*, 1605, p. 1000). This is from the contemporary picture formerly in the Great Dining Room of Cowdray House, Sussex, burnt with that House in 1793, but engrav'd before for the Society of Antiquaries on a grandly large scale, publisht by them in May 1797, and now reduced for our 4to book by the *héliogravure* process of Dujardin, Paris.

The artist has uzed the frequent license of his craft in representing the Tower as so close to London Bridge, and Bow Church—St. Mary le Bow with its central turret[1]—in the same line as the Bridge. (His fancy Bridge should be compar'd with the real one as shown by the colord Pepys lithograf.) Bankside, Southwark,

[1] Its tower had a turret at each of its 4 corners, and from each turret sprang a flying buttress which supported a fifth and higher turret in and abuv the centre of the tower: see cuts of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xciii, pt. 2, p. 305; Allen's *London* (1828), vol. iii, plate opposite p. 433; and Thornbury's *Old and New London* (Cassell's), i. 337.

is more or less of a vision, tho St. Saviour's Church stands nearly in its right place. The enclos'd building North of the Tower, in the left hand corner of the plate, may be ment for Bassings Hall.

When once started in West Chepe, and past Bow Church, we come to the Standard shown on the right of the De la Serre view of 1638 in our Part II, and then we see *the Beauty of London* (p. 7* Part II), Goldsmith's Row, in all its glory of carvd front, drap't balcony, gold-cupt display, and the young King, Protestant England's hope, under his canopy borne by four nobles on horse-back, just before the beautiful Eleanor Cross, that looks more dumpy in De la Serre's view. (The goldsmiths stand at their doors inviting the King to cum in.) Thence along Chepe—lined on the North by Citizens in their guilds and livery—the procession passes under what is, I suppose, a triumfal arch (with a balcony at top) at the corner of Old Change (and not the Paul's Gate shown in our West-Cheap cut of 1585), round the Cathedral which stands for St. Paul's,[1] and then thro Lud Gate, along the fore-shortend Fleet Street, thro Temple Bar, and along the Strand or river-bank, leaving Charing Cross on the right, down Whitehall, to Westminster Palace and Hall in the distance.

Newgate Street is nearly in the same line as Chepe; Aldersgate Street (with St. Martin's le Grand) is the next, east of it, then comes Gutter Lane, opposite Paul's Gate; while east of that, near the Eleanor Cross, is Wood St. There are men on the roofs of the Chepe houses, as in De la Serre's view; and also in the Gallery of St. Paul's Steeple. Considering the great reduction of our print from the large size of the Antiquaries' engraving, I am very well satisfied with it.

2. Next in date, 1585, comes a héliogravure of Wilkinson's copy of R. Treswell's View and Plan of West Chepe, showing the houses much lower than in either the Edw. VI or De la Serre view, but giving the old Church of 'St. Michell in ye querne,' that is, the

[1] A tall steeple is right, as the original steeple was not struck by lightning till June 4, 1560: *Harrison Forewords*, Pt. I, p. liv. Stowe's Spaniard is not shown. He walkt on a rope from the Steeple to the Dean's Gate, and "tumbled and plaied many pretty toies, whereat the king and the nobles had good pastime."

Corn-market,[1] at the end of Paternoster Row, with 'y^e lytle cundit,' its taps south and east, and its famous hoopt pots to draw water into: these, water-carriers bore to the citizens' houses. See the extract from Rathgeb, in *Harrison Forewords*, Part I, p. lxxxvi.

3. I can't give any exact date to our fine Chromo-Foto-lithograf of the colourd View of the Western front of OLD LONDON BRIDGE, on vellum, in Pepys's fine Folio collection of views, &c., "*London and Westminster*, I. 246, 247, C.," in his Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge. It must be after Sept. 1579 when the Southwark Tower was finisht, and the Traitors' heads were remov'd to it,[2] which had theretofore stood on the Tower at the Northern end of the Drawbridge, on the site of which Nonesuch House was built.

It must be after 1584 when the last-nam'd house was probably erected. It must be before the fire of 1632-3. For all particulars concerning the old Bridge, I refer our Members to the best authority, the *Chronicles of London Bridge*, by an Antiquary (James Thomson), in the Family Library, Tegg, 2nd ed. 1839. Possibly we may have a Paper on our litho in my next Part of *Harrison*.

The Bridge was begun in 1176, and finisht A.D. 1209. It had at first 20 arches and 19 piers, and then, as in our View, 19 arches, and 18 piers in the river-bed.[3] One of each must have been turnd into bank on the London side. Between the Middlesex shore and the 1st pier from the North were built, in 1582, the Water-works, with a Tower on land, and undershot wheels in the river, for supplying Thames St., New Fish St., Grasse (or Gracechurch) St., Leadenhall, &c. with water. On the Eighth

[1] "In ancient records it is called St. Michael *ad Bladum, i. e.* at the Corn (which posterity has corruptly pronounced Querne); because at the time this church was founded, thereon was a corn-market that reached up from it, westward, to the shambles, or flesh-market; from which situation it was sometimes called St. Michael *de Macello*." . . —Allen, iii. 575.

[2] From this fact the Southwark Tower was afterwards cald the Traitors' Gate.

[3] See N. Hawksmore's *Short Historical Account of London Bridge*, 1736. Vertue gives 1 more arch and pier: see *Chronicles of L. Bridge*, p. 60-1.

Pier in our View—the 10th in Vertue's list—was the Bridge Chapel, dedicated to Thomas à Beket, and thence cald St. Thomas of the Bridge—no doubt dear to Chaucer and all Canterbury pilgrims of old days. This pier was 35 ft. in breadth and 115 from point to point; whilst the building itself was 60 ft. in length, by 20 ft. broad, and stood over the parapet on the Eastern side of the Bridge —see it sticking out on the East or top side of our View—leaving a pathway on the West, about a quarter of the breadth of the Pier, in front of the Chapel.[1]

On the 12th pier in our drawing from the North, and on the site of the Drawbridge Tower on which Traitors' heads were in earlier days spiked, was built, in or about 1584,[2] what Harrison calls "a pleasaunt and beautifull dwelling house," Pt. I, p. lvi, and Thomson, "the most splendid and curious building which adornd London Bridge at this time . . the famous NONESUCH HOUSE, so called because it was constructed in Holland, entirely of wood, and, being brought over in pieces, was erected in this place with wooden pegs only, not a single nail being used in the whole fabric. It stood . . at the Northern entrance of the Drawbridge; and its situation is even yet pointed out to you by the 7th and 8th arches of London Bridge, from the Southwark end, being still called the Draw Lock and the Nonesuch Lock.[3] On the London side of the Bridge, the Nonesuch House was partly joined to numerous small wooden dwellings, of about 27 feet in depth, which hung over the parapet on each side, leaving, however, a clear space of 20 feet in the centre; though, over all these, its carved gables, cupolas, and gilded vanes, majestically towered. . . Like most of those other buildings, this celebrated edifice also overhung the East and West sides of the Bridge; and there presented to the Thames two fronts of scarcely less magnificence than it exhibited to Southwark and the City; the columns, windows, and carving, being similarly splendid. . . Its Southern front only, however, stood perfectly unconnected with other erections, that being entirely free for about 50 ft. before it, and present-

[1] *Chronicles of the Bridge*, p. 61-2. The Chapel is fully describ'd in p. 61-8.

[2] Coventry Accounts: "1585. Paid to Durram the paynter, to bye Coulors to paynte the Vawte at the Maiors palace . . in oyle Colers substancially, the greate posts in jasper Collur, as *the newe house on London Bridge ys*." . . *Chronicles*, p. 254.

[3] This is right by our View. If then the Bridge had originally 1 more arch and pier than our View shows, they must have been taken up on the North or London side by the Waterworks or somehow else.

ing the appearance of a large building projecting beyond the Bridge on either side; having a square tower at each extremity, crowned by short domes, or Kremlin spires, whilst an antiquely-carved gable arose in each centre. The whole of the front, too, was ornamented with a profusion of transom casement windows, with carved wooden galleries before them; and richly sculptured wooden panels and gilded columns [see the gilt capitals, &c. in our View] were to be found in every part of it. In the centre was an arch, of the width of the Drawbridge, leading over the Bridge; and above it, on the South side, were carved the Arms of St. George, of the City of London, and those of Elizabeth, France and England quarterly, supported by the Lion and Dragon."

I wonder what Shakspere thought of it as he crost over from the Globe to London. No doubt thought it grander than his Clopton Bridge at Stratford, but perhaps wisht all the fine buildings and shops were cleard off so that he coud look better at the fine old river rushing along, and sniff the fresh breeze cuming up from the sea. It was no doubt from looking over this Nonesuch or the more Northern gap in the Bridge houses, that he got his 238th stanza of *Lucrece*, l. 1667—1673:

> "As through an arch, the violent roaring tide
> Outruns the eye that doth behold his haste,
> Yet, in the eddy boundeth, in his pride,
> Back to the strait that forst him on so fast;
> In rage sent out, recall'd in rage, being past:
> Even so his sighs, his sorrows make a saw,
> To push grief on, and back the same grief draw."

The Sterlings which stuck out beyond the Piers—and were probably added for strength's sake after the Bridge was made and built on—kept the stream in such narrow bounds, that the rush thro them at low tide must have been tremendous, and the shooting of the arches very dangerous. Norden's view of the Bridge shows a boat upset, and its occupants in the water, and the *Chronicles* gives, at p. 172, an account of the capsizing of the Duke of Norfolk's barge in 1428, from the Harleian MS. 565, leaf 87 back. (See Stowe's *Annales*, 1605, p. 605: 30 persons were drownd.) The wherry going thrô' the Bridge under the 8th arch in our View, seems to have no room for its sculls, and would either have to be punted along, or pusht or towd by the side of the sterling: compare Norden's view. (The buckets thrown by ropes from the houses to get water under the

10th and 11th arches, and the angler on the 15th sterling, will be noted, as also that the artist hasn't put any pier or sterling under the eastern side of the houses at the Bridge gaps.)

Well, after Nonesuch House cums the wooden Drawbridge, still raisable in Shakspere's time[1] to let masted or big boats thro'; and then the solitary walker and the horse and cart crossing Londonwards. At the Southern end of the next block, and separated from the Southwark Tower and Gate or Traitors' Gate by the 3rd arch from the Southwark side, was the 'beautiful and chargeable piece of work, and having all its fabric above the Bridge formed of timber,' which Thomson (*Chronicles of L. Br.*, p. 246 7, 250-1) describes from Stow as built seemingly at the same time as the Southwark Tower or Gate, from Aug. 28, 1577, to Sept. 1579. He says, "The structure consisted of four circular turrets, connected by curtains, and surmounted by battlements, containing a great number of transom casements; within which, having their roofs and chimneys rising above the Tower, were several small habitations, whilst beneath was a broad covered passage; the building itself projecting considerably over each side of the Bridge, the width of the carriage-way at this part being about 40 feet."—p. 250-1.

On the Traitors' Gate are 14 heads,[2] and the Tower is flankt on each side by buildings. Then cum the Southwark Corn-Mills, built in or about 1588, Armada year, and taking up the last two arches on the Southern side of the Bridge; and at length Bankside begins.

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[1] It seems not to have been made stationary "till after the publication of the last ancient edition of Stow's *Survey* in 1633, fol."—*Chronicles*, p. 331.

[2] There were pleasanter things as well to see on the Bridge, besides the shops, &c. In 1588, when Shakspere *may* have been in London, Stow says, *Annales*, 1605, p. 1259-1260:

Ensignes taken from the Spaniards, & shewed at Paules crosse.

"The eight of September, the preacher at Paules crosse mooued the people to giue God thanks for the ouerthrow of our enemies the Spaniards, and there were shewed eleuen ensignes or banners taken in the Spanish ships by our men: these ensignes were set vpon the lower battlements of Paules Church, before the preacher and the audience, (which was great,) all sauing one streamer, wherein was an image of our Lady, with her sonne in her armes &c, and this was held in a mans hand ouer the pulpit. And the same banners were on the next morrow hanged on *London Bridge* towards Southwarke, where then was kept our Lady faire, for all beholders, to their great reioycing."

All the historical and other cram about the old Bridge I must leave readers to get up from its *Chronicles* and the known Histories of London. Ever since I read about the Pepys view of it in Thomson —and that may be over 30 years ago—I wanted to see it and have it copied; and ever since I saw it, some 13 years ago, my desire to get it reproduced was strengthend. At last, thro Mr. A. S. B. Miller of the Cambridge University Library, and the Rev. F. Gunton of Magdalen, Pepys Librarian, a chance was given me. Photographing was tried, but the old vellum and the faded colours were too much for the camera—tho its failure was not so complete as in the attempt to take the Andrea del Sarto picture in the Pitti Palace at Florence, which inspired Browning's touching poem cald by the painter's name.—There was nothing for it but to send Mr. Griggs's son up to Cambridge, and let him, in the few hours daily that Mr. Gunton could spare, make a careful facsimile[1] of the Pepys drawing, and then fotograf that on to the stone, and print it in 13 tints. This Mr. Griggs has done, and he and we may be congratulated on the result. Our warmest thanks are due to Mr. Gunton for his kindness, and to Mr. Miller for his good offices, in thus securing the publication, for the first time, of one of the most eagerly sought for and valuable representations of the Old Bridge, so long one of the wonders of England, which Chaucer, Shakspere, Milton, Cromwell, and all our Worthies must have crost, and which we can now see as Shakspere saw it.

The original is rightly describ'd by Thomson (*Chronicles*, p. 259) as a "very old drawing . . a most fair and interesting view of the Western side, as it appeared about the time of Elizabeth, or James I., delicately drawn with a pen, slightly shaded, coloured and gilded, but all faded by time, and nearly worn out by having been folded in two, from the continual friction of the surfaces. It measures about 24¼ inches, by 4⅞ inches; and is now contained in the portfolio marked '*London and Westminster*, I. 246, 247, C.' As the Bridge is represented with the Northern end in a perfectly entire state, it must have been drawn anterior to the great conflagration which destroyed it [the N. end] in 1632-33. . . From the minute and careful manner in which it is drawn, it may certainly be esteemed as peculiarly authentic."

[1] I had the 'rub' on the 3rd arch left as it is, and the top and foot lines broken at the fold of the folio volume the View is now in.

Thinking that our Members would like an unfolded copy of this Pepys view of the Bridge, either to frame or put in a Portfolio, our Committee has decided to post a copy round a roller to every Member.

4. Last cums the *Pauls Cross* view of 1620, engrav'd for Wilkinson's *Londinia* in 1811 from one part of the very quaint and interesting triptych still hanging on the staircase of the Antiquaries' grand rooms in Burlington House. James I, with his Queen on his right, and their son Prince Henry on his left, fronts the onlooker in a kind of pulpit jutting out of the Gallery. The "unsteepled Tower [of old St. Paul's], and incumberance of Houses, &c. appear on the back, and side grounds;" and the inevitable dog,[1] getting lasht, in the foreground. Dr. John King, Bishop of London, is in the Cross-pulpit. He it is whose York sermons on Jonah in 1594 (publ. 1618) contain the passage (p. 36) so often cited on the storms and pestilence of that year, as confirming the 1594 date of the play (as is suppozed), on account of Titania's allusions to that disastrous season and 'progeny of evils' in her reproof of Oberon, *M. N. D.*, II. i. 87—114. The King's visit was to hear the Sermon, and view the dilapidated Church, which he was anxious to have repaird and resteepld. But his zeal came to nothing. He appointed a Commission, on which he put his favourite Inigo Jones, whom he had brought from Denmark. Stone was collected, but the money wanted (£22,536) was not raisd; and finally James's favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, borrowd the stone for his Strand Palace; and from part of it was built 'that fine water-gate still existing in the Thames Embankment Gardens.'—Thornbury, *Old and New London*, i. 245, col. 2. For Latimer and all the fillers good and true—and others bad and false—of the Paul's Cross pulpit, the tumults there, &c., and the history of the old Cathedral, I refer the reader to his London books, and wish him a Happy New Year.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3, *St. George's Square, N. W., Dec.* 27, 1881

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[1] He always went to church in old days, as he does to races now See the old Churchwardens' Accounts for turning him out.

P.S. Some two years ago, Mr. F. C. Penrose, the architect of St. Paul's, discoverd the site of Paul's Cross in the enclosure on the N.W. of the Cathedral, and read a Paper on the site before the Soc. of Antiquaries, partly with reference to their Picture and the engraving of it. As Mr. Penrose's Paper has not yet been publisht in the *Archæologia*, he—being one of our set of Ragged-schoolers, &c. under the late F. D. Maurice—has sent me the following remarks on our engraving.

"It does not give, nor does it pretend to give, the architecture of old St. Paul's accurately. And as respects the situation, it shows a greater distance between the Cross and the Church than a photograph from the same general point of view would show it; but there is no serious fault to be found with the general placing of the Cross."

P.S. As to the Cross in Chepe, p. 3†, I can't make out whether it was pulld down and rebuilt in 1468, or only repaird and perhaps alterd: the latter, I suppoze to be the case. As to 1600, Stow says, *Annales*, 1605, p. 1405:

Crosse in Cheape repayred

"The Crosse in West Cheape of London, was by commaundement of the Queene, and letters from her Maiesties honourable counsell, to Sir William Rider, then Lord Maior, partly repaired, the old Crosse on the top being rotted, was taken downe, a new Crosse of timber was framed and set vp, covered with Lead, and guilded; the body of the Crosse downeward, was clensed of dust, &c."

Harrison's Description of England.

A.D. 1577—1587.

APPENDIX II.

NOTES
ON ENGLISH HOUSES IN SHAKSPERE'S TIME.

By W. NIVEN,

AUTHOR OF 'OLD WARWICKSHIRE HOUSES,' ETC.

In considering the various types of dwelling-house such as Shakspere saw around him, and may have frequented, we can hardly confine ourselves entirely to an examination of the architecture of his own day only. His was a period of great change and progress in house-building, and of great activity in the practice of it, owing to the prosperous times; but, under any circumstances, a new fashion in building cannot be established suddenly, and the great change that took place in Elizabeth's reign was more observable in the mansions of the great, where leading architects, fresh from Italy, were employed, than in the mass of dwellings throughout the country; and Shakspere was probably as familiar with the houses and other buildings of the fifteenth century as with those erected in his own—in the same way as, at the present day, in small country towns particularly, we may find more dwellings of the last century, or older, than of our own. Though these 'notes,' therefore, are intended to refer mainly to house-building as it was practised in Shakspere's time, we must glance briefly at the older structures around him, and note the advance which was made in domestic comfort and convenience.

Excluding the feudal strongholds from our list, for in Shakspere's day men were at liberty, as has been said, 'to sacrifice strength to convenience, and security to sunshine,' we may divide the dwellings of the day into five classes:—1. The *great mansion*, such as was built by a few of the wealthier nobles, or for the occasional residence of the sovereign, of which class Burghley may be mentioned as a magnificent example. 2. The *large manor-house*, such as was occupied by the larger landed proprietors. 3. The *lesser manor-house*, a very numerous class. 4. The *farm-house*. 5. The *cottage*.

Of the dwellings of the peasant, very little has been told us by

contemporary writers, and cottages of that time were so devoid of such distinctive 'detail' by which archæologists recognize more important buildings, that it is difficult to put a date upon them from their own evidence. Great improvement seems to have been introduced into these humble dwellings in Shakspere's time, for Harrison,[1] writing about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, tells us that one great change noted by 'old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine . . . . is the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their yoong daies there were not above two or three, if so manie, in most uplandish towns of the realme, (the religious houses, and manour places of their lords alwaies excepted . . .) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat' I think we may suppose that Harrison included the better sort of cottages, as well as yeomen's houses, in this description; but no doubt there were still in every village many miserable huts without any permanent subdivision of their internal space, and, instead of a properly-constructed chimney corner and flue in masonry or brickwork, nothing but a hole in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. Of such, happily, no examples remain, but the better class of cottage of that time may still be seen. Except where stone was specially abundant, and easily worked, these were generally built of timber, and the 'panes' or panels filled in with lath and plaster; generally with an upper floor for one or two sleeping-rooms, lighted by small dormer windows that seemed to nestle in the thatch. Such cottages must be familiar to all, for if not actually of the date we are speaking of, as many are, the type hardly changed till our own day; but it must be remembered that it is the fittest only, and most substantial, that have been preserved.

The yeoman's house and farm-house of the time of Elizabeth and earlier may also be studied from existing specimens, but this class has perhaps undergone more alteration in succeeding generations than any other. The better class of them contained, generally, a *hall*, which was the largest room, and served as dining-room both for the family and farm servants, and was entered either directly through the outside door, or through a porch; a *parlour*, often entered from the hall, and arranged with some regard to privacy; *kitchen* and other offices on the ground-floor, and bed-chambers above.

Of the ordinary *manor-house* numerous instances remain in all parts of the country. They have frequently been converted to farms, or

[1] *Description of Britaine*, 1577, Book II. chap. xii. Reprinted for the Society, 1877. Ed. F. J. Furnivall.

divided into cottages, but they often owe their preservation to this change; for when they have remained the residence of their owners, it has rarely happened that, through so many generations, they have escaped being enlarged and improved out of all recognition. Houses of this class built during Elizabeth's reign were not, as a rule, fortified in any way. The necessity for such protection had ceased, and though we may often find a house of this date surrounded by a moat, it will probaby be found that it occupied the site of an older building. The lesser manor-house, or ordinary *hall-house*, often consisted only of a simple parallelogram under one roof, which was perhaps broken by gablets in front; or it may have had small wings at its extremities, with a projecting porch in the centre. A court-yard was often enclosed in front of the house by walls, with an arched entrance opposite the porch or chief entrance, of which a good specimen remains at Bredon's Norton, co. Worcester; or the enclosure was partly flanked by stabling or other outbuildings. In addition to the rooms contained in the better sort of farm-house and esquire's house, there were here often a private dining-room, buttery, pantry, cellar, state bed-chamber, and frequently, upon the upper floor, a long and narrow *gallery*, sometimes partly formed in the roof, and which seems to have been used for exercise and games, and was a delight for children in wet weather. Sometimes they contained a family portrait-gallery, as at Stanford, Worcester,[1] and in the large houses the gallery was developed to great dimensions. Of the class we are now considering there is a good instance at Meer Hall, near Droitwich, a timber building. Architectural treatment and decoration become more noticeable in houses of this class The exterior was generally plain, except that prominence was often given at this time to the entrance doorway or porch by the application of one of the newly-imported 'orders.' The windows were still divided with mullions and transoms, and glazed in small leaded squares or lozenges, with coats of arms in painted glass in the windows of some of the chief rooms. Of the internal decoration Harrison[2] tells us: 'The wals of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherin either diuerse histories, or hearbes, beasts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seeled with oke of our owne, or wainscot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the rooms are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close

[1] In this instance the portraits are on large panels lining the wall, the ladies being on one side the room and the men on the other.

[2] Book II, chap. xii. P. 235 of Reprint, 1877.

than otherwise they would be.' Parlours had now begun to be carpeted in good houses, a luxurious advance from the rushes with which the floors had formerly been strewn. 'Tilles' or settles, such as are still found in farm-houses and country inns, seem then to have been common fittings in many rooms in houses of a better class. A fine carved one is, or was, at Combe St. Nicholas, Somerset.

Of our second class, the *large manor-house*, a volume might be written, but we must restrict ourselves to some brief notes. Several specimens of this class are included in the list which will be found appended. But first let us refer to a good representative house, which was completed about twenty-five years before Shakspere was born. In the *History and Antiquities of Hengrave*, by John Gage, 1822, we have a good account of the hall as it was in its integrity, and he prints an old inventory of the different rooms and their contents. It was begun by Sir Thos. Kytson about 1525 and completed 1538, and was of quadrangular form, the court being entered through a handsome gate-house flanked by octagonal turrets. The main building had similar but smaller turrets at the outside angles, and was crowned with a battlement. It was surrounded by a moat, and beyond the moat was formerly an *outer court*, round which were arranged stables for the 'horses of pleasure,' and other offices, with a lodge in the centre for keepers and falconers; but this outer court was destroyed in the seventeenth century. At some distance to the east and west were detached buildings—the dovecote, the grange, great barn, mill, forge, the great stable, &c., separate kennels for the hounds and spaniels, and mews for the hawks. A cloister or corridor passed round three sides of the inner court. The inventory above referred to is dated 1603, and includes the following chief rooms:

p[e] Hall.	p[e] Closet to the Chappell.
„ Chamber where the musicyons playe.	„ Chappell chamber.
„ Greate chamber.	„ Gallerye at the Tower.
„ Dyning chamber.	„ Long Gallerye over y[e] Dyning ch.
„ Winter Parlor.	„ Wardrope (coats, clokes, &c.).
„ Summer Parlor.	„ Sadlers shopp.
„ Armorye.	„ Nether Still ho. and Upper Still House.
„ Cheife chamber.	
„ Chappell.	

The gate-houses of Henry VIII.'s time were particularly splendid. They were commonly placed, as at Hengrave, in the centre of the chief front, and were often ennobled with lofty turrets, both on the outer and inner sides of the front building. That at Coughton, Warwick,[1] is a

[1] *Illustrations of Old Warwickshire Houses*, 1878, by W. Niven.

fine example. In Elizabeth's reign, as, except in the largest mansions, the quadrangular form was very generally abandoned, the central gateway in the main building became unnecessary; but instead of abolishing the gate-house, it was now made a detached building, standing in front of the house, at from fifty to a hundred yards distance, and served rather as a stately lodge, though the upper floor was often used for entertainments. The finest detached gate house to a private house of the date is perhaps that at Tixall, Stafford, built about 1580, where there are three floors, the building being decorated outside with three of the classic orders. At Charlecote (see the accompanying plate) and at Westwood, near Droitwich, are also genuine specimens of detached gate-houses of Shakspere's day. Though not meant as a defence against a more formidable foe, that at Charlecote, with the sunk fence and enclosing wall, was evidently meant to keep out a party of thieves or marauders, the Avon forming a natural defence on the other side.

Andrew Boorde, 'of physicke doctour,' seems to have been a sanitary reformer of his day, and about 1547 published some very sensible advice (which does not seem to have been generally acted upon) on house-building.[1] The arrangement of the rooms recommended is what we commonly find: 'Make the hall,' he says, 'under such a fashyon, that the parloure be anexed to the hed of the hall. And the buttery and pantry be at the howse end of the hall, the seller under the pantry, set somwhat abase; the kytchen set abase from the buttery and pantry, comynge with an entry by the wall of the buttery, the pastry-howse and the larder-howse annexed to the kytchen. Than devyde the lodgynges by the cyrcuyte of the quadryvyall courte, and let the gate-howse be opposyte or against the hall-dore standynge abase, and the gate-howse in the mydle of the fronte entrynge into the place: let the pryve chamber be anexed to the great chamber of estate, with the other chambers necessarye for the buyldynge, so that many of the chambers may have a prospecte into the chappell.' He advised that the stables, slaughter-house, and dairy should be a quarter of a mile from the house; that there should be a fresh spring to the moat, and that the latter should be 'skowryd and kept clene from mud and wedes. And in no-wyse let the fylth of the kytchyn descende into the mote.' The arrangement of the rooms and offices for a large house recommended by Boorde were mainly carried out in Shakspere's days, except that the quadrangular

[1] The Boke for to / lerne a man to be wyse in / buyldynge of his howse for / the helth of the body and to hol/de quyetnes for the helth / of his soule and body. (Another edition reprinted by the E. E. Text Soc., 1870. Edited by Mr. Furnivall.)

form, with one or more inner courts, became almost confined to the largest mansions. The chief advances made were in increase of private family rooms and bed-rooms, and notably in staircases, which, from being generally inconvenient winding stone stairs, were now constructed of oak, and in the better houses made spacious and handsome. This development of the staircase naturally resulted from the growth of the upper floors. The great chamber, or withdrawing-room, and other chief rooms being placed on the first floor, necessitated a dignified approach to them. The chief apartments became more generally decorated than before. Most elaborate chimney-pieces, often reaching to the ceiling, occur, and the highly-ornamented panelled ceilings, which are so characteristic of the time, show the advance that was made in plaster-work. The predominating taste or affectation for Greek and Roman art, and the classical authors, appeared largely in the decorations of the more costly houses. A series of busts or medallions of Roman emperors were frequently introduced in a façade, and in the panels of chimney-pieces, and elsewhere, are often to be found quaint representations both of Biblical and classical story.

Of the largest houses and royal residences, forming Class I. of our subdivision, we have, of course, more written descriptions and drawings, contemporary and later, than of any others ; and from old plans, inventories, &c., we are able to see how the various rooms were appropriated. Two or three of the most notable buildings may be singled out for special comment. Audley End, Saffron Walden (begun 1603), by Bernard Jansen, was perhaps the most extensive of them all. It seems to have been constructed with a view of eclipsing everything that had till then been attempted. A model was procured from Italy at a cost of £500, and the total cost of the buildings is said to have been £190,000. An excellent plan and view of the place, as it was originally, may be seen in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II. The main building (most of which still remains) was arranged round a court, but there was also a great outer quadrangle, which was first entered through a central archway. This great court (destroyed by Sir John Vanbrugh) was surrounded by buildings less in height than the inner court, had on each side an arcade, and at the upper end, opposite the entrance, a paved terrace, whence two porches led into the main building. On the garden side two wings projected, one of which was occupied by the chapel. The gallery was 226 feet in length. The exterior was of fine wrought stone, with columns, &c., of marble.

Buckhurst, Sussex, built by the Earl of Dorset, and long destroyed, was another quadrangular building of great extent. We instance this because

there is an interesting autograph plan (preserved in the Soane Museum) by its architect, Thorpe, which explains how the various rooms were allotted. This had not the stately approach of Audley End, but it lay more compactly, and contained at least as many rooms. There does not seem to have been a *porte cochére*, or means of driving into the quadrangle. Included within the house were a tennis court and three small courts for light. There was a square turret at each external angle, and each front was of symmetrical but slightly varying design. The plan shows the old arrangement of hall, entered from the porch through 'the screens,' with, on the other side, the pantry, buttery, kitchen, &c., 'set abase;' and, approached from the upper end of the hall, the chapel, parlour, great chamber, &c., the chief departure from the old plan being that the withdrawing-room was upon the first floor, and approached by a spacious staircase. But the most striking feature in the plan is the number of separate suites of rooms set apart for guests. On the ground plan alone six sets of rooms, consisting of about three apartments, with a staircase adjoining, are marked on the plan 'a nobleman's lodging,' and three other large rooms 'officers' lodgings.' The gallery, occupying the whole length of the terrace front above some of these suites, seems to have been planned to be about 250 feet long.

Hatfield, and Holland House, Kensington, may be mentioned as good instances of the newer plan, where the quadrangle was abandoned and the general plan was in the form of a half H or an E. In the latter of these houses the tendency appears to reduce the hall to what it has since become—a passage to other more private rooms, the entrance doorway being placed in the centre of the side, as also at Aston Hall, Warwickshire, and elsewhere, instead of its leading into the screened-off space at the lower end of the hall. At Hatfield the hall was planned quite on the old lines, with bay at the dais end, and is fifty feet long, and thirty wide.

Elizabeth made additions and improvements to Windsor Castle, as a contemporary, Harrison, tells us in his interesting *Description of Britaine*,[1] already in the members' hands. 'After him' (Edward III.) 'diverse of his successors have bestowed exceeding charges upon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the queenes maiestie now living, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed upon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the form of building used in our daies (which is more for pleasure, than for either profit or safeguard).

In reviewing the general character of the English Renaissance of

[1] Book II. chap. xv. P. 269 of Reprint, 1877.

Elizabeth's reign, it may perhaps be truly described as, artistically, a bad and mongrel style; but if the style were bad, some very able architects fortunately practised it, and have left us many remarkable monuments of their skill. The Renaissance wave, which took its origin in Italy, and, travelling to France, produced that elegant and sumptuous style known as that of *François premier*, moved thence rather tardily to England. The Gothic tradition here was not quickly abandoned, and it was only by grafting the exotic plant upon the old native stock that a healthy and vigorous growth could be obtained. Indeed, during the succeeding reign, there was a decided though unsuccessful attempt made to re-establish the dethroned Gothic, but the genius of Inigo Jones then carried all before it, and enabled him to supplant all former styles with his latest importations from Italy. One of the worst faults of Elizabethan architecture in that age of 'conceits' was caprice. For instance, John Thorpe, who seems to have had the largest practice of his day, has left us, amongst his most interesting autograph plans (now in the Soane Museum), one of a house designed for himself, the general plan of which was determined not by any considerations of fitness or convenience, but made to form his initials **I T** in two blocks, only connected by means of a gallery, or covered passage.[1] Longford Castle, Wilts, is of triangular form, with a great round tower at each external angle, and small stair turrets in the inner angles of the central court, considerable ingenuity being shown in making the best of an unnecessarily awkward plan. An amateur, Sir Thos. Tresham, built a lodge at Rushton, of which, not only the plan, but every feature, was designed in the form of an equilateral triangle; and another house in the same county, Lyveden New Building, which was in the form of a Greek cross. Perhaps, however, these last may be looked upon rather as the results of individual eccentricity than characteristic of the age. A very frequent plan for the chief front of a mansion of the time was to have a small projection (generally containing the porch) in the centre, and boldly projecting wings at the two extremities, thus forming the letter **E**, and it has been commonly supposed that this form was chosen out of compliment to the queen. Whether it were so or not, it is undoubtedly a very effective arrangement, and one that was used as much in the succeeding reign. On the other hand, the Elizabethan architects showed great

[1] *Upon the plan is written:*

'Thes 2 letters I & T
ioyned together as you see,
Js ment for a dwelling house for me,
John Thorpe.'

invention and science in working, not only in a new style, but in leading the way to numerous domestic refinements hitherto unknown, and providing, in the great houses, such stately suites of rooms as have hardly been surpassed to this day. In re-modelling buildings of an older type, and adapting them to the new mode of living and entertaining, they also displayed great ingenuity. The castles of Kenilworth and Dudley, to mention no more, are good instances of their skill in this respect.

In considering who were the leading architects in Shakspere's time we must not forget the great influence which Lord Bacon and Sir Henry Wotton exercised on the public taste by their writings, nor the liberal patronage of the art exercised by the sovereigns—Elizabeth, and especially James—notwithstanding the foolish enactments they both made to restrict the rapid increase of costly buildings in London, and the great use of timber in building, requiring the fronts to be built of brick or stone, 'as well for decency as by reason all great and well-grown woods were much spent and wasted, so that timber for shipping became scarce' (2 James I.). In addition to the architects included in the appended list who practised at this time, may be mentioned Richard Lea, John Shute, painter and architect, who was sent by the Duke of Northumberland to study in Italy, and who published, 1563, a treatise of the principles of architecture; Stickles, who was practising towards the end of the sixteenth century; Robert Adams, who, for a time, was superintendent of the royal buildings to Queen Elizabeth, and died 1595;[1] Rodolph Simmons, who was employed upon Trinity and other colleges at Cambridge; Theodore Havens, who designed the additions to Gonville for Dr. Caius, and other work in a rather fantastic style at Cambridge; and Thomas Holte, of York, who is said to be responsible for that elaborate and bizarre work, the Schools Tower at Oxford. Lamentably little, however, is known of the architects of our English Renaissance,—nothing more than the mere names of some mentioned here,—while, except by conjecture or the slight evidence of a similarity in detail, we do not know to whom to attribute the design of some of the chief works of that period. The alleged identity of 'John of Padua' with John Thorpe, who seems to have designed so many of the great houses of that time, has not been proved satisfactorily nor disproved. And so much uncertainty prevails respecting the English architects anterior to Inigo Jones, and their works, that we trust some one who has leisure for it may undertake thoroughly to investigate this almost untrodden ground.

[1] J. Britton's *Architectural Antiquities.*

A LIST OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL HOUSES BUILT IN ENGLAND DURING SHAKSPERE'S LIFETIME.

[*Brk.* = *Brick.* *S.* = *Stone.*]

County	*Name of House*	*Material*	*Built by*	*Begun*	*Apprx. date*	*Finisht*	*Architect*
Warwick	Charlecote	Brk. & S	Sir Thos. Lucy	1558	...	.	Porch attributed to 'John of Padua'[1]
,,	Kenilworth—"Leicester's Buildings"	Stone	Earl of Leicester	...	1565		
Worcester	Westwood	Brk. & S.	Sir J. Pakington	...	r Eliz.		
Gloucester	Sudeley	Stone	... ...	..	1572, 1614, & older		
Somerset	Montacute	Stone	Sir Edw. Philips	1580		1601	
,,	Nettlecombe	Stone	.. .	.	1600		
Wilts	Longleat	Stone	Sir John Thynne	1567	...	1579	Probably Robert Smithson
,,	Charlton	Stone	Sir H Knevit	...	r. Jas. I.		Front said to be an early work of Inigo Jones
,,	Longford[2]	Freestone & Flint	Sir Thos. Gorges	...	1591		
Hants	Bramshill	Brk. & S.	Ed. Lord Zouche	.	1612		
Sussex	Parham	Stone	Sir T. Bisshop	1590			
,,	Buckhurst (destroyed)	...	Thos Sackville, Earl of Dorset	..	r. Eliz.	...	J. Thorpe
Surrey	Loseley	Stone	Wm. More	1562	...	1568	
Middlesex	Holland House	Brk. & S.	Sir Walter Cope	...	1607	...	J. Thorpe
,,	Somerset House (destroyed)	...	... .	...	1567	..	John Thynne
Kent	Knole	Stone	Thos. Sackville, Earl of Dorset	...	chiefly r. Jas. I		
,,	Franks	...	L. Bathurst	..	1596		
,,	Charlton, Woolwich	Brk. & S.	Sir A. Newton	1607	...	1612	
Essex	Audley End	Stone	Thos. Howard, Earl of Suffolk	1603	...	1616	Bernard Jansen
Herts	Theobalds (destroyed 1650)	...	Lord Burghley	1570	...	...	J. Thorpe
,,	Hatfield	Brk. & S	Robert, 1st Earl of Salisbury	...	1611		
Norfolk	Oxnead	Brick	.. ...	...	r. Eliz.		
,,	Heydon	Brk. & S.	.		1584		
Northants	Kirby (ruinous)	Stone	Lord Hatton	1570		...	J. Thorpe
,,	Holdenby (little remaining)	Stone	Sir C. Hatton	.	1583	...	J. Thorpe
,,	Rushton	Stone	Sir T. Tresham	...	r. Eliz.	...	Sir T. Tresham
,,	Burleigh	Stone	Lord Treas., Wm Cecil, Baron of B—	1575	...	1587	J. Thorpe
,,	Castle Ashley	Stone	... ...	1583	...	1589	J. Thorpe (additions by Inigo Jones)
Oxford	Broughton	Stone	Fam. of Fiennes	...	pt. Eliz.		
Notts	Wollaston	Stone	Sir F. Willoughby	1580	...	1588	R. Smithson
Derby	Hardwicke	Stone	Countess of Shrewsbury	1591			
Cheshire	Crewe (burnt down 1866)	Brk. & S.	Sir R. Crewe	1616			
,,	Brereton	Brk. & S.	Sir W. Brereton	...	1586		
,,	Bramshall	Timber	Wm. Davenport	...	1592		
Lancashire	Speke	...	Sir Edw. Norris	...	r. Eliz.		
,,	Stonyhurst	Stone	Sir R. Sherburne	...	..	1596	
,,	Astley	Chiefly Timber	Robt. Charnock	...	1600		
Stafford	Beaudesert	Brk. & S.	Thos. Lord Paget	...	r. Eliz.		
,,	Ingestre	Brk. & S.	... ...	...	1601		
,,	Biddulph	Stone	Francis Biddulph	...	1580		
York	Burton Agnes	Brk. & S	Griffith Family	...	early in r. Jas. I.		
,,	Heslington	Brk. & S.	The Queen	..	r. Eliz.		
,,	Temple Newsam	Brk. & S.	Sir Arth. Ingram	...	r. Jas. I.		

[1] 'John of Padua' has latterly been generally supposed to be identical with John Thorpe.

[2] Longford Castle, alluded to in Sir Phil. Sydney's *Arcadia*.

THE HOUSES ILLUSTRATED.

The etchings accompanying this paper are printed, after slight retouching, from four of the plates of two books of local topography, viz., *Old Worcestershire Houses*, 1873, and *Old Warwickshire*, 1878, the purpose of which was to illustrate the old domestic architecture generally of those two counties, including buildings of mediæval date, and coming down to about the end of the seventeenth century, the special aim having been, without excluding important houses, to call attention to some little-known examples, and to others that were threatened with destruction, or were already ruinous. The views here given have been selected from these two collections as being of about Shakspere's time, and still standing, not far from the neighbourhood of Stratford, in comparatively unaltered and unrestored condition. This must explain any deficiency that may appear in them as houses representative of their class and period.

CHARLECOTE.

1. GENERAL VIEW. 2. THE PORCH.

The present house at Charlecote seems to have been built, or begun, in 1558 by the Sir Thomas Lucy, who, whether or not he were the original of Justice Shallow, has been immortalized by popular tradition; and it is said to have been placed upon the site of an older building, of which, so far as I am aware, nothing remains. Considerable additions were made to the Elizabethan house in 1833, including a large library and dining-room. This is one of the very numerous houses said to have been honoured with a visit by Elizabeth—in 1575, on her way to Kenilworth.

The gate-house, seen in the fore-part of the sketch, has already been alluded to. It is built of red brick, with stone window-dressings, quoins, &c., like the house itself, and remains in its original condition. The upper floor formed one room, which was used for banqueting, and the porter occupied the ground floor. Passing through the archway, a large fore-court with terrace walls on either side leads to the house, which consists of a central part between boldly-projecting wings with angle turrets. The porch, which is placed slightly to the left of the centre, is an admirable specimen of the Renaissance of the time. It is attributed to John of Padua or John Thorpe. The front of it is of fine free-stone, and the detail shows a combination of boldness with extreme delicacy. The lower order is Ionic, and the upper Composite. It is apparently by a different architect from the rest of the house, or gate-house, and suggests its having been added from the designs of the fashionable architect of the day shortly after the completion of the rest of the house. The royal

arms, with E. R., are carved over the doorway, in the spandrils of which are the initials T. L. The hall is of its old proportions, though the windows have been altered, and is decorated with many family portraits. It contains a sideboard dated 1558, and amongst other choice old furniture is a suite of chairs, couch, and cabinets of coromandel wood inlaid with ivory, said to have been given by Queen Elizabeth to the Ear of Leicester in 1575, and brought here from Kenilworth.

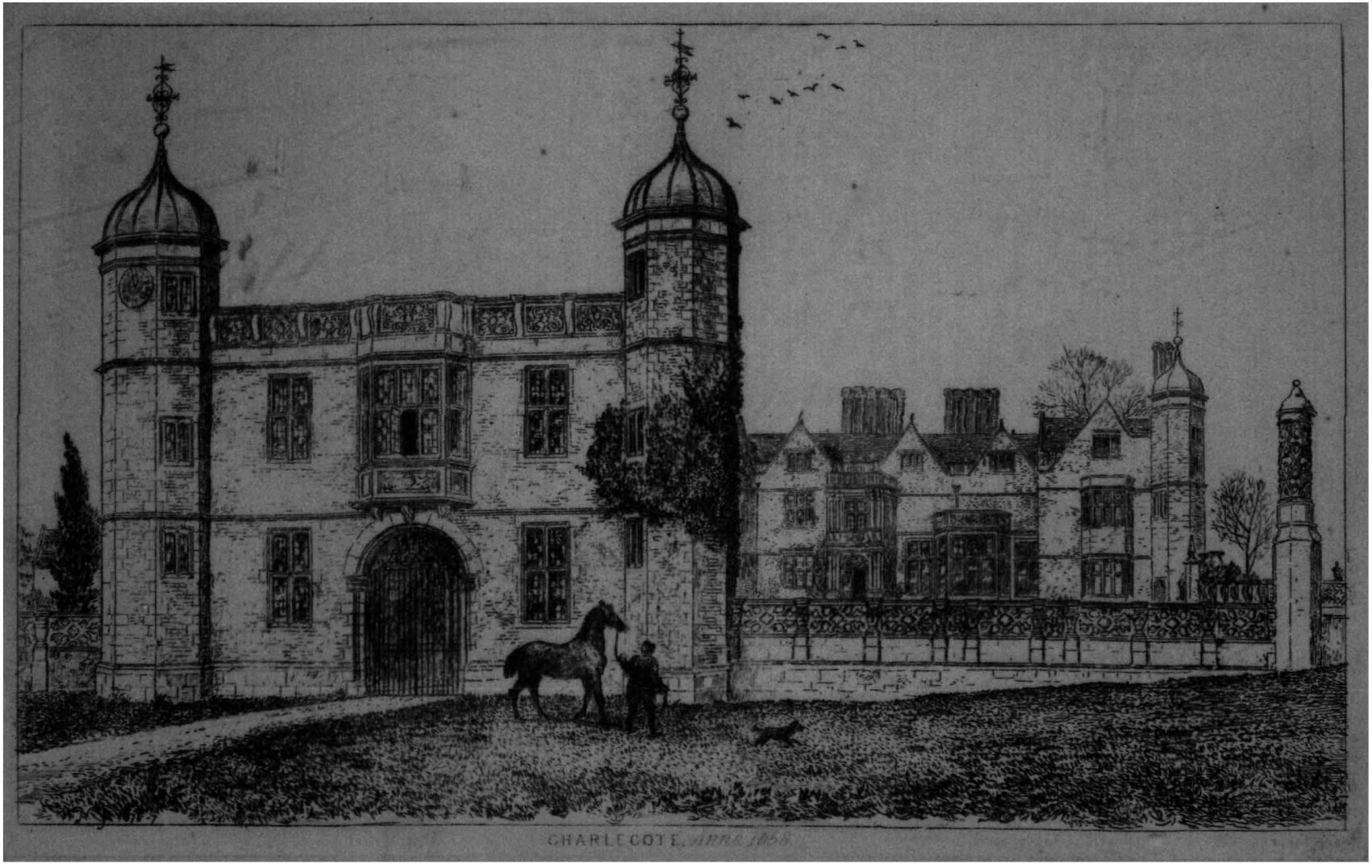
THE HALL, LITTLE WOLFORD.

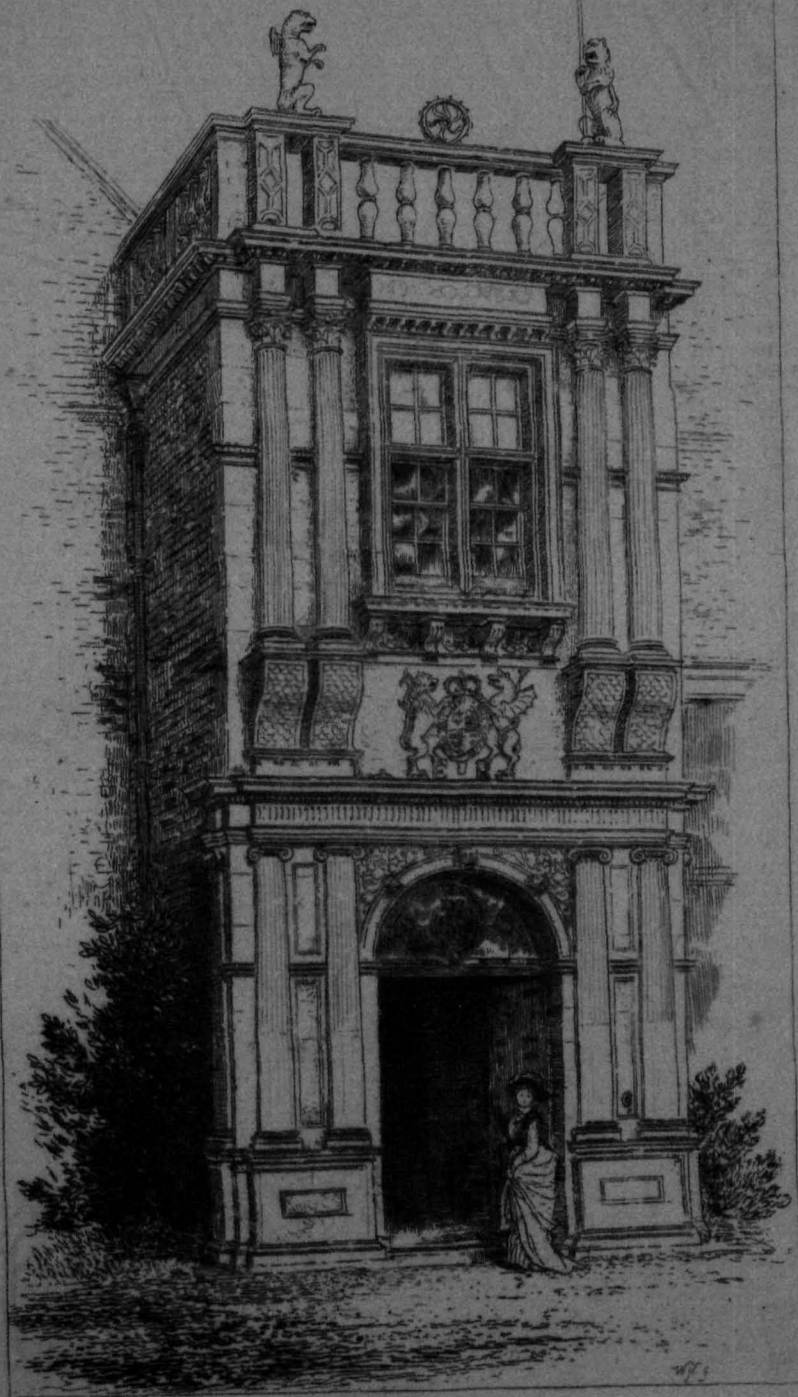
This is situated at a distance of about thirteen miles from Stratford in the extreme south of Warwickshire, and was formerly the seat of the Ingrams, but now used as a school-house. It seems to have consisted originally of a central portion, of stone, in which the hall is placed, and two wings, of which the ground storey was stone and the upper part timber. Only one wing now remains, but the other is said to have closely resembled it. The porch bears the date 1671, being of a later period than the house itself, and the initials $\frac{I}{H}\frac{I}{A}$, with the arms of Ingram. The hall is interesting; it has an open timber roof, and retains its screen, and gallery over it. There is a late Tudor chimney-piece with a coat of arms, and there are others in the lower windows, and the date 1557 occurs. In the hall is a piece of old furniture which may be formed at will into a chair, a table, or a cupboard, and is said to have 'always been there.' The kitchen lay to the left—set abase—and was lighted by a low window of five lights. From the gallery a small with-drawing-room is entered, now called the Nuns' room—probably for no other reason except that some pictures of nuns have long hung on the walls. Near the top of the staircase which occupies the octagonal turret shewn on the plate, is an archway converted into a window, which formerly led into the upper rooms of the wing now destroyed.

MANOR HOUSE, MIDDLE LITTLETON.

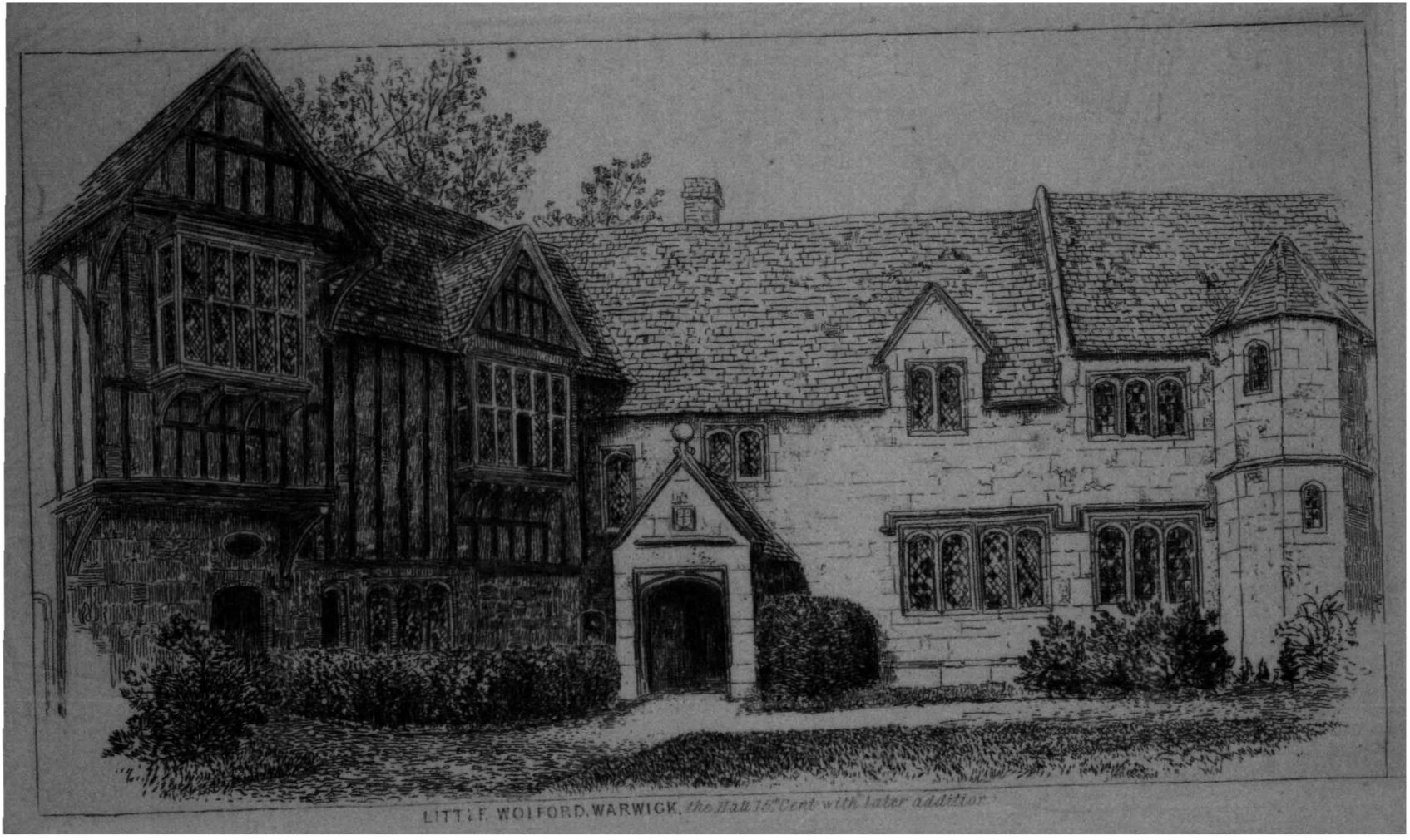
The three manors which gave their name to the family of the Littletons, anciently of Coulesdon and Frankley, lie closely together near Evesham, at from eight to ten miles from Stratford, and are known as North, Middle, and South Littleton. According to the county historian,[1] the manors which the family held here were usually allotted to the widows for their jointures. Sir John Littleton sold his property here in the reign of Elizabeth. This small manor-house is now a farm. It has a good homely, old-English character about it, and is well preserved. On the ground floor were hall in the centre, and parlour and kitchen on either side; and an oak stair led to the two floors of bed-rooms above. The masonry is of a plain description, without any detail about it to enable one to set more than an approximate date to it from the building itself, but it may safely be attributed to the period of Shakspere's life.

[1] Nash's *Hist. of Worcestershire*.

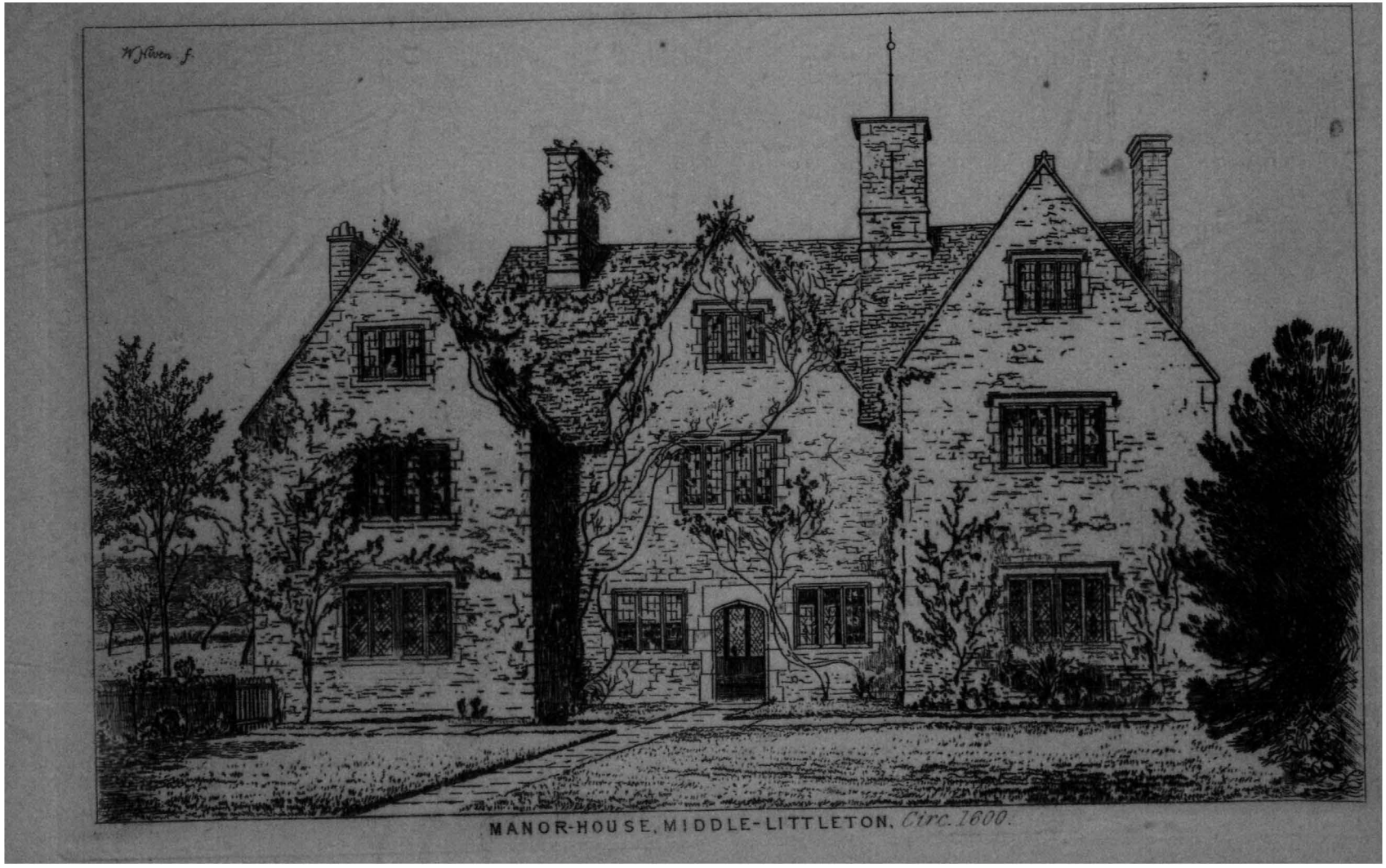

CHARLECOTE. APRIL 1858.



CHARLECOTE HALL.—*The Porch.*



LITTLE WOLFORD, WARWICK. *the Hall 16th Cent: with later addition*



MANOR-HOUSE, MIDDLE-LITTLETON, *Circ. 1600.*

PART III. SUPPLEMENT.

FOUR CHAPTERS OF

HARRISON'S FIRST BOOK,

WITH BITS FROM

CHURCHYARD, NORDEN, CORYAT,
FYNES MORISON, ETC.

SUPPLEMENT.

EXTRACTS FROM HARRISON'S FIRST BOOK, &c.

Of the aire, and ſoyle, [and commodities] *of*[1] *this Iland*.[1]

[leaf 37, ed 1577]

Cap. 18.[2]

THe aire (for the moſt part) throughout the Iland is ſuch, as by reaſon in maner of continuall clouds, is reputed to be groſſe, and nothing ſo pleaſant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirme theſe things, haue onelie reſpect to the impediment or hinderance of the ſunne beames, by the interpoſition of the clouds and off ingroſſed aire. ſo experience teacheth vs, that it is no leſſe pure, wholeſome, and commodious, than is that of other countries, and (as *Cæſar* himſelfe hereto addeth) much more temperate in ſummer than that of the Galles, from whom he aduentured hither. Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our region, that is not vſuallie ſeene amongſt other nations lieng beyond the ſeas. Wherefore, we muſt needs confeſſe, that the ſituation of our Iland (for benefit of the heauens) is nothing inferiour to that of anie countrie of the maine, where ſo euer it lie vnder

[*The aire of Britaine*]

Is as good as any other land's,

and so is the situation of our Iland.

[1]—[1] Britaine ed. 1577. [2] Chap. 13 (1st Book), ed. 1577.

the open firmament. [And this *Plutarch* knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Eliſian fields to be found in Britaine, and the Iles that are ſituate about it in the Ocean.]

[*The ſoile.*] The ſoile of Britaine is ſuch, as by the teſtimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience alſo of ſuch as now inhabit the ſame, is veric

Is very fruitful, fruitfull; [and ſuch in deed as bringeth foorth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue need, and yet it ſelfe (it fond niceneſſe were aboliſhed) needleſſe of thoſe that are dailie brought from other places.

but fitter for grazing than tilling Neuertheleſſe it is] more inclined to[1] feeding and grafing,[2] than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reaſon whereof the countrie is woonderfullie repleniſhed with neat, and all kind of cattell: and ſuch

3 fourths are pasture, 1 fourth arable. ſtore is there alſo of the ſame in euerie place, that the fourth part of the land is ſcarſelie manured for the prouiſion and maintenance of graine Certes this fruitfulneſſe was not vnknowne vnto the Britons long before *Cæſars* time, which was the cauſe wherefore our predeceſſors liuing in thoſe daies in maner neglected

The old Britons were nomads. tillage, and liued by feeding and grafing onelie. The grafiers themſelues alſo then dwelled in mooueable villages by companies, whoſe cuſtome was to diuide the ground amongſt them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie [(a thing much like to the

[*Criacht.*] Iriſh Criacht)] till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remooue further, and ſeeke for better paſture. And this was the Britiſh cuſtome [as I learne] at firſt. It hath beene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither ſo fruitfull as that of England, neither the ſoile of Scotland ſo bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the

Some Welsh land is as good as English. No Scotch is. moſt part[3]: otherwiſe, there is to good ground in ſome parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the beſt of Scot-

[1]—[1] but yet more inclined to the. 1577. [2] of the cattle. 1577.
[3] if it be taken for the most part. 1577.

land be ſcarſelie comparable to the meane[1] of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scotiſh dooth faile in ſome reſpect, ſo dooth it ſurmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yeeld foorth like commodities.

[But where our ground is not ſo good as we would wiſh, we haue (if need be) ſufficient helpe to cheriſh our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull, For beſide the compeſt that is carried out of the huſbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, doouehouſes, or cities and great townes: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of ſo great force, that if it be caſt ouer a peece of land but once in three ſcore years, it ſhall not need[2] of anie further compeſting Hereof alſo dooth *Plinie* ſpeake, *lib.* 17. *cap.* 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth vpon the earth by the ſpace of foureſcord yeares: inſomuch that it is laid vpon the ſame but once in a mans life, whereby the owner ſhall not need to trauell twiſe in procuring to commend and better his ſoile. He calleth it *Marga*, and making diuerſe kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth ſometime a hundred foot deepe, and farre better than the ſcattering of chalke vpon the ſame, as the *Hedui* and *Pictones* did in his time, or as ſome of our daies alſo doo practiſe: albeit diuerſe doo like better to caſt on lime, but it will not ſo long indure, as I haue heard reported.]

For manure, we have Dung,

and White Marl, a dressing of which lasts 60 years

[*Marle*]

Pliny praises our Marl,

and the French Marl more.

Marling is better than chalking land

Lime is used too

There are alſo in this Iland great plentie of freſh riuers and ſtreames, as you haue heard alreadie, and theſe throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fiſh accuſtomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewiſe is verie full of hilles, of which ſome (though not verie manie) are of exceeding heigth, and diuerſe extending themſelues verie far from the beginning; as we may ſee by Shooters hill, which riſing eaſt of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the ſouth

Plentie of riuers

Hilles.

Shooters Hill in Kent.

[1] best. [2] orig. nees.

ſide of the Iland weſtward, vntill it come to Cornewall.[1] Like vnto theſe alſo are the Crowdon hils, which [though vnder diuers names (as alſo the other] from the Peke) doo run into the borders of Scotland. What ſhould I ſpeake of the Cheuiot hilles, which reach[2] twentie miles in length? of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the leaſt in length? [of the Cle hilles in Shropſhire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from ſome part of Worceſter by the Leme?] of the Crames in Scotland, and of our Chiltren, which are eighteene miles at the leaſt from one end of them[3] [which reach from Henlie in Oxfordſhire to Dunſtable in Bedfordſhire, and] are verie well repleniſhed with wood [and corne?] notwithſtanding that the moſt part yeeld a ſweet ſhort graſſe, profitable for ſheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland doo ſomewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompenſed, not onelie with plentie of quarries (and thoſe of ſundrie kinds of marble, hard ſtone, and fine alabaſter) but alſo rich mines of mettall, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

The Cheviot Hills

[(*) *Here lacks*] Cle Hills.

Chiltern Hills.

Down-grass for sheep.

Scotland has

quarries and

mines

Winds.

In this Iland likewiſe the winds are commonlie more ſtrong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, [which *Cardane* alſo eſpied]: and that is often ſeene vpon the naked hilles,[4] not garded with trees to beare [and keepe] it off. That grieuous inconuenience alſo inforceth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communaltie, to build their houſes in the vallies, leauing the high grounds vnto their corne and cattell, leaſt the cold and ſtormie blaſts of winter ſhould breed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one deſireth to ſet his houſe aloft on the hill, not onlie to be ſeene a farre off, and caſt forth his beames of ſtatelie and curious workemanſhip into euerie quarter of the countrie; but alſo (in hot habitations) for coldneſſe ſake of the aire, ſith the heat is neuer ſo vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, becauſe the reuerberation of the ſunne beames either reacheth

Building.

We unluckily build in vallies, to get out of the wind.

Foreigners build on hills,

to keep cool.

[1] Corinwall [2] run [3] to the other, of all which some. [4] which are.

not ſo farre as the higheſt, or elſe becommeth not ſo ſtrong as when it is reflected vpon[1] the lower ſoile.[2]

Husbandrie amended.

But to leaue our buildings vnto the purpoſed place (which notwithſtanding haue verie much increaſed, I meane for curioſitie and coſt, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within theſe few yeares) and to returne to the ſoile againe. Certeinelie it is euen now in theſe our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath beene in times paſt. The cauſe is for that our countriemen are growne to be more painefull, ſkilfull, and carefull through recompenſe of gaine, than heretofore they haue beene: inſomuch that my *Synchroni* or time fellows can reape at this preſent great commoditie in a little roome; whereas of late yeares, a great compaſſe hath yeelded but ſmall profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of ſuch, as [dailie] manured and had the ſame in occupieng. I might ſet downe examples of theſe things out of all the parts of this Iland, that is to ſaie, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but moſt of all out of Wales: in which two laſt rehearſed, verie little other food and liuelihood was woont to be looked for (beſide fleſh) more than the ſoile of it ſelfe, and the cow gaue; the people in the meane time liuing idelie, diſſolutelie, and by picking and ſtealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the moſt part) relinquiſhed, ſo that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

Our ſoil has improvd lately,

by the care of farmers,

my time-fellows,

eſpecially in Wales,

where moſt folk once were thieves.

Paſture.

The paſture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie[3] of the ſoile, whereby in moſt places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and ſuch as either fatteth our cattell with ſpeed, or yeeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yelloweſt butter and fineſt cheeſe are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the winters water in long ſeaſon) there the graſſe is ſpearie, rough, and

It is moſtly fine and rich.

[1] to [2] mountayne [3] ſituation

verie apt for buſhes: by which occaſion it commeth[1] nothing ſo profitable vnto the owner [as the other]. The beſt paſture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the paſture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheefe. I ſpeake of[2] [the ſame] which is to be found in the mounteines there, where the hundred part of the graſſe growing is not eaten, but ſuffered to rot on the ground, whereby the ſoile becommeth matted, and diuerſe bogges and quicke moores made withall in long continuance: becauſe all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. [If it be to be accompted good ſoile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morrow find it hidden and ouergrowen with graſſe: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheles, ſuch is the fruitfulnes of the aforeſaid countie, that it farre ſurmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batableneſſe with Italie, which in my time is called the paradiſe of the world, although by reaſon of the wickedneſſe of ſuch as dwell therein it may be called the ſinke and draine of hell: ſo that whereas they were woont to ſaie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie ſpeake it; whereas we know by experience that the ſoile of Italie is a noble ſoile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodneſſe.]

Our best pasture land is in Cardigan.

It's as fertile as Italy, the

Paradise of the World,

and the Sink of Hell.

Medowes. Our medowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great ſtore, and thoſe verie large, bicauſe our ſoile is hillie) or elſe [ſuch as we call] land meads, [and borowed from the beſt & fatteſt paſturages.] The firſt of them are yearelie & often ouerflowen by the riſing of ſuch ſtreames as paſſe through the ſame, or violent falles of land-waters, that deſcend from the hils about them. The other are ſeldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cauſe wherefore their graſſe is ſhorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholeſome, and batable, ſith the haie of our low medowes is not

Land-meads.

The grass of Land-meads is better than that of Bottoms.

[1] becommeth [2] that

*onelie full of ſandie cinder, which breedeth ſundrie diſeaſes in our cattell, but alſo more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not ſo profitable for ſtouer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often aboue one good load of haie, [or peraduenture a little more] in an acre of ground [(I vſe the word *Carrucata* or *Carruca* which is a waine load, and, as I remember, vſed by *Plinie lib.* 33. *cap.* 11.)] in low meadowes we haue ſometimes three, but commonlie two or vpward, as experience hath oft confirmed.*

The hay of low meadows isn't so good as that of high ones,

though you get thrice or twice as much of it.

[Of ſuch as are twiſe mowed I ſpeake not, ſith their later math is not ſo wholſome for cattell as the firſt; although in the mouth more pleaſant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increaſe ſo faſt in bloud, that the garget and other diſeaſes doo conſume manie of them before the owners can ſeeke out any remedie, by *Phlebotomie* or otherwiſe. Some ſuperſtitious fooles ſuppoſe that they which die of the garget are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang vp ſtones which naturallie haue holes in them, and muſt be found vnlooked for; as if ſuch a ſtone were an apt cockeſhot for the diuell to run through and ſolace himſelfe withall, whileſt the cattell go ſcotfree and are not moleſted by him. But if I ſhould ſet downe but halfe the toies that ſuperſtition hath brought into our huſbandmens heads in this and other behalfes, it would aſke a greater volume than is conuenient for ſuch a purpoſe, wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid thus much of theſe things.]*

The aftermath of twice-mown lands often rots or blows cattle.

Superstitious fools think this is due to the Devil, and hang up holey stones for Him to lark with, and leave the cattle alone.

I can't set down all their gammon.

Corne.

The yeeld of our corne-ground is alſo much after this rate folowing. Through out the land (if you pleaſe to make an eſtimat thereof by the acre) in meane[1] and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of [rie or] wheat, well tilled and dreſſed, will yeeld commonlie [ſixteene

[1] common

The yield of land is Wheat, 16 to 20 bushels an acre, Barley, 36, Oats 4 or 5 qrs.

or] twentie buſhels, an acre of barlie ſix[1] and thirtie buſhels, of otes and ſuch like [foure or] fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithſtanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes ſurmounted in the ſouth. Of mixed corne, as peaſon and beanes, ſowen togither, tares and otes (which they call bulmong), rie and wheat [named miſcelin], here is no place to ſpeake, yet their yeeld is neuertheleſſe much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. [And yet is not this our great foiſon comparable to that of hoter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increaſe which *Eldred Danus* writeth of in his *De imperie Iudæorum in Aethiopia* ſurmounteth, where he ſaith that in the field neere to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Goſan, the ground is ſo fertile, that euerie graine of barleie growing dooth yeeld an hundred kernels at the leaſt vnto the owner.

Mixt corn, Bulmong, and Miscelin, about the same.

In Goshen, in Egypt, the yield is 100-fold

Of late yeares alſo we haue found and taken vp a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our moorie hitherto and vnprofitable grounds doo yeeld ſuch plentie & increaſe, that their are few farmers or occupiers in the countrie, which haue not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and thoſe farre better than doo come from Flanders vnto vs. Certes the corruptions vſed by the Flemings, and forgerie dailie practiſed in this kind of ware, gaue vs occaſion to plant them here at home; ſo that now we may ſpare and ſend manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that ſome one man by conuerſion of his moorie grounds into hop-yards, wherof before he had no commoditie, dooth raiſe yearelie by ſo little as twelue acres in compaſſe two hundred markes; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which induſtrie God continue! though ſome ſecret freends of Flemings let not to exclaime againſt this commoditie, as a ſpoile of wood, by reaſon of the poles, which neuertheleſſe after three

Lately we've taken to Hop-planting in moory land,

and we beat the Flemish hops

A man by

12 acres of hops has cleard 133*l.* 6*s* 8*d.* (A mark was 13*s.* 4*d.*)

[1] two

yeares doo alſo come to the fire, and ſpare their other fewell.]

The cattell which we breed are commonlie ſuch, as for greatneſſe of bone, ſweetneſſe of fleſh, and other benefits to be reaped by the ſame, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare firſt by our oxen, whoſe largeneſſe, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are ſuch, as none of anie other nation doo commonlie or may eaſilie exceed them. Our ſheepe likewiſe for good taſt of fleſh, quantitie of lims, fineſſe of fleece [cauſed by their hardneſſe of paſturage,] and abundance of increaſe (for in manie places they bring foorth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than doo our goates, who in like ſort doo follow the ſame order, and our deere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue ſeene them ſo fat in ſome ſoiles, eſpeciallie about Meall and Diſnege, that the greaſe of one being weighed, hath peiſed verie neere ſix or ſeuen ounces. All which benefits, we firſt refer to the grace and goodneſſe of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our ſoile, which he hath [1] indued with ſo notable and commodious fruitfulneſſe.[1]

Cattell.

Our Oxen 'll bang the world.

So 'll our Sheep,

and our Goats.

Our Rabbits are very fat, specially at *Meall and Disnege*

But as I meane to intreat of theſe things more largelie hereafter, ſo will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation[2] wanteth, and that is wine the fault whereof is not in our ſoile, but the negligence of our countriemen (eſpeciallie of the ſouth partes) who doo not inure the ſame to this commoditie, and which by reaſon of long diſcontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes [3] [almoſt for pleaſure & ſhadow, much leſſe then the plaine][3] fields or ſeuerall vineyards [for aduantage and commoditie.] Yet of late time ſome haue aſſaied to deale for wine, [as to your lordſhip alſo is right well knowen.] But ſith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard,

Unhappily we grow no *Wine*

Tho', as you know, Lord Cobham, some folk have lately tried wine-growing.

[1]—[1] so plentifullye indued with so ample and large commodities.
[2] Country. [3]—[3] eyther in the fielde.

than that which is brought from beyond the ſea, and the coſt of planting and keeping thereof ſo chargeable, that they may buie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterpriſes without anie conſideration, that as in all other things, ſo neither the ground it ſelfe in the beginning, nor ſucceſſe of their trauell can anſwer their expectation at the firſt, vntill ſuch time as the ſoile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouiſion may be made for the more eaſineſſe of charge, to be imploied vpon the ſame.

but it didn't pay, and so they've given it up.

If it be true, that where wine dooth laſt and indure well, there it will grow no worſe: I muſe not a little wherefore the planting of vines ſhould be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this Iland heretofore, firſt the charter that *Probus* the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one ſufficient teſtimonie. And that it did grow here, [beſide the teſtimonie of *Beda lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.] the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of ſome parſons and vicars in Kent, [elſewhere,] beſides the records of ſundrie ſutes, commenſed in diuerſe eccleſiaſticall courts, both in Kent,[1] Surrie, [&c:] alſo the incloſed parcels almoſt in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witneſſe,[2] [as alſo the plot which we now call eaſt Smithfield in London giuen by *Canutus* ſometime king of this land, with other ſoile there about vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighton Guild. The truth is (ſaith *Iohn Stow* our countrie man, and diligent traueller in the old eſtate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Port ſoken ward, and giuen in time paſt to the religious houſe within Algate. Howbeit firſt Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Eſſex, conſtables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion from the ſaid houſe, vntill the reigne of

But I can't understand why vines won't do here.

Certainly they once us't to Witness the old wine-tithes, the

abbey vineyards, and East Smithfield (which

John Stow, our London antiquary, says is now Portsoken Ward, &c.),

[1] Kent and

[2] roofe

king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie alſo was in the firſt times of the Normans called *Le Ile*[1] *des vignes*. And good record appeereth, that the biſhop there had yearelie three or foure tunne at the leaſt giuen him *Nomine decimæ*, beſide whatſoeuer ouer-ſumme of the liquor did accrue to him by leaſes and other excheats whereof alſo I haue ſeene mention.] Wherefore our ſoile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were ſo exceeding ſhort, that [in Auguſt and September] the moone, which is ladie of moiſture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wiſe ſhine long inough vpon the ſame: a verie meere toie and fable right worthie to be ſuppreſſed, [becauſe experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rheniſh wines.]

which was formerly a vineyard.

The Ile of Ely was calld the Ile of Vines.

It's not the fault of our soil that wine isn't grown here

The time hath beene alſo that wad, [wherwith our countrie men died their faces (as *Cæſar* ſaith) that they might ſeeme terrible to their enimies in the field (and alſo women & their daughters in law did ſtaine their bodies & go naked, in that pickle to the ſacrifices of their gods, coueting to reſemble therin the Ethiopians, as *Plinie* ſaith *li.* 22. *cap.* 1.)] and [alſo] madder haue beene (next vnto our tin and woolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find alſo that rape oile hath beene made within this land. But now our ſoile [either] will [not or at the leaſt wiſe may not] beare [2]either wad or madder[2]. [I ſaie] [4]not that the[4] ground is not able ſo to doo, but that we are negligent, [afraid of the pilling of our grounds,] and careleſſe of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the ſame of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may ſaie of flax, which by law ought to be ſowen in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or leſſe: but I ſee no ſucceſſe of that good and wholeſome law,[5] ſith it is rather contempt-

Woad and madder sometime in Englande.[2]

The Britons staind themselves with woad.

Rape oyle.

We don't now grow woad or madder.

Flaxe

ought by law to be grown throughout England, but it isn't.

[1] orig. *Ile.* [2] wad. Madder. Rape, in F J. F.'s copy, ed. 1587.
[2—2] neyther of these [4—4] not for that [5] estatute

uouſlie reiected than otherwiſe dutifullie kept [in anie place of England.]

Number, Alteration, Dispensation, Example of superiours [not in F. J F 's copy of 1587] We've too many laws, and can't help breaking some.

Some ſaie that our great number of lawes [1][doo breed a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; bicauſe we haue ſo manie, that no ſubiect can liue without the tranſgreſſion of ſome of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances dooth much harme in this reſpect,][1] which (after *Ariſtotle*) doth ſeeme to carie ſome reaſon withall, [for (as *Cornelius Gallus* hath :)

[*Flrg* 2] *Euentus varios res noua ſemper habet.*

But verie manie let not to affirme[2], that [3][the greedie corruption of the promoters on the one ſide, facilitie in diſpenſing with good lawes, and firſt breach of the ſame, in the lawmakers & ſuperiors, & priuat reſpects, of their eſtabliſhment, on the other, are the greateſt cauſes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies ſo redie to offend without anie facultie one waie, as they are otherwiſe to preſume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken.][3]

[*Principes longè magis exemplo quàm culpa peccare solent*]

But as in theſe things I haue no ſkill, ſo I[4] wiſh that fewer licences for the priuat commoditie but of a few were granted [5][(not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorablie

Fewer Licenses should be granted for the benefit of individuals,

1—1 whereby it is impossible for any man to auoyde theyr transgression, is one great cause of our negligence in this behalfe. Other affirme that the often alteration of our ordinances do breed this general contempt of all good laws. 2 saye

3—3 that facility in dispensation with them, and manifest breche of the same in the Superiours, are y^e^ greatest causes why the inferiours regarde no good order, beyng allayes ready to offende without any such facultie one way, as they are to presume vpon the example of the higher powers another. 4 some

5—5 & this they say, not that they denie y^e^ execution of the prerogatiue royall, but woulde wyth all theyr hearts that it might be made a grievous offence, for any man by feeed fryndeship or otherwise, to procure oughtes of the Prince (who is not acquainted wyth the botome of the estate of common things) that may be preiudiciall to the weale publike of his country.

increaſed) & that euerie one which by feeed friendſhip (or otherwiſe) dooth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few, and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open aſſizes and ſeſſions denounced enimie to his countrie and common-wealth of the land.

and the hurt of the people.

[Glaſſe alſo hath beene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the ſaid ſtuffe alſo, beſide fine ſciſſers, ſheeres, collars of gold and ſiluer for womens necks, cruſes and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which *Auguſtus* in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like ſort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and veſſels of iuorie (as *Strabo* ſaith.) Wherby it appeereth that in old time our countriemen were farre more induſtrious and painefull in the vſe and application of the benefits of their countrie, than either after the comming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themſelues more to idleneſſe and following of the warres.][5]

Glaſſe, sciasors,

gold and siluer jewel-work were made by the old Britons here

They workt harder than the idler fighting Saxons and Normans.

If it were requiſit that I ſhould ſpeake of the ſundrie kinds of moold, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diuerſe ſorts (red, blue, blacke and white) alſo the red or white ſandie, the lomie, roſellie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could ſaie that there are ſo manie diuerſe veines in Britaine, as elſe where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this I muſt needs confeſſe, that the ſandie & cledgie doo beare[1] [great] ſwaie: but the claie moſt of all, as hath beene, and yet is alwaies ſeene & felt through plentie and dearth of corne. For if this latter [(I meane the claie)] doo yeeld hir full increaſe [(which it dooth commonlie in drie yeares for wheat)] then is there generall plentie: wheras if it faile, then haue we ſcarſitie, according to the old rude verſe ſet downe of England, but to be vnderſtood of the whole Iland, as experience dooth confirme:

Of Clay, and other *Earths.*

Most of ours are clay and sand.

In dry seasons the clay yields well, in wet ones, nothing.

[1] the greatest ('the greatest,' also F. J. F.'s copy of ed. 1587.).

When the ſand dooth ſerue the claie
Then may we ſing well awaie;
But when the claie dooth ſerue the ſand,
Then is it merie with England.

and we sing wellaway!'

Vallies

I might here intreat[1] of the famous vallies in England,

The vales of White Horse,

of which one is called the vale of White horſſe, another of Eoueſham, [2][commonlie taken for the granarie of Worceſterſhire,][2] the third of Aileſbirie that goeth by Tame, the rootes of Chilterne hils,[3] to Donſtable, Newport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckhingham, Birſtane parke, &c. Likewiſe[4] of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemoore in Dorſetſhire. [The fift of Ringdale or Renidale, corruptlie called Kingtaile, that lieth (as mine author ſaith) vpon the edge of Essex and Cambridgeſhire,] and alſo the Marſhwood vale: but for ſomuch as I know not well their ſeuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their deſcription.[5] In like ſort it ſhould not be amiſſe to ſpeake of our fennes,[6] [although our countrie be not ſo full of this kind of ſoile as the parties beyond the ſeas, to wit, Narbon, &c: and thereto of] other pleaſant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great ſtore of [corne and] fine fodder for neat and horſſes in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but alſo of no ſmall compaſſe and quantitie in ground. For ſome of our fens are well knowen to be either of ten, twelue, ſixteene, twentie, or thirtie miles in length, that of the Girwies yet paſſing all the reſt, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) [Wherein alſo Elie the famous Ile ſtandeth, which is ſeuen miles euerie waie, and wherevnto there is no acceſſe but by three causies, whoſe inhabitants in like ſort by an old priuilege may take wood, ſedge, turfe, &c; to burne: likewiſe haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houſes of cuſtome,

Whitehart, Ringdale, &c., as Leland says

Fennes

Some are from 10 to 30 miles long the Girwies 60

Ely fen is 7 miles square Its folk may cut and burn turves.

[1] intreat also
[2–2] noted to be twelue or thirteene miles in compasse,
[3] and so to
[4] And likewise
[5] description at this time
[6] and other

and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetouſneſſe hath now begun ſomewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aſwell in the ſaid Ile as moſt other places of this land]

Finallie, I might diſcourſe in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the ſoiles for the benefit of ſuch poore, as inhabit within the compaſſe of their manors. But as the [true intent of the giuers is now in moſt places defrauded, in ſo much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the ſame, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, ſo the] tractation of them belongeth rather to the ſecond booke. Wherfore[1] I meane not at this preſent to deale withall, [2]but reſerue[2] the ſame wholie vnto the due place whileſt I go forward with the reſt; [ſetting downe neuertheleſſe by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

[*Commons.*]

Not poor tenants, but landlords, get all the gain of em now

Illa quidem longè celebris ſplendore, lœta,
Glebis, lacte, fauis, ſupereminet inſula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, ſpumanti cuius ab ore
Profluit oceanus, &c. And a little after.
Teſtis Lundoniaratibus, Wintonia Baccho,
Hereſordia grege, Worceſtria frugeredundans,
Batha lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria piſce,
Eboraca ſyluis, Exceſtria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Ceſtria Gallis,
Ciceſtrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia præpinguis,
Teſtis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Teſtis Eli formoſa ſitu, Doncaſtria viſu, &c.

Two old praises of England.

[1] so [2]—[2] reserving

Of the foure high waies ſometime *made in Britaine by the princes* of this *Iland*.[1]

Chap. 19.[2]

Some folk say the Saxons made our Four High Ways.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, doo affirme, that this diuiſion of waies, (whereof we now intreat) ſhould apperteine vnto ſuch princes of that nation as reigned here, ſince[3] the Romanes gaue vs ouer: [and herevpon they inferre, that Wattling ſtreet was builded by one Wattle from the eaſt vnto the weſt.] But how

But they are weak in the knees,

weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of theſe ſtreets it ſelfe ſhall eaſilie declare, whereof ſome parcelles, after a ſort, are alſo ſet downe by *Antoninus*; and thoſe that haue written of the ſeuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in ſo direct an order as they were at the firſt eſtabliſhed. For my

and if I'd space, I'd show em that

part, if it were not that I deſire to be ſhort in this behalfe, I could with ſuch notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpoſe, make a large confutation of diuerſe of their opinions concerning theſe paſſages, [and thereby

the Romans made these Ways.

rather aſcribe the originall of theſe waies to the Romans than either the Britiſh or Saxon princes.] But ſith I haue ſpent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, [and that I ſee great cauſe (notwithſtanding my late alledged ſcruple) wherfore I ſhould hold with our *Galfride* before anie other;] I will omit at this time to diſcourſe of theſe things as I would, and ſaie what I maie for the better knowledge of their courſes, proceeding therein as followeth.

It's said that Dunwallon, b.c. 483.

Firſt of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, ſeeing the ſubiects of his realme to be in ſundrie wiſe oppreſſed by theeues and robbers as they trauelled

[1] Lande [2] Chap. 12. [3] sith

to and fro; and being willing (ſo much as in him laie) to redreſſe theſe inconueniences, cauſed his whole kingdome to be ſurueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which ſhould leade ſuch as trauelled into all parts thereof, from ſea to ſea, he gaue ſundrie large priuileges vnto the ſame, whereby they became ſafe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the ſecuritie of his ſubiects, ſo he made ſharpe lawes grounded vpon iuſtice, for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that ſhould be met withall or found within the limits of thoſe paſſages. How [and] by what parts of this Iland theſe waies were conueied at the firſt, it is not ſo wholie left in memorie: but that ſome queſtion is mooued among the learned, concerning their ancient courſes. Howbeit ſuch is the ſhadow remaining hitherto of their extenſions, that if not at this preſent perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not vnpoſſible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto poſteritie. It ſeemeth by *Galfride*, that the ſaid Dunwallon did limit out thoſe waies by dooles and markes, which being in ſhort time altered by the auarice of ſuch irreligious perſons as dwelt neere, and incrochied vpon the ſame (a fault yet iuſtlie to be found almoſt in euerie place, [euen in the time of our moſt gratious and ſouereigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the ſoiles doo vnite their ſmall occupieng, onelie to increaſe a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remooue, or giue licence to erect ſmall tenements vpon the high waies ſides and commons; wherevnto, in truth, they haue no right and yet out of them alſo doo raiſe a new commoditie)] and queſtion mooued for their bounds before Belinus his ſonne, he, to auoid all further controuerſie that might from thencefoorth inſue, cauſed the ſame to be paued with hard ſtone of eighteene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint ſtones alſo to be pitched, leaſt the earth in time ſhould ſwallow vp

had 4 great Highways made from sea to sea,

and protected travellers.

But no tracks of these ways are now known.

then bounds are said to have been mov'd, and their soil encroacht on.

(Even now landlords lessen commons

to get rents out of cottages built on them)

Belinus had a roadway 18 ft. broad. pavd. He

his workemanſhip, and the higher ground ouer-grow their riſing creſts. He indued them alſo with larger priuileges than before, proteſting that if anie man whoſoeuer ſhould preſume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wiſe, neere vnto or vpon thoſe waies, he ſhould ſuffer ſuch puniſhment without all hope to eſcape (by freendſhip or mercie) as by the ſtatutes of this realme latelie prouided in thoſe caſes were [1] due vnto the offendors. The names of theſe foure waies are the Foſſe, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the [Ikenild][2]

made freſh acts against robbers.

These 4 ways are the *Fosse*, Watling, Erming, and Ikenild

The Foſſe goeth not directlie but ſlopewiſe ouer the greateſt part of this Iland, beginning at Dotneſſe or Totneſſe in Deuonſhire, where Brute ſomtime landed, or (as *Ranulphus* ſaith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldeſt writers doo ſeeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Deuonſhire & Summerſetſhire, and commeth to Briſtow, from whence it runneth manifeſtlie to Sudberie market, Tetburie, and ſo foorth holdeth on as you go almoſt to the midde waie betweene Gloceſter and Cirneceſter, (where the wood faileth, and the champeigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteſwald) ſtreight as a line vntill you come to Cirneceſter it ſelfe. Some hold opinion that the waie, which lieth from Cirneceſter to Bath, ſhould be the verie Foſſe; and that betwixt Cirneceſter and Gloceſter to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihood, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the waies croſſed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is *Leland* alſo, who learned it of an abbat of Cirneceſter that ſhewed great likelihood by ſome records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirneceſter, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrie, Leirceſter, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watlingſtreet: where, by

The *Fosse* runs from Totness

to Bristol,

Tetbury,

Cirencester,

Coventry and Lincoln.

[1] are [2] Ychenild

generall conſent of all the writers (except *Alfred* of Beuerleie, who extendeth it vnto Cathneſſe in Scotland) it is ſaid to haue an end.

The Watlingſtreet [begun (as I ſaid) by Dunwallo, but finiſhed by Gutheline, of whome it is directlie to be called Gutheline ſtreet, though now corrupted into Watlingſtreet,] beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth through the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo foorth (peraduenture by the middeſt of the citie) vnto *Verolamium* or Werlamceſter, now ſaint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie & one, the courſe thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell wherwith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eighteene foot broad, and about ten foot deepe, and ſtoned in the bottome [in ſuch wiſe] as [I haue noted] afore, and peraduenture alſo on the top · but theſe are gone, and the reſt remaine equall in moſt places, [and leuell] with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thither in carts two thouſand yeeres paſſed, remained there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrong, as if it had beene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yeeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the weſt ſide. And a little by ſouth of this place, where the priorie ſtood, is a long thorough fare vpon the ſaid ſtreet, meetly well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this [it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell ſaith) to Caxton, and ſo to Huntingdon, & then forward, ſtill winding in and out till] it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lugbie, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamford, and ſo foorth by[1] weſt of Marton, which is [but] a mile from Torkeſeie.

Watling street

runs from Dover to London,

St Alban's,

where, in 1581 A D its stones could be seen,

and its yellow gravel quite frosh

The Watling Street then runs

to Caxton and

Stamford.

Here by the waie I muſt touch the opinion of a traueller of my time, who noteth the ſaid ſtreet to go another waie, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe

[1] by the

the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, and
(I don't think it went by Atherston, tho the Fosse may have done so) ſo go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoff, the High croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrie in ſuch ſort as he deſcribeth; but that the Watlingſtreet ſhould paſſe by Atherſton, I cannot as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelie that three ſeuerall waies might meet at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I doo not doubt that the ſaid towne did take his name of all three waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all three Maries, vnto whom it hath beene dedicated: but that the Watling ſtreet ſhould be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note
Thence, as Leland says, to by the waie. Now to returne againe to *Leland*, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watling ſtreet, are[1] that it goeth thorough [or neere by] the parke at
Pomfret, Pomfret, as the common voice [alſo] of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it paſſeth haſtilie ouer Caſtelford
Aberford, bridge to Aberford, which is fiue miles from thence, and where are moſt manifeſt tokens of this ſtreet [2](and his
York, broad creſt) [by a great waie togither, alſo][2] to Yorke, to
and Borough-bridge Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge,[3] where on the leſt hand thereof ſtood certeine monuments, or pyramides of ſtone, ſometimes placed there by the [ancient] Romanes. Theſe ſtones (ſaith *Leland*) ſtand eight miles weſt from Bowis, and almoſt weſt from Richmond [is] a little
(Maiden Castle was on the side of Watling St.) thorough fare called Maiden caſtell, ſituate [apparantlie] vpon the ſide of this ſtreet. And here is one of thoſe pyramides or great round heapes, which is three ſcore foot compaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are

[1] is

[2–2] way and his broad creast,—B. Mus. copy, 1587. (The text above is from F. J. F.'s copy.)

[3] Borowbrig

ſharpe ſtones of a yard in length; but the greateſt of all is eighteene foot high at the leaſt, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they ſtand on an hill in the edge of Stanes moore, and are as bounds betweene Richmondſhire, and Weſtmerland. But to proceed. This ſtreet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eighteene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & ſix to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greteie or Gritto, fiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes moore, foure miles from Applebie, and fiue to Browham, where the ſaid ſtreet commeth thorough Winfoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Ciemouth and Loder, and leauing Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carleill ſeuenteene miles from Browham, which hath beene ſome notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

Thence to Catterick.

Appleby.

Brougham.

west of Penrith.

Carlisle.

and Caithness

The Erming ſtreet, which ſome call the Lelme, ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaie, into the ſouth-eaſt, that is, from Meneuia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, *whereby it is ſomewhat likelie indeed that* theſe two waies, I meane the Foſſe and the Erming, ſhould meet about Cirneceſter, as it commeth from Gloceſter, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that countrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can ſaie no more of it, except I ſhould indeuor to driue awaie the time, in alleging what other men ſay thereof, whoſe minds doo ſo farre diſagree one from another, as they doo all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

Erming street

runs from St. David's to *Southampton*,

and meets the Fosse near Cirencester.

The Ikenild or Rikenild began ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirneceſter, then to Worceſter, Wicombe, Brimcham, Lichfield, Darbie, Cheſterfield; and croſſing the Watlingſtreet ſomewhere

Ikenild ran from the South to Worcester, Derby; and the mouth of the Tyne.

in Yorkeſhire, ſtretched foorth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine ſea, as moſt men doo confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, because it paſſed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that *Leland* & other following him doo ſeeme to place the Icenes in Norffolke and Suffolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be doone, ſith it is manifeſt by *Tacitus*, that they laie neere vnto the Silures, and (as I geſſe) either in Stafford and Worceſter [ſhires], or in both, except my conieƈture doo faile me. The author of the booke, intituled *Eulogium hiſtoriarum*, doth call this ſtreet the Lelme. But as herein he is deceiued, ſo haue I dealt withall ſo faithfullie as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof I muſt leaue to other men that are better learned than I.[1]

It was nam d from the Icenes

who dwelt in Stafford or Worcester

[Now to ſpeake generallie of our common high waies through the Engliſh part of the Ile (for of the reſt I can ſaie nothing) you ſhall vnderſtand that in the claie or cledgie ſoile they are often verie deepe and troubleſome in the winter halfe. Wherfore by authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all ſorts of the common people doo imploie their trauell for ſix daies in ſummer vpon the ſame. And albeit that the intent of the ſtatute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decaied places, yet the rich doo ſo cancell their portions, and the poore ſo loiter in their labours, that of all the ſix, ſcarcelie two good days works are well performed and accompliſhed in a pariſh on theſe ſo neceſſarie affaires. Beſides this, ſuch as haue land lieng vpon the ſides of the waies, doo vtterlie neglect to dich and ſcowre their draines and water-courſes, for better auoidance of the winter waters (except it may be ſet off or cut from the meaning of the ſtatute) whereby the ſtreets doo grow

Our present Roads in Clay counties are bad in winter

The common folk have to work at em 6 days a year.

But in the 6 days, hardly 2 real days work is done.

How roads get rotten.

The side ditches and water-courses are not kept clear;

[1] This is the end of Cap. 12 in 1577 ed.

to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noiſome for ſuch as trauell by the ſame. Sometimes alſo, and that verie often, theſe daies works are not imploied vpon thoſe waies that lead from market to market, but ech ſurueior amendeth ſuch by-plots & lanes as ſeeme beſt for his owne commoditie, and more eaſie paſſage vnto his fields and paſtures. And whereas in ſome places there is ſuch want of ſtones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to ſeeke them farre off in other ſoiles: the owners of the lands wherein thoſe ſtones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no ſmall commoditie by raiſing the ſame to exceſſiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another cauſe wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewiſe to be conſidered of, that the trees and buſhes growing by the ſtreets ſides; doo not a little keepe off the force of the ſunne in ſummer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs ſhould continuallie be kept ſhort, and the buſhes not ſuffered to ſpread ſo far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would alſo be remedied, and manie a ſlough proue hard ground that yet is deepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I ſpeake not. But this I know by experience, that wheras ſome ſtreets within theſe fiue and twentie yeares haue beene in moſt places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the traueller might either eſcape the theefe, or ſhift the mier, or paſſe by the loaden cart without danger of himſelfe and his horſſe; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or ſix and twentie at the moſt, which is another cauſe alſo whereby the waies be the worſe, and manie an honeſt man encombred in his iourneie. But what ſpeake I of theſe things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iuſt redreſſe, becauſe the error is ſo common,

each Surveyor gets his own lanes mended instead of the highways;

very high prices are chargd for stones,

the roadside trees and bushes are not rightly cropt and kept back,

or many a slough 'ud be hard road

Within 25 years, old 50-foot roads have been narrowd

to 12, 20, or 26.

The fault is common,

and the profit of it to the land-thieves great.

and the benefit thereby ſo ſweet and profitable to manie, by ſuch houſes and cotages as are raiſed vpon the ſame.]

Of the generall conſtitution of the *bodies of the Britons.*

Chap. 20.[1]

Our folk are tall, strong, fair, and bold

SUch as[2] are bred in this Iland are men for the moſt part of a good complexion, tall of ſtature, ſtrong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldneſſe and courage in the warres. [As for their generall comelineſſe of perſon, the teſtimonie of Gregorie the great, at ſuch time as he ſaw Engliſh captiues ſold at Rome, ſhall eaſilie confirme what it is, which yet dooth differ in ſundrie ſhires and ſoiles, as alſo their proportion of members, as we may perceiue betweene Herefordſhire and Eſſex men, or Cambridgeſhire and the Londoners for the one, and Pokington and Sedberrie for the other; theſe latter being diſtinguiſhed by their noſes and heads, which commonlie are greater there than in other places of the land. As concerning the ſtomachs alſo of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies beene in ſouereigne admiration among forren princes·] for ſuch hath beene the eſtimation of our ſouldiers from time to time, ſince our Iſle hath beene knowne vnto the Romans, that whereſoeuer they haue ſerued in forren countries, the cheefe brunts of ſeruice haue beene reſerued vnto[3] them. Of their conqueſts and bloudie battels woone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our hiſtories are full:. & where they haue beene ouercome, the victorers themſelues confeſſed their victories to haue beene ſo deerelie bought, that they would not gladlie couet to

But some shire men differ

the Sedbury and Pokington folk have bigger noses and heads than other men's.

Englishmen's bravery has always been admird by foreigners.

[1] This is Cap. 14, Bk. I, in ed. 1577. [2] Those that [3] for

ouercome often, after ſuch difficult maner. In martiall proweſſe, there is little or no difference betweene Engliſhmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue beene often and verie greeuouſlie ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not beene for want of manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of God ſhewed on vs, and his iuſtice vpon them, ſith they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs meere iniurie with great deſpite and crueltie.

Scotchmen also are as brave:

they've always begun the quarrels with us

Leland noting ſomewhat of the conſtitution of our bodies, ſaith theſe words [grounding (I thinke vpon *Ariſtotle*, who writeth that ſuch as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and ſtrength of bodie than ſkilfulneſſe or wiſdome.)] The Britons are white in colour, ſtrong[2] of bodie, [and full of bloud,] as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where [the ſoile is not ſo fruitfull, and therefore the people not ſo feeble: whereas] contrariwiſe ſuch as dwell toward the courſe of the ſunne, are leſſe of ſtature, weaker of bodie, more [nice, delicate,] fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & ſome ſo blacke in deed as anie crow or rauen. Thus ſaith he. Howbeit, as thoſe [which are bred in ſundrie places of the maine,] doo[3] come-behind vs in conſtitution of bodie, ſo [I grant, that] in pregnancie of wit, nimbleneſſe of limmes, and politike inuentions, they generallie exceed vs: notwithſtanding that otherwiſe theſe gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into meere ſubtiltie, inſtabilitie, vnfaithfulneſſe, & crueltie. [Yet *Alexander ab Alexandro* is of the opinion, that the fertileſt region dooth bring foorth the dulleſt wits, and contrariwiſe the harder ſoile the fineſt heads. But in mine opinion, the moſt fertile ſoile dooth bring foorth the proudeſt nature, as we may ſee by the *Campanians*, who (as *Cicero* alſo ſaith) had *Penes eos ipſum domicilium ſuperbiæ*. But nether of theſe opinions do iuſtlie take hold of vs, yet hath it

Leland says we're strong and fair because we're near the North,

while Southern folk are weaker and darker,

and craftier, I say.

Non armis sed ingenio vincuntur Angli.

The richest soil brings forth the proudest nature.

[1] and strong [2] these men doe

pleaſed the writers to ſaie their pleaſures of* vs.] And for that we dwell northward,[1] we are commonlie taken by [the] forren hiſtoriographers,[2] to be men of great ſtrength and little policie, much courage and ſmall ſhift, [bicauſe of the weake abode of the ſunne with vs, whereby our braines are not made hot and warmed, as *Pachymerus* noteth *lib.* 3. affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockiſh, vnciuill, fierce and warlike, which qualities increaſe, as they come neerer vnto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blackneſſe, wiſdome, ciuilitie, weakeneſſe, and cowardiſe: thus ſaith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie; or as if there were not one and the ſame concluſion to be made of the conſtitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his assertion holdeth onelie in their perſons that inhabit neere vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the ſmall variance of the ſunne with vs, it is alſo confuted by the length of our daies. Wherefore his reaſon ſeemeth better to vphold that of *Alexander ab Alexandro* afore alledged, than to prooue that we want wit, bicauſe our brains are not warmed by the variance of the ſunne.] And thus [alſo] dooth *Comineus* burden vs after a ſort in his hiſtorie, [and after him *Bodinus.*] But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, [if it may be called wit,] could neuer compaſſe to doo ſo much in Britaine, as the ſtrength and courage of our Engliſhmen (not without great wiſedome and forecaſt) haue brought to paſſe in France. [The Galles in time paſt contemned the Romans (ſaith *Cæſar*) bicauſe of the ſmalneſſe of their ſtature: howbeit, for all their greatneſſe (ſaith he) and at the firſt brunt in the warres, they ſhew themſelues to be but feeble, neither is their courage of any force to ſtand in great calamities.] Certes in accuſing our wiſedome in this ſort, he dooth (in mine opinion)

Alexander thinks we're stupid because the sun doesn't bake our brains enough

But that's not likely.

[*Non vi sed virtute, non armis sed ingenio, vincuntur Angli.*]

But thank God we've thrasht the Frenchmen worse than they have us.

[1] We therefore dwelling neere the North [2] and others

increaſe our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with fingleneſſe of mind, fincerelie and plainlie, without anie [ſuch] ſuſpicious fetches in all our dealings, [as they commonlie practiſe in all their affaires,] then are our countrimen to be accompted [wiſe and] vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe, and hollow behauiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wiſedome: then are *Comineus* and his countrimen[1] to be reputed vicious, [of whome this prouerbe hath of old time beene vſed as an eare marke of their diſſimulation, *Galli ridendo fidem frangunt.*]

We deal with folk more frankly and plainly too

The French are crafty and vicious,

break faith and laugh at you,

How theſe latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to diſcuſſe. How they are dailie practiſed in manie places of the maine, & he accompted moſt wiſe and politike, that can moſt of all diſſemble; here is no place iuſtlie to determine (neither would I wiſh my countrimen to learne anie ſuch wiſedome) but that a king of France could ſaie; *Qui neſcit diſsimulare, neſcit regnare,* [or *viuere,*] their owne hiſtories are teſtimonies ſufficient. [*Galen*, the noble phyſician, transferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blacke, conſtancie; to bloud, mirth; to phlegme, courteſie: and which being mixed more or leſſe among themſelues, doo yeeld an infinit varietie. By this means therefore it commeth to paſſe, that he whoſe nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with ſtrength of bodie, and ſinceritie of behauiour (qualities vniuerſallie granted to remaine ſo well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot ſee what may be an hinderance whie I ſhould not rather conclude, that the Britons doo excell ſuch as dwell in the hoter countries, than for want of craft and ſubtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie alſo for ſome to note vs (as I haue often heard

hold that lying is needful for living.

We incline to phlegm, are strong and sincere,

and excel other nations.

[1] companie

We are not barbarous, because we think little of shedding blood.

in common table talke) as barbarous, bicauſe we ſo little regard the ſhedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we ſee the liquor of life to go from vs (I vſe their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eies, bicauſe we be rather inflamed than appalled at our wounds, then are thoſe obiectors flat cowards in our iudgement: ſith we thinke it a great peece of manhood to ſtand to our tackling, vntill the laſt drop, as men that may ſpare much bicauſe we haue much: whereas they hauing leſſe are afraid to loſe that little which they haue: as *Frontinus* alſo noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their hiſtories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that an Italian writing of his credit, A papiſt intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his meekeneſſe, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no more is a Frenchman to be truſted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he dooth either diſſemble or exceed, which is a foule vice in ſuch as profeſſe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we ſo hard to ſtrangers as *Horace* wold ſeeme to make vs, ſith we loue them ſo long as they abuſe vs not, & make accompt of them ſo far foorth as they deſpiſe vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vſe our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in ſo ample manner as we our ſelues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to doo in their countries, where no ſtranger is ſuffered to haue worke, if an home-borne be without]. But to proceed with our purpoſe.

We'll stand to our tackle to the last drop of our blood.

As to French bravery,

don't trust a Frenchman's account of him self

We treat strangers well,

and give em the same privileges as ourselves

At 60 we begin to get old,

With vs, [although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well,] ſome doo liue an hundred yeers, verie manie vnto foure ſcore: as for three ſcore, it is taken but for our entrance into age, ſo that in Britaine no man is ſaid to wax old till he draw vnto threeſcore, [at which time 'God ſpeed you well' commeth in place; as *Epaminondas* ſometime ſaid in mirth, affirming that vntill thirtie yeares of age, 'You are welcome' is the beſt

and friends say 'God speed you well,' to us,

ſalutation; and from thence to threeſcore, 'God keepe you;' but after threeſcore, it is beſt to ſaie, 'God ſpeed you well:' for at that time we begin to grow toward our iournies end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leaue to go.] Theſe two are alſo noted in vs (as things apperteining to the firme conſtitutions of our bodies) that there hath not beene ſeene in anie region ſo manie carcaſſes of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine: and that after death by ſlaughter or otherwiſe, ſuch as remaine vnburied by foure or fiue daies togither, are eaſie to be knowne and diſcerned by their freends and kindred; whereas *Tacitus* and other complaine of ſundrie nations, ſaieng, that their bodies are *Tam fluidæ ſubſtantiæ*, that within certeine houres the wife ſhall hardlie know hir huſband, the mother hir ſonne, or one freend another after their liues be ended. [In like ſort the comelineſſe of our liuing bodies doo continue from midle age (for the moſt) euen to the laſt gaſpe, ſpeciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children doo after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie ſo wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerſe of other countries with whom their men alſo doo much participate; and thereto be ſo often waiward and peeuiſh, that nothing in maner may content them.]

I might here adde ſomewhat alſo of the meane ſtature generallie of our women, whoſe beautie commonlie exceedeth the faireſt of thoſe of the maine, their comlineſſe of perſon and good proportion of limmes, moſt of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the ſeas. [This neuertheleſſe I vtterlie miſlike in the poorer ſort of them, for the wealthier doo ſildome offend herein: that being of themſelues without competent wit,[1] they are ſo careleſſe in the education of

[1] competent wit, F J. F.'s copy, 1587: gouernement, Brit. Mus. copy. (Other slight differences occur.)

[*Salutations according to our ages.* Brit. Mus. copy, ed. 1587, not in F. J. F.'s copy.]

as we get towards our journey's end.

Corpses don't rot fast here,

but can be recognized after 4 or 5 days.

Our comeliness continues long.

Englishwomen after 40 are *not* so wretched-looking as French ones.

The beauty of our women is greater than that of Continental women.

But our poorer women

neglect their children's education shamefully,

their children (wherein their husbands also are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, doo oftentimes come to confusion, which (if anie correction or discipline had beene vsed toward them in youth) might haue prooued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good seruice and industrie.] I could make report likewise of the naturall vices and vertues of all those that are borne within this Iland, but as the [full] tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to set foorth [the same,] so will I giue place to other men that list to take it[2] in hand. Thus much therefore of the constitutions of our bodies. and so much may suffice.

and don't correct them in their youth

* * * * * * *

Of the maruels of *England*.

Chap. 24.[3]

Lies about the Wonders of England

SUch as haue written of the woonders of our countrie in old time, haue spoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deserue no credit at all: and therefore in seeking thankes of their posteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iust reproch, and in steed of fame purchased vnto themselues nought else but meere discredit in their better [and more learned] treatises. The like commonlie happeneth also to such, as in respect of lucre doo publish vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, wherby they doo consume their times in vaine, and in manifold wise become preiudiciall vnto their common wealths. For

Men who've written for lucre have lied too.

[1] thereof. [2] the same (B. M. copy, 1587, omits 'take'). [3] This is Cap. 18, Book 2, in 1577 ed.

my part[1] [I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our *Demetrius*, of whom *Plutarch* ſpeaketh in his oracles (if thoſe bookes were written by him, for ſome thinke that *Plutarch* neuer wrote them, although *Euſebius lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. dooth acknowledge them to be his) which *Demetrius* left ſundrie treatiſes behind him, conteining woonderfull things collected of our Iland. But ſith that in my time they are found to be falſe, it ſhould be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beleeue, that infernall ſpirits can die and giue vp their ghoſts like mortall men? though *Saxo* ſeeme to conſent vnto him in this behalfe. In ſpeaking alſo of the out Iles, he ſaith thus· Beyond Britaine are manie deſolate Ilands, whereof ſome are dedicated to the Gods, ſome to the noble Heroes. I ſailed (ſaith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie neere hand, onelie to ſee and view the ſame, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet ſuch as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holineſſe. During the time alſo that I remained in the ſame, it was vexed with great ſtorme and tempeſt, which cauſed me not a little to doubt of my ſafe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cauſe ſhould be of this ſo great and ſudden mutation of the aire? they anſwered, that either ſome of the Gods, or at the leaſt of the Heroes were latelie deceaſed: for as a candle (ſaid they) hurteth none whileſt it burneth, but being ſlenderlie put out, annoieth manie with the filthie ſauour: ſo theſe Gods, whileſt they liued, were either not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceaſſed, they ſo mooue the heauens and aire, that much miſcheefe dooth inſue eftſoones vpon the ſame.

So has our

Demetrius, in his treatiſes on the Wonders of Britain

Who can believe his story about an Ile beyond Britain

that a great storm there

was caused by the death of a God or Hero?

Being alſo inquiſitiue of the ſtate of other Iles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherin Saturne being ouertaken with a dead

Demetrius was cramd too about Saturn lying in a dead

[1] part therefore

sleep, and Briareus watching him.

ſleepe, was watched by Briareus as he laie, which Saturne alſo had manie ſpirits attending vpon him in ſundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is eaſie to conceiue, with what vaine ſtuffe that volume of *Demetrius* is interlaced. But of ſuch writers as we haue too too manie, ſo among the ſaid rable *Geruaſe* of Tilberie is not the leaſt famous, a man as it were euen ſold to vtter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Wandleburie hilles, that lie within ſight & by ſouth of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped ſometime, when they entered into this Iland) and of a ſpirit that would of cuſtome in a moone ſhine night (if he were chalenged and called therevnto) run at tilt and turneie in complet armor with anie knight or gentleman whomſoeuer, in that place: and how one Oſbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himſelfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one eſquier, and called for him, who foorthwith appeared in rich armour, and anſwered his chalenge, ſo that running togither verie fiercelie, they met with ſuch rigor, that the anſwerer was ouerthrowne and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot ſo long, till Oſbert ouercame and draue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horſſe behind him, which was of huge ſtature, blacke (as he ſaith) of colour, with his furniture of the ſame hue, and wherevpon he ſeized, giuing him vnto his page, who caried him home, and there kept him till it was neere daie, during which ſpace he was ſeene of manie. But when the daie light began to ſhew it ſelfe ſomewhat cleere, the beaſt ſtamped and ſnorted, and foorthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane ſeaſon Oſbert being verie faint, and waxing wearie (for he was ſore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leaſtwiſe diſſembled to know it) cauſed his leg-harneſſe or ſteele-

Gervase of Tilbury too tells a foolish tale

about Wandlebury Hills,

of a Spirit that 'ud tilt with men · how

Osbert of Barnwell

chargd and unhorst the Spirit,

drove him away,

and carrid off his black horse,

which, as soon as day came, broke away, and was never more heard of. Also

how Osbert was wounded, and his steel boots were full of blood.

bootes to be pulled off, which his freends ſaw to be full of bloud ſpilled in the voiage. But let who ſo liſt beleeue it, ſith it is either a fable deuiſed, or ſome diueliſh illuſion, if anie ſuch thing were doone. And on mine owne behalfe,] hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no more than either I know my ſelfe to be true, or am crediblie informed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to ſpeake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to diſcredit[1] themſelues by lieng. In writing therefore of the woonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rareneſſe amongſt the common ſort, are taken for the foure miracles and woonders of the land.

But as I fear God, I shall tell you only the truth.

Foure woonders of England.

The firſt of theſe is a vehement and ſtrong wind, which iſſueth out of the[2] hilles called the Peke, ſo violent and ſtrong, that [at] certeine times if a man doo caſt his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it iſſueth, it drioeth the ſame backe againe, hoiſing it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this alſo *Giraldus* ſpeaketh.

I. A strong wind from the Peak, which 'll blow a cloak out of a cave.

The ſecond is the miraculous ſtanding or rather hanging of certeine ſtones vpon the plaine of Saliſburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to ſaie the truth, they may well be woondered at, not onelie for the manner of poſition, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but alſo for their greatneſſe & ſtrange[3] maner of lieng of ſome of them one vpon another, which ſeemeth to be with ſo tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their preſent ruine. How and when theſe ſtones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is moſt likelie, that they were raiſed there by the Britons, after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banket, which Hengiſt and his Saxons prouided for them, where

II. Stonehenge.

Some of the Stonehenge slabs are so 'tickle' of their hold that men hardly dare walk under em

[1] defile [2] certaine [3] strong

they were alſo buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be ſeene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth alſo, that theſe were broght from thence, but by what ſhip on the ſea, and cariage by land, I thinke few men can [ſafelie] imagine.

They're supposed to have been brought from Ireland.

III. Chedderhole.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call *Carcer Acoli*,[1] but in Engliſh Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noiſome: ſo diuerſe that haue aduentured to go into the ſame, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither ſee anie other thing than pretie riuerets and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summerſetſhire, and thence the ſaid waters run till they meet with the ſecond Ar[2] that riſeth in Owkie hole.

There's no end to it.

IV Diſperſion of clouds on certain Western hills.

The fourth is no leſſe notable than anie of the other. For weſtward vpon certeine hilles a man ſhall ſee the clouds gather togither in faire weather vnto a certeine thickneſſe, and by and by to ſpread themſelues abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the ſudden. The cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterlie vnknowne: ſo manie men conie&ture great ſtore of water to be in thoſe hilles, & verie neere at hand, if it were needful to be ſought for.

Rock of Barrie,

Beſides theſe foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aver Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barrie, which hath a rift or clift next the firſt ſhore; wherevnto if a man doo laie his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noiſes as are commonlie made in ſmiths forges, to wit,[3] clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowſes, and ſuch like: whereof the ſuperſtitious ſort doo gather manie toies, as the

in a cleft of which you can hear smiths' forges at work.

[1] Eoli [2] aye [3] viz

gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pot.

The riuer that runneth by Cheſter changeth hir chanell euerie moneth: the cauſe whereof as yet I can not learne; neither dooth [it] ſwell by force of anie land floud, but by ſome vehement wind it oft ouer-runneth hir banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a moouable Iland, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fiſhes in it, as eeles, trowts, and perches: but herein reſteth the woonder, that all thoſe haue but one eie a peece onelie, and the ſame ſituate in the right ſide of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed [alſo] by authors: There is a well in the forreſt of Gnareſborow, whereof the ſaid forreſt dooth take the name; which [water, beſide that it is cold as Stix,] in a certeine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trees, and moſſe into hard ſtone, without alteration or changing of ſhape. The like alſo is ſeene there in frogs, wormes, and ſuch like liuing creatures as fall into the ſame, and find no readie iſſue. Of this ſpring alſo *Leland* writeth thus; A little aboue March (but at the further banke of Nide riuer as I came) I ſaw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, becauſe the water thereof diſtilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continuallie, which is ſo cold, and thereto of ſuch nature, that what thing ſoeuer falleth out of thoſe rocks into this pit, or groweth neere thereto, or be caſt into it by mans hand, it turneth into ſtone. It may be (ſaith he) that ſome ſand or other fine ground iſſueth out with this water from theſe hard rocks, which cleauing vnto thoſe things, giueth them in time the forme of ſtones &c. [Neere vnto the place where Winburne monaſterie ſometimes ſtood, alſo not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie peece, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard ſtone.] In part of the hilles eaſt ſoutheaſt of Alderleie, a

Chester River, which changes its channel every month.

Snowdon Lakes.

One bears a moveable iland, the other has fish with only one eye

Petrifying Well at Knaresbro',

which turns leaves, frogs, &c, into stone of the same shape

Leland saw near the Nid in Yorkshire a Dropping Well

that turnd into stone all things cast into it.

Petrifying wells and ground near Bath.

Alderley stones

mile from Kingſwood, are ſtones dailie found, perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oiſters, which ſome dreame haue[1] lien there euer ſince the floud. In the clifts betweene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the ſides of the ſame, which I take to be nothing but the ſhining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vſed. Howbeit, becauſe it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I doo not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongſt our woonders. Maiſter[2] Guiſe had of late, and ſtill hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Glocesterſhire, where certeine okes doo grow, whoſe rootes are verie hard ſtone. And beſide this, the ground is ſo fertile there (as they ſaie) that if a man hew a ſtake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth,[3] it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. [Siluecester towne alſo is ſaid to conteine foureſcore acres of land within the walles, whereof ſome is corne-ground (as *Leland* ſaith) and the graine which is growing therein dooth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vaniſheth away & becommeth altogither vnprofitable.] Is it any woonder (thinke you) to tell of ſundrie caues neere to Brow-ham, on the weſt ſide of the riuer Aimote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of houſhold cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increaſe the number of maruels verie much by a rehearſall of other alſo. For we haue manie of the like, as one neere[4] ſaint Aſſaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Vendrath Vehan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and ſandie ground vnder their feet, and other elſe-where. But ſith theſe things

like cockles and big oysters

A Cornish Cave,

where things look gilded.

Gloucester oaks with stony roots

Any stake 'll tak root there.

Silchester corn,

which Leland saya is fine till it s ready to cut, and then goes to nothing

Caves near Brougham,

with rooms, &c,

cut out of the rock.

Other rooms in rocks.

[1] to haue [2] M. [3] grounde [4] nere as if to

are not ſtrange, I let them alone, and go forward with the reſt.

In the pariſh of Landfarnam in Wales, and in the ſide of a ſtonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie ſeats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge ſtone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie pariſh, and of the notable carcaſſe that is affirmed to lie vnder the ſame, there is no cauſe to touch it here: yet were it well doone to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to ſee what it is, which the people haue in ſo great eſtimation & reuerence. There is alſo a poole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockſhire, where (as is ſaid) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanſeie, which hath ſuch a propertie, that it will breed no fiſh at all, & if anie be caſt into it, they die without recouerie: [but this peraduenture may grow throgh the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it ſelfe.] There is alſo a lin[1] in Wales, which in the one ſide beareth trowts ſo red as ſamons, and in[2] the other, which is the weſterlie ſide, verie white and delicate. [I heare alſo of two welles not far from Landien, which ſtand verie neere togither, and yet are of ſuch diuerſitie of nature, that the one beareth ſope, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogither of contrarie qualities. Which is not a litle to be muſed at, conſidering (I ſaie) that they participate of one ſoile, and riſe ſo nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a ſtone not farre from ſaint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or ſuch like thing: and being raiſed vp, a man may ſtirre it with his thumbe; but not with his ſhoulder or force of his whole bodie.]

In Landfarnam are 24 seats cut in the side of a hill.

Pember Stone, and the carcase said to be under it.

A Pool in Loch Taw

kills all fish put into it

A Lin in Wales, with red trout on one side, and white on the other.

2 Wells near Landien,

1 bearing soap, the other not.

A Stone near St. Davids

can be moved by a man's thumb, but not by his body.

There is a well not farre from ſtonie Stratford, which conuerteth manie things into ſtone; and an other in Wales, which is ſaid to double or triple the force of anie

[1] Linne [2] on

Wells in Stony Stratford and Wales for tempering tools

edge toole that is quenched in the ſame. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the pariſh of Kilken) which is of maruellous nature,

A Welsh well inland, that ebbs and flows twice a day, as the sea flows and ebbs

[and much like to another well at Seuill in Spaine.] for although it be ſix miles from the ſea, it ebbeth and floweth twiſe in one daie; alwaies ebbing when the ſea dooth vſe to flow, and in flowing likewiſe when the ſea dooth vſe [to] ebbe; wherof ſome doo fable, that this well is ladie and miſtreſſe of the ocean. Not farre

Winifred's Well grows sweet-scented moss.

from thence alſo is a medicinable ſpring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof dooth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable moſſe, wherewith the head of the ſmeller is

Intermittent streams at

maruellouſlie refreſhed. Other welles [and water-courſes] we haue likewiſe, which at ſome times burſt out into huge ſtreames, though at other ſeaſons they run but verie ſoftlie, whereby the people gather ſome alteration of eſtate to be at hand. [And ſuch a one

Henley, Croydon, &c.

there is at Henleie, & an other at Croidon; & ſuch a one alſo in the golden dale beſide Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common ſort imagine manie things.] Some of the greater ſort alſo giue ouer to run at all in ſuch times, wherof they conceiue the like opinion.

Langley Park, Kent

[And of the ſame nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleie parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable hiſtorie in an ancient chronicle that I ſaw of late.] What the

Hell kettles.

fooliſh people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthie the rehearſall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceiued of them may grow into contempt, I will ſaie

There are 3 Devil's Kettles at Darlington,

thus much alſo of thoſe pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little pooles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile diſtant from the Theſe banks which the people call the Kettles of hell,[1] or the diuels Kettles, as if he ſhould ſeeth ſoules of ſinfull men and

where spirits are said to have been heard to yell

women in them. They adde alſo, that the ſpirits haue oft beene heard to crie and yell about them, with

[1] Kettles

other like talke ſauoring altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion alſo was Cutbert Tunſtall [late] biſhop of Durham, [a man (notwithſtanding the baſeneſſe of his birth, being begotten by one Tunſtall vpon a daughter of the houſe of the Commers, as *Leland* ſaith) of great learning and iudgement,] that the cole-mines in thoſe places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of ſome other vnctuous matter be ſet on fire, which being here and there conſumed, the earth falleth in, and ſo dooth leaue a pit. Indeed the water is now and then warme (as they ſaie) and beſide that it is not cleere: the people ſuppoſe them to be an hundred fadam deepe. The biggeſt of them alſo hath an iſſue into the Theſe, [1] [as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes *aliàs* Belȝis made report, how a ducke marked after the faſhion of the duckes of the biſhoprike of Durham, was put into the ſame betwixt Darlington and Theſe banke, and afterward ſeene at a bridge not farre from maſter Clereuax houſe. If it were woorth the noting, I would alſo make relation of manie wooden croſſes found verie often about Halidon, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oſwald and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed ſometimes againſt the Britiſh infidels, vpon a ſuperſtitious imagination, that thoſe croſſes ſhould be their defenſe and ſhield againſt their aduerſaries. Beda calleth the place where the ſaid field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Pictiſh wall, and the famous monaſterie of Hagulſtad. But more of this elſwhere. Neither will I ſpeake of the little hillets ſeene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the vnſkilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing elſe but *Tumuli* or graues of former times,

These Heli-kettles are really burnt-out coal-mines.

Halidon Crosses,

supposd to have fallen from heaven, but really dropt by K Oswald and his men.

The little hillets of which folk talk nonsenses, are old graves.

[1] Not in, but instead—But ynough woonders lest I doe seeme to be touched in thys description, & thus much of the hel Kettles. 1577.

as appeareth by ſuch tooms and carcaſſes as be daily found in the ſame, when they be digged downe. The like forᵗ d imagination haue they of a kind of lunarie, which is to be found in manie places, although not ſo well knowen by the forme vnto them, as by the effect thereof, becauſe it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horſes feete as hit vpon it where it groweth in their feeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouſlie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compaſſe of the pariſh where I dwell, and doo take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathiolus and the herbariſts doo write, albeit that it hath not beene my lucke at anie time to behold it. Plinie calleth it Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyranis, and Trebius haue written manie ſuperſtitious things thereof, but eſpeciallie our Chymiſts, who make it of farre more vertue than our ſmiths doo their ferne ſeed, whereof they babble manie woonders, and prate of ſuch effects as may well be performed indeed when the ferne beareth ſeed which is commonly *Ad calendas Græcas*, for before it will not be found. But to proceed.] There is a well in Darbieſhire called Tideſwell [(ſo named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow)] whoſe water often ſeemeth to riſe and fall, as the ſea which is fortie miles from it dooth vſuallie accuſtome to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it keepeth an ordinarie courſe as the ſea dooth. Howbeit, ſith diuerſe are knowne to haue watched the ſame, it may be that at ſometimes it riſeth, but not continuallie; and that it ſo dooth I am fully perſuaded to beleeue. But [euen] inough of the woonders [of our countrie,] leaſt I doo ſeeme by talking longer of them, woonderouſlie to ouerſhoot my ſelfe, and forget how much dooth reſt behind of the deſcription of my countrie. [As for thoſe that are to be touched of Scotland, the deſcription of that part ſhall in ſome part remember them.]

The herb, Moonwort, that opens locks on horses' feet it grows in Tothill Fields

Our Chemists make it of more virtue than fern seed.

Tideswell in Derbyshire, 40 miles off the sea, yet ebbs and flows with it

Of Tideswell, Derbyshire

§ 5. EXTRACTS FROM CHURCHYARD, NORDEN, FYNES MORISON, &c

[*From Churchyard's* '*CHALLENGE*,' *Wolfe*, 1593, *pp.* 110—117. *Grenville Library*, 11247.]

A Diſcourſe of Gentlemen lying in London, that were better keepe houſe at home in their Countrey.

I Muſe why youth, or age of gentle blood,
Borne vnto wealth, and worldly worſhip heere
In London long, conſumes both land and good,
That better were, at home to make good cheere.
In London ſtill, they finde all vittells deere,
Hoiſt vp a height, to bring our purſes low,
And ſend men home, with empty bags yee know.

I wonder why rich youth stay in London where victuals are dear

The ſtreetes with fields, may neuer matched be,
For all ſweete aire, at will abroad we finde:
What is it then, in London that they ſee.
But Countrey yeeldes, and better glads the minde.
Perhaps ſome ſay, the people are ſo kinde:
And curteous to, in ſtately ciuill Towne,
As men thereby, wins credite and renowne.

London streets can't match with the fields

Perhaps the people are kind and courteous

Firſt for they ſeeme, in Citty freſh and fine,
Moſt gay to eie, and gallant as a roſe:
But ſhall a man, for pleaſure of his eien,
And pompe or pride, of painted goodly cloes,
He ſees abroad, at home his credite loſe.
Our Elders did, not ſo delight in traſhe,
And tempting toyes, that brings a man in laſh.

They seem fresh and gay,

but will a man for gay clothing lose his credit at home?

For when they came, to London there to ſtay,
They ſent fat beeues, before them for their ſtore:
And went ſometimes, a ſhooting all the way.
With all their traine, and houſhold that is more:
Yet were they not, at no leſſe charge therefore:

Our elders sent fat beef before them to London, but it cost them just as much

Kept houſe in Ins, and fedde the poor thereby,
That in hard world, may now for hunger die.

They didn't tarry to gamble.

They taried not, in Towne to card and dice,
Nor follow long, lewd luſts that lothſome are:
Which breedes rebuke, and foſters ſecrete vice.
And makes tame birds, to fall in Satan's ſnare,

they loved plain robes.

They loude plaine robes, but hated purſes bare,
Made much of men, gaue neighbors beefe and bred,
Yet left their aires, great wealth now they are dead.

their care was to keep a good house,

Their care was ſtill, to keepe good houſe and name,
Spend they might ſpare, yet ſpare where cauſe they found,
And librall be, when bounty purchaſt fame.
And let floud runne, where water did abound.
Rulde all with wit, and wary Iudgement ſound,

and spend for virtue's sake

Not bent in braues, great hauocke for to make.
But drawne and moude, to ſpend for vertues ſake.

They gave much to the poor

Gaue much to poore, that craude an almes at gate,
Kept buttry dore, for ſtraungers open ſtill:
Made neighbours eate, that earely came or late,
By which they wonne, the Countreys great good will,
Could ſerue the Prince with coundit men and ſkill·
With their owne charge, and pors a rare thing now,
That feelde is ſeene, with loue and power throw.

They raisd no rents,

They raiſd no rents, to make the tenant whine,
Nor clapt no yoke on friendly neighbours necke:
Nor made poor folke, find fault with cutthroat fine.

and had the people with them,

But had the hearts, of people at a becke,
As we haue now, our ſeruants vnder checke.
O how plaine men, would follow Landlord than.
Like ſwarmes of Bees, when any warres began.

who were glad to follow them to the wars

Yea glad was he, that might with maiſter goe,
Though charge and wife, he left at home behinde,
In this fine world, the manner is not ſo.
Hard handling makes, men ſhew another minde,
Then loyall loue, made mens affection blinde.
Now can they ſee, and will doe what they liſt.
Caſt of like Hawkes, come when they pleaſe to fiſt.

What a change you young masters find!

What change finde you, yong maiſters in theſe daies,
What hath drawn backe, the forward minds of men:
What makes ſomtime, preſt ſouldier run his waies.
What makes this world, much worſe then world was then,

I dare not say what makes the world worse now.

I dare not now, expreſſe the cauſe with pen.
But lay your hands, vppon your breſt and winke.
And you ſhall geſſe, what of theſe thinges I thinke.

Gay golden robes, and garments pownced out,
Silke lade on ſilke, and ſtitched ore the ſame:
Great loſſe and play, and keeping reuell route,
With groſſer knackes, I liſt not now to name,
Hath by abuſe, brought world cleane out of frame,
And made them rich, and prowd, that borne were bare.
Yet liues by luſt, and ſale of paltry ware.

Gay clothing and loose living have done it.

Our fathers wore, good frees to keepe them warme,
And kendall greene, in ſommer for a ſhew:
Might better to, take trifles for a farme.
Then theſe that now, in ſilkes and veluets goe,
The former age, made tenants duety know:
To Landlords all, and ſo their cates they ſold,
As much for loue as now they ſell for golde.

Our fathers drest in frieze and Kendal green

You wear silks and velvets.

Now is the caſe and cuſtome altered cleane,
The tenant he, in deede will part from nought:
For landlords weale, nor loſe by him a beane,
Nor ſell him thing, that is not dearely bought,
At tenants hand, what euer may be ſought,
Beares double price, as though the farmer might,
Liue on himſelfe, and ſet his Landlord light.

Now the case is alterd the tenant sells to the landlord at double price

This breedes contempt, in vaſſall paſt all cry,
And makes the Lord, racke vp his rents a height:
And take great fines, you ſee wherefore and why.
And lode the backes of Farmers with great weight.
This makes wiſe men, vſe many a craft and ſleight.
To puniſh churles, and pinch them neere the bone,
That doth ſmall good, yet all would haue alone.

This makes landlords rack rents, and wise men use craft.

Why plead they want, where plenty is great ſtore,
And God hath bleſt, the earth with fruite and graine:
They ſay becauſe, they charged are ſo ſore.
To pay ſuch rent, and take ſuch toile and paine.
Well well there doth, a fault in both remaine.
The one will not, let nought in market fall,
The other ſtill, in London ſpendeth all.

There are faults on both sides.

Like one that flings, more water in the ſeas,
Or caſts away, his gold where it is loſt:
The Gentleman, is ſeldome well at eaſe.
Till that he ride, to London all in poſt.
And vp and downe, the dice and cards be toſt.
When he a while, about the ſtreets doth rome,
He borrowes pence, at length to bring him home.

The Gentleman is seldom at ease till he rides to London,

O ſaieth the boy, or girle that keepes the barre,
This man is free, and francke where ere he goes,

where he is praisd by barmaids for

his liberality

And ſpends as much, as doth a man of warre,
That comes from ſpoile, and conqueſt of his foes,
Cries fill the pot, the ebbing water flowes.
The chencks are here, we haue inough to ſpend,
Set all agog, vntill bad world amend.

Such lads were better asleep at home

O Lord how ſoone, a man is ore his ſhooes,
That wades and ſteps, in ſtreame or water deepe:
How ſoone from towne, in countrey we haue newes,
That ſome ſpends all, for they can nothing keepe,
If ſuch lads were, at home in bed a ſleepe.
Twere better ſure, then lie in London thus,
Vppon the ſcore, or like banckrouts iwus.

What fine sights and fine things there are in London!

Fine ſhops and ſights, fine dames and houſes gay,
Fine wares fine words, fine ſorts of meat is there,
Yea all is fine, and nothing groſſe they ſay.
Fine knaks coſts much, coſts ſpoils vs euery where
Spoile is a worme, that wealth away will weare,
A cancker crept, in Court for ſome mens croſſe,
That eates vp lands, and breeds great lacke and loſſe.

Expense, debt, and disgrace wait on all these

Expenſe and ſpoile, waits hard on braueries heeles,
With daily debt, and daunger of diſgrace
A crue of Dickes, as world went all on wheeles,
With ſwaſhing Tom, and goodman Maple face,
In ſundry cloakes, and thred bare liueries bace,
That neuer ware, ne badge, nor ſigne of thrift
But certaine ſignes and ſhowes they liue by ſhift.

Then come thought, and care and sighs

And in the necke, of al this retchles band,
Comes thought and care, in ſad and mourning weeds,
And ſore forethinkes, that he hath ſold his land.
Or laide to gage, good leaſes and old deedes.
No better fruite, we reape of ill ſowne ſeedes,
But heauy ſighes, or pricking thiſtels bare,
That doth deſtroy, good ground where ere they are.

Wife and babes go hungry three times a week

Spoile brings home plagues, to wife & children both,
When huſband hath, at play ſet vp his reſt.
Then wife and babes, at home a hungry goeth,
(Thrice euery weeke) where ſeld good meat is dreſt.
With rufty broach, the houſhold all are bleſt.
For potched egs, in good howre be it ſpoke:
Muſt for a ſhift, make kitchin chimney ſmoke.

A device to keep poor Kate in health.

A fine deuiſe, to keepe poor kaett in health,
A pretty toy, to mocke an Ape withall.
No matter much, though wife have little wealth.
Shee hath for neede, a meſſe of creame at call,

A trim young boy, to toſſe and tirle the ball,
A cocke a hen, and pretty pus or catte,
And at a pinch, a great deale more then that,

Gay gownes and geare, God wot good ſtore inough,
And faire milke maids, as dainty as a Doe,
That fares as well, as bob that holds the plough,
Yea cheere in bowles, they haue ſometime ye know:
Sweete whay and cruds, a bancket for a Croe,
Such rule ſhee keepes, when huſband is farre of,
Whiles children weeps, that feeds on hard browne loſe.

Milkmaids fare as well as plowmen

Thinke you theſe things, nips not the pye croſt neere,
And rubs the gaule, that neuer will be whole:
The maiſter may, keepe reuell all the yeere,
And leaue the wife, at home like ſilly ſoule.
What recke of that, who liſts may blow the cole,
Though ſome doe ſtarue, and pine away with want.
Young luſty lads, abroad liues all aſlant.

The master may revel all the year, and leave the wife at home to starve.

Some come to Court, to breake vp houſe at home,
Such keepes a cloake, vntill a rainy day:
Some weaues their yarne, and cloth in other loeme,
At tabling houſe, where they may freely play:
Some walk to Pauls, wher ſome maks many a fray
The greateſt ſumme, are ſworne to ſpend and ſpoile,
And royot runne, at large in euery ſoile.

Some come to court,

some gamble, some quarrel at Paul's

Great cheere is turnd, at home to empty diſhe,
Great bounty lookes, like bareſoote beggers bag,
Great hardnes brings, to boord ne fleſh nor fiſhe,
Great haſt to giue, comes limping lame and lag.
Great ſhew men make, of houſe but thats a brag.
For if ten daies, at home they keepe great fare,
Three months abroad, for that they abſent are.

Great cheer is turnd to empty dishes at home.

England was cald, a librall countrey rich,
That tooke great ioy, in ſpending beefe and bred:
In deede this day, the countrey ſpendeth mich,
But that expenſe, ſtands poore in little ſted:
For they finde nought, where hounds and hawks are fed,
But hard colde poſts, to leane at in great lacke:
Who wants both foode, and clouts to cloth their backe.

England was calld a liberal country, but now, where hounds are fed, the poor lack

Almes deedes are dead, and conſcience waxeth cold,
World ſcrats and ſcrapes, pluckes fleſh and fell from bone,
What cunning heads, and hands can catch in hold,
That couetous mindes, doth ſeeke to weld alone,
The poore complaynes, and makes a greeuous mone.

Alm deeds are dead, and conscience waxes cold.
The rich keeps all in his fist

The ritch heares all, and keepes all ſafe in fiſt,
As all were his, to ſpend it as he liſt.

Spend on, a reckoning muſt come.

Well ſpend on ſtill, a reckning muſt bee made,
When hee doth call, that ſendes you all the ſtore:
You will be taught, to vſe another trade,
Or in the end, full dearly paie therefore

I wiſh you well, and find no fault.

I wiſh you well, you can deſire no more.
Waie all my wordes, as you haue reaſon ſtill,
I find no fault, but ſpeakes this of good will.

To you, my friend, none of this applies.

And you deare friend, that in Rockſauage dwell,
For whom I haue, theſe verſes heere ſet down:
To you no peece, of this Diſcourſe I tell,
For you lie not, at charge ſo long in towne,
As others doe, that are of like renowne.
Your houſe at home, you hold in better ſort,
Then thouſands doe, the world doth ſo report.

FINIS.

EXTRACT FROM CHURCHYARD'S "MIRROR AND MANNERS OF MEN," 1594.

[Heere follows a glance, and dash with a pen,
On worlds great mischance, and manners of men.]

[*Auchinleck press*, 1816; *pressmark*, 641. i. 16. *Sign. B2, 3, back.*]

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"Brauery ſtill beggeth, where fountaine doth run, Bravery still begs amongst plenty.
Coms from Gods bleſſing, vnto the warme ſunne.
A practice of late, the thriftles tryes now,
Who goes from court gate, vnto the playne plow.
Landlords lacks liuing (what pity is that) Landlords lack livings.
They looke for a bee, and catch but a gnat,
Great rents runs to ruffs, and hides him in haſte,
Yong heires comes after, and cryes out on waſt. Heirs complain of waste.
Leaſes and lordſhips, are drownd in gold lace,
Old auntient demaynes, conſumes a great pace. Demesnes consume.
The Sun puts away, that Father did get,
So my yong mayſter, drops quickly in det. Young men get into debt.
Hauock runs on head, and looks not behind,
And many wants bread, that beares a good mind. Many want bread.
Muck makes men mizers, the richer they are,
The leſſe do they ſpend, and worſe will they fare."
Good turns are ſo ſtrang[e], they can not be had,
The beſt ſort do find, their fortune but bad.
Makeſhift the micher, thinks not of amending,
Craft rubs out a life, with borrowing and lending,
With ſhuffling of cards, and trotting of bones, Money is wasted in gambling.
Both money and time, are loſt all at once.
Loſſe chafeth the mind, and alters the cace,
Breaketh good credit, and brings great diſgrace.
Who learns not to cog, muſt leaue off to play,
For with fine foyſting men catch what they may. Cheating is rife.

* * * * * *

Figboyes with a windles, drawes Deer to the bow,
Darlings do dandle, their babes even ſo.
Hellhounds waxe wyly, to bite eare they barke,
Driues a-drift daily, by coſenage in darke. Thousands are plunderd.
So thouſands are ſpoyled, before they ſee day,
When that with full bags, falſe theeves runs away.

LIST OF EXTRACTS FROM JOHN NORDEN'S "*SURUEYORS DIALOGUE*, 1608."

EXTRACTS FROM JOHN NORDEN'S "*SURUEYORS DIALOGUE*, 1608."

1. *The Riſe of Prices, and Farmers' Extravagance.* p. 13-14.

Sur. To ſhew you then an inſtance, looke into the Chronicle in the time of *Henry* the ſixt, and you ſhall finde, that a quarter of Wheate was ſold at *Royſton* in *Hartfordſhire* for twelue pence: and I truſt, if you be a Farmer, you are a Corne-ſeller, and I thinke, if a man offer you thirty times as much for a quarter, you will ſay it is better worth. *John Stow.* *Wheat at twelue pence the quarter.*

Farm. Was it poſſible that Corne was then and there ſo cheape, and to riſe ſince to this rate? it is very ſtrange.

Sur. Not at all: for ſince there grew ſuch emulation among Farmers, that one would outbid another, (which in the beginning was little ſeene) it grew at length, that he that bought deare, muſt ſell deare, and ſo grew the prices of things by degrees to this rate as now they be, and a Farmer gets as much by his Farme now, as then he did. *Rents of land, and prices of things grow together*

Farm. You erre therein, I aſſure you: for elſe could Farmers keepe as good houſes & hoſpitality now, as they did then, and alas, you ſee how vnable they be.

Sur. It is true, and the reaſon is manifeſt: for where in thoſe dayes Farmers and their wiues were content with meane dyet, and baſe attire, and held their children to ſome auſtere gouernment, without haunting Alehouſes, Tauerns, Dice, Cards, & vaine delites of charge, the caſe is altred: the *Huſbandman* will be equal to the *Yoman*, the *Yoman* to the *Gentleman*, the *Gentleman* to the *Squire*, the *Squire* his Superiour, and ſo the reſt, euery one ſo farre exceeding the corruptions held in former times, that I will ſpeake without reprehenſion, there is at this day thirty times as much vainely ſpent in a family of like multitude and quality, as was in former ages, whereof I ſpeake. And therefore impute not the rate *The cauſes why things haue grown to this extremity.*

of grounds to a wrong cauſe, for to tell you truly, both Lord and Tenant are guilty in it: and yet they may be both content, for they are as the Sea and the Brookes: for as the Riuers come from the Sea ſo they runne into the Sea againe.

2. *On Villains or Bondmen.* p. 77-9.

Lord. . . What elſe is there to be conſidered, touching the things incident to a Mannor?

Sur. Nothing Sir, that I now remember: but a matter almoſt out of vſe, a tenure called *Villanage:* that is, where the Tenants of a Mannor were *Bondmen* and *Bondwomen*, the men were called *Villaines*, and the women *Neiffes*.

Tenure in villanage.

Lord. It hath a baſe title: A *Villaine* is an [1]opprobrious name, howſoeuer it tooke beginning.

[1] *orig* approbrious.

Sur. As the word is now vſed and taken, it is indeede a word of great diſhonour: but the time hath beene, the word hath bene of no ſuch diſgrace. And it is now but as the thing is ment by the ſpeaker, and taken by him to whom it is ſpoken: although ſome ſay, that a villaine is *quaſi ſeruus:* which name indeed is of a more tolerable conſtruction in our common ſence, then is now the name of *villaine*, which is indeed no more then *villanus*, a Ruſtique or Countriman, which word is in ſence contrary to *Ciues*, or *Oppidanus*, but that ſince the Conqueſt by the *Normanes*, theſe *villaines* became bondmen: for where the Conquerour came and preuailed by force, there the Countrey people became *Captiues* and *Slaues*. But *Kent*, which was not ſubdued by the ſword, but by compoſition, retained their freedome ſtill, as did alſo many *Cities*.

Villaine quid

Villains came by conquest bondmen.

Lord. Why then ſhould the name *villaine* bee ſo odious, if it ſignifie but a *Countriman:* for there are many honeſt, ciuill, and wealthy Countrimen?

Sur. Becauſe they indured vnder that name, many kindes of ſeruitude and ſlauiſh labours, vnder their Lords, as did the *Iſraelites* in *Egipt*, & whatſoeuer they poſſeſſed, was not theirs, but the Lords.

Lord. I blame not any man then, to take exceptions at the name: for hee that would call me *Villaine*, and were not, I thinke, ment to bring me into like thraldome: but I thinke there be not many vnder this kinde of ſervitude at this day.

Sur. There are not: yet there be as many *Villani* as in times paſt, in that ſence, from which this word was firſt deriued: which as I ſayd, was from the place of their inhabiting the Country, and country villages and out-farmes. And a man may be called *Villanus*, without offence, vnleſſe it be ſpoken in opprobrious ſence: for if a man ſhould aſke a Scholler howe hee would call, or what adiunct he would giue vnto a man, dwelling in a Country village or houſe: hee would ſay hee were *Villanus* or *Villaticus*, a man belonging to a village or to ſome Country houſe or Farme, for *Villa* ſignifieth a village, a Farme or a Houſe out of a towne. *Cuius ego villam contemplans* (ſayth *Cicero*) 'whoſe Mannor or Farme I beholding' This I produce, to ſhewe whence the word *Villaine* was firſt deriued. But the word at this day needes not to be ſo carped at, vnleſſe the party do the ſeruice of that *baſe tenure*, which vpon the *conqueſt* was impoſed vpon the Country people: which kinde of ſeruice and ſlauery, thankes bee to God, is in moſt places of this Realme quite aboliſhed, & worne out of memory: yet ſome beare the marke, both in their ancient & new copies, by this word *Tenens natiuus*, which ſignifieth a *bond tenant*, or borne of the bloud: & yet it may be, their anceſters were manumiſed long agoe. And it were not amiſſe, that ſtewards of ſuch Courts, wherein ſuch copies are made, would be careful in making their copies vpon Surrender of ſuch a Tenant. whoſe anceſters euermore poſſeſſed the thing he ſurrenders; for when a free man ſhall take ſuch a copie, vnder the name of *Tenens Natiuus*, he hath wrong, and I thinke it little materiall, if the word were generally omitted, where there hath bin an infranchiſment: for the greateſt argument for the continuance is, to maintaine the antiquitie of the Mannor, and me thinkes it were better that ſuch an odious brand were cleane wiped and razed out of the forehead of euery mans inheritance: although (no doubt) there are yet ſome within this Realme without manumiſſion, fewe knowne, but more concealed, and ſome (no doubt) haue bene by the act of their Lords freed, and neither their Lords witting of it, nor the Tenants taking preſent aduantage: for if the Lord buy or ſell with his bond Tenant, it is an immediate infranchiſment of the Tenant and his poſteritie. And ſome haue voluntarily releaſed their Tenants of ſuch a ſlauerie. An act of charitie.

Many Villani at this daie.

Villa ſignifieth a houſe, or farme in the Country.

Tenens natiuus in a Copie, a badge of bondage

Charitie to free bondmen.

Lord. Truly I thinke it is a Chriſtian part ſo to doe: for ſeeing we be nowe all as the children of one father, the ſeruants of one God, and the Subiects to one King, it is verie vncharitable to retaine our brethren in bondage: ſith, when we were all bond, Chriſt did make vs free.[1]

3. *Fine Buildings. Comfortable Smoke.* p. 85.

Many chimneys, little fires

We haue in our dayes many and great buildings: a comly ornament it is to the face of the earth. And were it not that the ſmoake of ſo many chimneyes, did raiſe ſo many duſkie cloudes in the aire, to hinder the heate and light of the Sunne from earthly creatures, it were the more tolerable.

Bayly. Nay truly, I will excuſe that fault, the fire is made moſt in the kitchin.

Sur. Then it beſmoketh not the hall, as old worthie houſes did, whoſe kitchins ſmoake ſent foorth cloudes of good meate, and ſhowres of drinke for the poore.

Bayly. Yea, Sir, that was a comfortable ſmoke: but *Tempora mutantur, & omnia mutantur in illis:* no earthly thing continueth conſtant, but hath his change.

Tenants are now in conceit more free, then in former times.

Auncient bondage.

Euery inferior estate is conditionall.

[1] Howſoeuer of late dayes Tenants ſtand in higher conceits of their freedome, then in former times, if they looke a little back into antiquity, they ſhall see that Tenants (for the most part) of euery Mannor in *England*, haue ben more ſeruile vnto theyr Lords, and in greater bondage then now they are, whom the fauourable hand of time hath much infranchised, and it can not be altogether euery where forgotten, because they may see as in a glasse, the picture of theyr seruitude in many auncient custome rolls, and in the copyes of theyr owne auncesters, and many seruile works haue been due and done by them, and in many places yet are, though the most are now turned into money: but neyther theyr infranchisements, nor the conuersion of works into rents doe so farre free them, but that they still owe seruices vnto their Lords, in respect of their tenures, as well freeholders as customary Tenants, as both in most of their copyes and deeds is expressed by these words, *Pro reditu & seruitiis vnde prius debitis & de iure consuetis*, which proueth their tenures in a sort to be conditionall · which condition, if it be wilfully broken by the obstinate carriage of any such Tenant, he indangereth his estate.—*ib.* p. 35.

Villaines, & Nieffes.

[Inquire] 19 Whether is there within this Mannor any *villaine* or *niefe*, any *bondman* or *bondwoman*: if there be, what are their names? what land do they hold and keepe, and what is the same yeerly woorth.

Although this kind of tenure be in manner worne out of vse, yet some there are (no doubt) though conceiled in some Mannors, neuer infranchized, or manumized. p. 105.

4. *Common Fields and Encloſures.* p. 96-7.

9 Alſo you are to preſent the names of all your *common fields:* and howe many *furlongs* are in euery field, and their names, and the common meddowes, and their names, And what beaſts, and ſheepe, euerie Tenant ought to keepe vpon the ſame, when the corne and hay is off. And what a beaſt gate, and ſheep gate is worth by yeere. Alſo at what time your fields and common meddowes are layd open: and howe are they, or ought to be vſed. And whether is it lawfull for the Tenants, to incloſe and part of their common fields or meddowes, without the licence of the Lord, and conſent of the Tenants. *Common fields, and common meddowes.*

This Article is duly to bee conſidered, firſt in ſetting downe in certainty, what euery man is to keepe vpon the fields, and common meddowes, becauſe iniury is daily done by ſome of greateſt abilitie, to the meaner ſort, in oppreſſing the fields, with a greater number of Cattle, then according to a true proportion will fall vnto their ſhare, which is very extortion, and a puniſhment is to be inflicted vpon the offenders.

Alſo incloſures of common fields, or meddowes in part, by ſuch as are moſt powerfull and mighty, without the Lords licence, and the Tenants aſſents, is more then may be permitted: the reaſon is, that the reſt of the Tenants haue as much right to euery herbe, and graſſe within the ſame, when the corne is off, as he hath that encloſeth the ſame.

B*ayly*. But Sir, if they lay it open at Lammas, or at ſuch time as cuſtome requireth, I think he doth neither Lord nor tenants wrong.

Sur. Yes: for firſt he depriueth them both of the feed, of as much as his hedges, ditches and encloſures take: beſides, whether is it as conuenient for paſſe and repaſſe for cattle at one little gappe or two, as when there is no eſtopell at all?

B*ayly*. You like not incloſures then.

Sur. I do, and I thinke it the moſt beneficiall courſe that tenants can take, to increaſe their abilities: for one acre incloſed, is woorth one and a halfe in Common, if the ground be fitting thereto · But that it ſhould be generall, and that Lords ſhould not depopulate by vſurping incloſures.

5. *Cottages, and Folk far from Church.* p. 106-7.

22 Whether are there within this Mannor, any *new erected Tenements* or *Cotages, barnes, Walls, ſheddes, Houells, Hedges, Ditches,* or ſuch like erected, ſet vp, or made: or any other *Watercourſes*, or *Ponds*, digged vpon any part of the Lords waſte, without the Lords licence: where is it, and by whom was it done, and by whose licence, and vpon what conſideration.

The ouermuch libertie of too many newe erections, breedeth ſundry inconueniencies, not only to a Mannor, and the Lord, and Tenants thereof, but to a whole Commonwealth, and therefore not to be permitted without good conſideration: although is it moſt conuenient, that the poore ſhould haue ſhelter & places to ſhroud them in, if they be found honeſt, vertuous, painfull, and men of abilitie, to gaine their owne and their families reliefe.

But it is obſerued in ſome parts where I haue trauelled, where great and ſpacious waſtes, Mountaines, and heathes are, that many ſuch Cotages are ſet vp, the people giuen to little or no kind of labour, liuing very hardly with Oaten bread, ſowre whay, and Gotes milke, dwelling farre from any church or chappel, & are as ignorant of God, or of any ciuil courſe of life, as the very *Saluages* amongſt the Infidels in maner, which is lamentable.

6. *Mills and Millers.* p. 108-110.

25 Whether hath the Lord of this Mannor any cuſtomarie *Custome mil.* *Water-mill, Wind-mill, Horſe-mill, Grieſt-mill, Mault-mill, Walk-mil,* or *Fulling-mill.* Whether is there within this Mannor, any other Mil, *Iron-mil, Furnace,* or *Hammer, Paper-mill, Sawing-mil, Shere-mil,* or any other kind of *Mill:* what is it woorth by yeere, and in whoſe occupation is it?

Where ſufficient riuers, brooks, ſtagnes, ponds, or watercourſes are, there are commonly ſome kinds of Mils, or other profitable deuices, that humane wit and inuention hath ſet vp for neceſſarie vſes, for the benefit of man, and for the Lords profit of the Mannor, where ſuch deuices are erected. And yet all kinds of deuices are not conuenient in all places: as where

no Lead or Tinne is, there is no need of the vſe of water, to moue a wheele, to blow the fire for the melting & trying thereof: yet there may be like vſe for Iron oare: and where neither of them is, there may be vſe of Walk-milles, or Fulling-milles; and where thoſe are not, yet there may be vſe of Corne-milles, and ſuch like. And in ſome places the force of water-courſes is vſed, to raiſe water out of one place into another, where the naturall current denyeth the comming, and mounting thereof: with infinite other deuices, according to the ſituation of the place, and neceſſitie of the thing required. Which, although they be not all Mils to grind corne, yet may they bring profit to the Lord, which is the thing the Surueyor ſhould couet, not onely to obſerue what is alreadie, but muſt haue alſo ſome iudgement to erect ſome, if the water-courſe will conueniently affoord the ſame.

To the Corne-mils, which are cuſtome milles, doth belong a kind of duty from the tenants, that is, that they are bound to grind their corne at the Lords mill: and that kind of cuſtome is called *Socome.* *Socome*

Bayly. Muſt a cuſtomary tenant of a Mannor, where ſuch a mill is, be forced to grind al the corne he ſpendeth in his houſe, at the Lords mill?

Sur. Of neceſſitie, if it grow vpon the Mannor: or elſe the Lord may amerce him for his default.

Bayly. What if he be forced to buy it in the market?

Sur. Surely then it is a queſtion, whether he be bound to grind it there or not. But I take it, he is at his liberty, to grind it where he will, euen where he finds himſelf beſt ſerued. For there is *bond-Socome,* that is, where the tenant is bound by cuſtome, and *loue-Socome,* where he grindeth of free-will.

Bayly. We that are tenants would be glad, if you could tell vs, what toll our Miller may take: for we are much abuſed in it, as we thinke, & becauſe we be bound by cuſtome, we cannot conueniently leaue the mill, and yet we find no remedy of the millers abuſes.

Sur. As Touching *Toll,* (which word commeth of the verbe *tollo,* to take away, as it ſeemeth) there are ſo many differences,

by grants made by Lords of Mannors, that the certaintie in generall can hardly be declared. Some Millers take a twentith, ſome foure and twentith part: tenants at wil ſhuld pay a ſixteenth part, and a bond tenant a twelfth part, and ſome are toll-free. But howſoeuer the toll be, feare not, the Miller will be no loſer. And for his abuſes, you haue your remedie in the Lords Court, or at the common law.

7. *Wild Fowl.* p. 111.

Fowling. 27 Whether hath the Lord of the Mannor any *Fowling* within this Mannor, by meanes of any moores, marſhes, waters, brookes, reedes, or ſuch like: as of Ducke, Mallard, Widgine, Teale, Wild-geeſe, Buſterd, Plouers, Bitters, Swans, or ſuch like foule: or any woods whercin do breed any Herinſhoes, Shouelers, Storke, or ſuch like: or any Pibble, Peach, or Sea-bank, wherin breed ſea-Pyes, Oliues, Pewets, or ſuch, who taketh the profit of them, and what are they woorth by yeere.

8. *Mines and Quarries.* p. 112.

Mines. Quarries. 29 Whether are there within this Mannor, any *Tin-mines, Lead-mines, Copper-mines, Cole-mines, Quarryes of ſtone of Marble, Free-ſtones, Mil-ſtones, Lime-ſtones, Grinding-ſtones, Marle, or Chalke-pits, ſlimie or mooriſh earth,* fit for ſoyling of land, or any *Potters clay, clay for Bricke or Tile,* or any *Fullers earth,* or any *ſand,* or *grauel-pits,* or ſuch kind of commodities, and what is euery ſuch kind woorth to the Lord, or may be made woorth by yeere.

Theſe are caſualties, and ſeldome or neuer at all happen in any Mannor, and few Mannors but haue ſome or one of them.

9. *Turfs, Peats, and Furze.* p. 112-114.

Turffes and Peates 30 Whether hath the Lord of the Mannor any *Turffs, Peates, Heath, Broome, Furze,* or *Flagge,* which are, or may be yeerely ſold within the Mannor, & what may they yeeld the Lord by yeere.

Theſe things are not in euery countrie, much leſſe in euery Mannor: for I think *Eſſex* can affoord little of them, vnleſſe it be of Turffes and Peates, if they were ſought in ſome low

grounds, in ſome creeke of the ſea. *Northumberland, Weſtmerland* and thoſe wild fields, yeeld ſtore of peates and turffes: ſo doth *Yorkſhire* ſome, and other places, many.

Bayly. What meane you by *Turffes* and *Peates?* are they not heath Turffs you meane?

Sur. There are *heath-Turffes*, which are alſo meant in this Article, but the *Turffe* and *Peate* is of another kind; for they are taken in bogges, and ſuch rotten grounds as cattle cannot feed vpon. And thoſe that are firſt cut vp, are called *Turffes* of the vpper part, and ſuch as are taken downward, are called *Peates.*

Bayly. How meane you downward?

Sur. Vnder the firſt cut: for you may cut a ſpeares length deepe in ſome places in the ſummer time, and that kind of earth will burn very excellently. And if it be cut neuer ſo deepe, it will fill againe in few yeeres, and then may it be digged againe. . . .

Bayly. You ſpake of *Furze:* I take that to be no good fewell, but to brew or bake withall.

Suruey. Yes. it is good fire-wood in *Deuonſhire* and *Cornwal*, where they make great profite in venting it for that vſe, in many the greateſt townes, and in *Exceſter* eſpecially.

Bayly. Then are they better then our ordinary Furzes about vs.

Sur. The countrey people do call them *French Furzes*,[1] they haue a very great ſtalke, and grow very high, and their prickle very ſtrong: but that they grow thicke, and the body is commonly bare to the toppe, where is onely a greene buſh of the tender and ſmall branches, and ſeldome elſewhere, ſo that they eaſily make them into Faggots.

10. *Slate, Black-Lead, Ochre.* p. 114.

31 Whether is there within the Mannor any *Slate-ſtones* for tiling, *red* or *blacke Lead*, or *Oker* for marking ſtones. *Slate ſtones* *Marking ſtones*

Theſe kind of Slate ſtones are full in *Cornwall*, and the marking ſtones moſt about *Darlyſhire*, and thoſe parts.

[1] On these 'French Furzes,' see also p. 237 of Norden's book.

11. *Deer and Parks, and Conies.* p. 114-115.

Deere. 32 What *Deere* hath the Lord of this Mannor in his Parke, red and fallow: how many of Antler, and how many raſcall: who is Keeper, and what is his Fee by yeere: whether hath he any *Warren of Conies*, or *Hares*, who is Keeper of either of them, and what Fee hath he by yeere, and what is the Warren of Conies woorth by yeere, and what were the Parke woorth by acre to be let by yeere, if the Deere were deſtroyed, and how many acres is there within the pale?

A Parke for Deere is more for the pleaſure then for the profit of the Lord, or Commonwealth, and yet fit that Princes and men of woorth ſhould maintaine them at their pleaſures, yet not ſo fit, that euery man that liked ſhould maintaine that game, for his priuate pleaſure, that depriueth a Commonwealth of more neceſſary commodities. But men of late are growne more conſiderate, and haue diſparked much of this kind of ground, and conuerted it to better vſes. As for warrens of Conies, *Conies.* they are not vnneceſſarie, & they require no rich ground to feed in, but meane paſture and craggy grounds are fitteſt for them. It is therefore in the diſcretion of a good and circumſpect Surueyor, to aduiſe his Lord how to diſpoſe of theſe things for his beſt aduantage.

12. *Pawnage. Scarcity of Oaks and Timber.* p. 116-117.

35 Whether doth the Lord, or may he take in any *ſwine to* *Pawnage.* *pawnage* yeerely into his parke or woods, what is the *pawnage* woorth by yeere.

Bayly. Sir, you need little to enquire of that, for Okes and Beech that haue bene formerly very famous in many parts of this kingdome, for feeding the Farmers veniſon, are fallen to the ground and gone, and their places are ſcarcely knowne where they ſtood.

Sur. It is very true: and it is pitty, that Lords of Mannors haue no more care of their poſterities. For aſſuredly there will be greater want of timber in time to come in this Realme, then may be ſupplyed with little charge from any part elſe whatſoeuer. And therefore might Lords and Farmers eaſily adde ſome

ſupply of future hope, in ſetting for euery twenty acres of other land, one acre of Acornes, which would come to be good timber in his ſonnes age, eſpecially where there is, and like to be more want.

Bayly. The courſe were good, but you prefixe too ſhort a time farre: for Okes are ſlow of growth, and it will be long ere they come to be timber.

Sur. I know in *Suffolke*, where in twenty yeeres Acornes haue yeelded fruite, already nere as high, as a ſteeple of ordinary height.

Bayly. Truly, it is pitty it were not enioyned to men of abilitie and land to do it. But I thinke men imagine, there will be timber enough to the end of the world.

13. *Draining the Fens.* p. 189-190.

Bail. . . : But there is much land in England loſt for want of draining, as the Fennes and low grounds in Lincoln-ſhire, Cambridg-ſhire, Northfolke, and other places, which I did thinke impoſſible euer to be made dry, by the art or induſtry of man. And yet as I heare, much of it is made lately firme ground, by the ſkill of one Captaine Louell, and by M. William Englebert an excellent Ingenor. And truly it is much to their owne commendation, and to the common good of the inhabitants neere. But theſe grounds are not drained by ſuch meanes as you ſpeake of.

The Fennes

Captaine Louell.

M William Englebert.

Sur. Indeed, the draines are of vnlike quantitie, but like in qualitie: one and the ſame rule of reaſon doth worke both the one and the other. But to ſay truly vnto thee, the people of thoſe countries (eſpecially the poorer ſort) where this kind of publike benefite is thus gotten, had rather haue the want by their Fathers error, then to reape good, and more plenty by other mens art and charge. And in their conceits they had rather catch a *Pike*, then feede an *Oxe*.

Bayly. They are either very vnwiſe, or very wilful. But (no doubt) authority is aboue ſuch country wilfulneſſe, and doth or may inioyne them, for the common weale, to conſent and yeeld all ayde in the buſineſſe. But if they will needes fiſh and foole, and refuſe rich releefe, we will leaue them to their wils, till reaſon in

themſelues, or compulſion, bring them to a more generall deſire of ſo great a bleſſing

14. *Alder, Fir and Oak from Shropſhire Bogs.* p. 191-2.

B*ayly*. . . [Alder] is alſo good to make the foundations of buildings, in riuers, fennes, and ſtanding waters, as alſo piles for many purpoſes in mooriſh and wet grounds.

Sur. It is true: this kind of wood is of greater continuance in watry places, then any other timber: for it is obſerued, that in theſe places it ſeldome or neuer rots.

Alder good to make piles.

B*ayly*. It loued the water and moiſture well in growing, and therefore it brooketh it the better, being laid in it. But I thinke the Firre-tree is much of the ſame nature: for I haue ſeene infinite many of them, taken out of the earth in a mooriſh ground in Shropſhire, betweene the Lordſhips of Oſweſtry, and Elſemere, which (as is ſuppoſed) haue lien in the moiſt earth euer ſince the Floud, and being daily taken vp, the people make walking-ſtaues and pikes of them, firm and ſtrong, and vſe the chips in ſtead of candles in poore houſes: ſo fat is the wood to this day, and the ſmell alſo ſtrong and ſweet.

Firre tree lien in the ground ſince the floud.

S*ur*. I know the place well, where I ſaw *pales* made of an Oke taken out of the ſame ground, of the ſame continuance, firme and ſtrong, blacke as *Ibony*, and might haue fitly been employed to better vſes: and I take it, that moſt wood will laſt long vnder the earth, where it neuer taketh the open ayre. But the wood now moſt in vſe for the purpoſes aboueſaid, is *Alder* and *Elme*.

15. *Hops, Carrots, Hemp, Muſtard, Flax, Apples, Pears, Cider, Perry, Kentiſh Cherries, &c.* p. 206-210.

Hoppes. *Sur*. . . Your lowe & ſpungie grounds trenched, is good for hopps, as *Suffolke*, *Eſſex*, and *Surrie*, and other places doe find to their profit. The hot and ſandy, (omitting graine) is good for *carret rootes*, a beneficiall fruite, as *Orford*, *Ipſwich*, and many ſea townes in *Suffolke*: as alſo Inland townes, *Berrie*, *Framingham*, and others in ſome meaſure, in the ſame ſhire, *Norwich* and many places in *Norfolke*, *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, *Fulham*, and other places neere *London*. And it begiñes to increaſe in all places of this Realme,

Carret roots.

where diſcretion and induſtrie ſway the mindes of the inhabitants: and I doe not a little maruaile, that huſbandmen and Farmers doe not imitate this, for their owne families, and to ſell to theire poore neighbors, as in ſome places they begin, to their great profit. I haue alſo obſerued in many places, where I haue had occaſion to trauaile, that many croftes, toftes, pightes, pingles, and other ſmall quillits of land, about farme houſes, and Tenements, are ſuffred to lie together idle: ſome ouergrowne with nettles, mallowes, thiſtles, wilde tezells, and diuers other vnprofitable weedes, which are fat and firtile: where if the farmer would vſe the meanes, would growe ſundry commodities, as *hempe*, and *muſtard ſeede*, both which are ſo ſtrong enemies to all other ſuperfluous, and vnprofitable weedes, as they will not ſuffer any of them to growe, where they are ſowne. The hempe is of great vſe in a farmers houſe, as is found in *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Suſſex*, *Dorſet*, and in many places in *Somerſet*, eſpecially about *Burport*, and *Lime*, where the people doe find by it great aduantage, not only for cordage for ſhipping, but alſo for linnen, and other neceſſaries about a houſe. So is alſo the *flaxe*, which is alſo ſowne in many places, where good huſwiues endeuour their wits, wills, and hands to that commodious and profitable courſe, and the *flaxe* will like well enough in a more light and gentle, and leaner ſoile, then the hempe. And indeede there is not a place ſo rude, & (*p.* 208) vnlikely, but diligence and diſcretion may conuert it to ſome profitable end: and among many other commodities, I maruaile, men are no more forward in planting of *Apple trees*, *Peare trees*, Crab-ſtockes, and ſuch like in their hedges, betweene their fields, as well as in Orchards: a matter praiſe worthy, and profitable to the planter, and to the common wealth, very beneficiall.

Many waſte grounds might yeeld profite
Hempe
Muſtard-ſeed
Flaxe.
Apple trees

Bail. Indeed, I haue thought vpon this kind of huſbandrie, but I haue bene preuented of mine owne deſires, by a preiudicate conceit, that theſe fruites would redound little to my benefit, for that I think they will be ſtolen, the hedges troden downe, and the trees broken for the fruites ſake.

Sur. Negligence may eaſily find excuſe: but this obiection is friuolous: for I know in *Kent*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Somerſet*, and *Deuon*, and many parts in *Wales*, full of this

commoditie, euen in their remote hedge-rowes. And although ſome few be loſt, ſith the reſt come ſo eaſily, ſo tully, and ſo freely, a good mind will not grudge at a wayfaring paſſenger, taking for his refection, and to qualifie the heete of his trauell, an apple or a peare for the remnant will content the well conditioned owner. For I haue knowne, that (all the ſtolen allowed) the fruite thus diſperſedly planted, haue made in ſome little Farmes, or (as they call them in *Syder. Perry.* thoſe parts) *Burgaines*, a tunne, two, three, foure, of *Syder*, and *Perry*, which kind of drinke reſembling white wine, hath without any further ſupply of ale, or beere, ſufficed a good houſholder and his family, the whole yere following, and ſometimes hath made of the ouerplus twenty nobles, or ten pounds, more or leſſe.

Baylie. This ſurely cannot be but confeſſed, to be very beneficiall, both for priuate and publike weale. And I myſelf haue noted, *that Mid.*[*dlesex*] in former times, hath had regard to this kind of commoditie: for many Apple trees, Peare trees, Seruice trees, & ſuch like, haue bene planted in the fields and hedge-rowes, eſpecially in the North and Eaſt part of the ſhire, as alſo in the South part of Hartfordſhire, which are at this day very beneficiall to the inhabitants, both for their owne vſe and releefe, as alſo to vent diuers wayes at London. But the trees are now for the moſt part very ancient, and I do not ſee ſuch a continuall inclination in the time preſent, to continue or increaſe this benefite for the vſe of poſteritie: neither did I euer know much Syder or Perry made in theſe parts, neither do I thinke they haue ſufficient ſkill or meanes. (p 209.)

Sur. I thinke indeed, little *Sider* is made there: ſome *Perrie* there
Kent is here and there: but more in the Weſt country and in *Kent*, a place very fructiferous of that kind of fruite

Bai. Yet is there not ſo much Syder made, for all the great abundance of fruite, as there might be but in the Inland.

Sur. The reaſon is, becauſe that neere *London*, & the *Thames* ſide, the fruite is vented in kind, not only to the Fruterers in groſſe, but by the country wiues, in the neereſt part of *Kent*, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, & *Surrey*, who vtter them in the markets, as they do all other vendible things elſe.

Bayly. But aboue all others, I thinke, the Kentiſhmen be moſt apt and induſtrious, in planting Orchards with *Pippins* and *Cherries*,

eſpecially neere the Thames, about Feuerſham, & Sittingburne. And the order of their planting is ſuch, as the form delighteth the eye, the fruite the taſte, and the walks infinite, recreate the bodie. Beſides, the graſſe and herbage, notwithſtanding the trees, yeldeth as much benefite, in manner, as if there were no trees planted at all, eſpecially for hay.

16. *Scarcity of Oak. Gentlemen felling their Woods.* p. 210-213.

Bayly. . . But ſurely, I hold your opinion good for the planting of fruit trees, not only in Orchards, but in the hedge-rowes & fields: for I thinke, we haue of no tree more neceſſarie vſe.

Sur. It is true in reſpect of fruite. But in other reſpects, the *Oke, Elme*, and *Aſh*, are more precious. *Oke, Ash, and Elme*

Bayly. Theſe indeed are building trees, and of the three, the Oke is of the moſt requeſt, a timber moſt firme and moſt durable. I haue beene no great traueller, and therefore I can ſpeake little of the increaſe (p. 211) or decreaſe of them, other then in the places where I am moſt reſident, and where my ordinary affaires do lye. And for thoſe parts, I can ſay, that they increaſe not, though they ſeeme not to be wanted: for you ſee this country inclinable to wood and timber much: yet within theſe twenty yeeres they haue bene diminiſhed two parts of three: and if it go on by like proportion, our children will ſurely want. How it is in other countries I know not.

Sur. I haue ſeene many places of note for this kind of commodity, (for ſo it is, howſoeuer it hath bene little preſerued) and I find, that it hath vniuerſally receiued a mortall blow within the time of my memorie: notwithſtanding there is a 35 *Hen* 8 Statute for the preſeruation and maintenance of the ſame, and the ſame continued to this day, but not with wiſhed effect, as we haue thereof ſpoken before. *Oke much decayeth*

Bail. I will tell you, Sir, careleſſe Gentlemen, that haue Mannors and Parkes well wooded, left them by their careſull aunceſtors, that would not ſtrip a tree for gold, are of the mind (as it ſeemeth) that the ſhadow of the high trees do dazle their eyes, they cannot ſee to play the good huſbands, nor looke about them to ſell the land, till the trees be taken out of their ſight.

Sur. Can you breake a ieſt ſo boldly vpon men of woorth?

Bail. You ſee as well as I, ſome do it in earneſt: and I thinke indeed, it is partly your fault that are Surueyors: for when Gentlemen haue ſunke themſelues by rowing in Vanities boate, you blow them the bladders of lauiſhing helps, to make them ſwim againe awhile, counſelling firſt to cleere the land of (p. 212) the wood, (in the ſale whereof is great abuſe) perſwading them, they ſhall ſell the land little the cheaper. And indeed I hold it prouidence, where neceſſitie commands, to chuſe of two, the leſſer euill: namely, to ſell part of a ſuperfluous quantitie of wood, where the remanent will ſerue the partie in vſe, rather then the land. But withal, it is the part of a good Surueyor, to counſell frugalitie, and a ſparing ſpending, according to the proportion of the means of him he trauels for. And if that great Emperour *Neceſſitie* will needes haue hauocke, ſell the wood, or prize it ſo, as he that buyes the land haue not the wood for nought: as is often ſeene, when the wood and timber ſometimes is woorth the price of the wood and land. . . .

Gentlemen sell their woods too fast

A Surueyor must counsel frugalitie.

(p. 213) *Baylie.* I remember there is a Statute made, 35. Hen. 8. the 8. and the 1. Eliz. for the preſeruation of timber trees, Oake, Aſh, Elme, Aſpe, and Beech: and that 12. ſtorers and ſtandils ſhould bee left ſtanding at euery fall, vpon an acre: but mee thinkes, this Statute is deluded, and the meaning abuſed: for I haue ſeene in many places at the fals, where in deed they leaue the number of ſtandils and more; but in ſtead they cut downe them that were preſerued before, and at the next fall, them that were left to anſwere the Statute, and yong left againe in their ſteads: ſo that there can bee no increaſe of timber trees, notwithſtanding, the words of the Statute, by this kind of reſeruation, vnleſſe ſuch as were thus left, were continued to become timber trees indeed: And therefore it were not amiſſe, that ſome prouiſion were made, to maintain the meaning of the Statute in more force: but I leaue that, to ſuch as ſee more then I ſee, and haue power to reforme it.

35 *Hen* 8. 1 *Eliz*

The Statute abused

Sur. It is a thing in deed to bee regarded, for indeed there is abuſe in it.

Bayly. Surely it is, eſpecially in places where little timber growes: for there is no Country, how barraine of timber ſoeuer, but hath vſe of timber: and therefore, if neither mens owne wils, ſeeing the iminent want, nor force of Iuſtice will

Want of Wood and Timber feared.

mooue and worke a reformation, he may ſay as the Prouerbe is, *Le. them that liue longeſt, fetch their wood fartheſt.*

17. *Iron-Furnaces and Glaſs-Kilns in the Weatas of Kent, Surrey, and Suſſex.* p. 213-215.

Sur. But ſome Countries are yet well ſtored, and for the abundance of timber & wood, were excepted in the Statute, as the Welds of *Kent, Suſſex,* & *Surry,* (p. 214) which were all anciently comprehended vnder the name of *Holmes dale.* There are diuers places *Holmes dale.* alſo in *Darbiſhire, Cheſhire* & *Shropſhire,* wel woodded. And yet he that well obſerues it, and hath knowne the Welds of *Suſſex, Surry,* and *Kent,* the grand nurſery of thoſe kind of trees, eſpecially Oake, & Beech, ſhal find an alteration within leſſe then 30. *Thirty yeres haue consumed much wood and timber.* yeres, as may wel ſtrike a feare, leſt fewe yeeres more, as peſtilent as the former, will leaue fewe good trees ſtanding in thoſe Welds. Such a heate iſſueth out of the many forges, & furnaces, for the making of Iron, and out of the glaſſe *Glasse houses.* kilnes, as hath deuoured many famous woods within the *Great woods wasted.* Welds: as about *Burningfold, Lopwood Greene,* the *Minns, Kirdford, Petworth* parkes, *Ebernowe Waſſalls, Ruſper, Balcombe, Dalington* the *Dyker*: and ſome foreſts, and other places infinite. *Tantum æui longinqua valet mutare vetuſtas.* The force of time, and mens inclination, make great changes in mightie things. But the croppe of this commodious fruit of the earth, which nature it ſelfe doth ſowe, being thus reaped and cut downe by the ſickle of time, hath beene in ſome plentifull places, in regard of the ſuperfluous aboundance, rather held a hurtfull weed, then a profitable fruit, and therefore the waſting of it held prouidence, to the end *Woods destroyed for cornes sake.* that corne, a more profitable increaſe, might be brought in, in ſtead of it, which hath made Inhabitants ſo faſt to haſten the confuſion of the one, to haue the other. But it is to be feared, that poſterities will find want, where now they thinke is too much. *Virtutem incolumem odimus, ſublatam ſero ſæpe quærimus inuidi.* 'Things that wee haue too common, are not regarded: but being depriued of them, they are oft times ſought for in vaine.'

Bay. It is no maruaile, if Suſſex and other places you ſpeak off, be depriued of this benefit: for I haue heard, there are, or lately

140. Iron workes in Sussex were in Suſſex, neere 140. (p. 215) hammers and furnaces for Iron, and in it, & Surry adioining, 3. or 4. glaſſe houſes: the hammers and furnaces ſpend, each of them in euery 24. houres, 2. 3. or foure loades of charr coale, which in a yeere amounteth to an infinit quantitie, as you can better account by your Arithmatique, then I.

Sur. That which you ſay, is true, but they worke not all, all the yeere: for many of them lacke water in the Summer to blowe their bellows. And to ſay truth, the conſuming of much of theſe in the Weld, is no ſuch great preiudice to the weale publike, as is the ouerthrow of wood & timber, in places where there is no great quantitie: for I haue obſerued, that the clenſing of many of theſe welde grounds, hath redounded rather to the benefit, then to the hurt of the Country: for where woods did grow in ſuperfluous abundance, there was lacke of paſture for kine, and of arable land for corne, without the which a Country or country farme cannot ſtand, or be releeued, but by neighbour helpes, as the *Downes* haue their wood from the Weld. Beſide, people bred amongſt woods, are naturally more ſtubborne, and vnciuil, then in the Champion Countries.

Wasting of woods in Sussex, good for the common wealth

18. *Fiſh-Ponds and London Fiſhmongers.* p. 219-220.

Fish-ponds many in Sussex, and Surrie. *Sur.* . . . He that hath trauailed, and is acquainted with *Suſſex*, & *Surrie*, and hath obſerued this commoditie, may find that gentlemen, and others able in thoſe parts, will not ſuffer ſuch a conuenient place as this for the purpoſe, to lie vnprepared for this vſe: & the ſweetneſſe of the gaine they yearely make of it, hath bred ſuch an increaſe of ponds for fiſh, as I thinke, theſe two ſhires haue more of them, then any twenty other ſhires in England.

Baylie. That were very much, but I take it, the making of them is very chargeable, for the clenſing and digging, the ridding of the ſtuffe, and making the head, I thinke will conſume a greater charge, then many yeeres will pay, or redeeme againe, as I ſayd before.

Sur. That which commonly commeth out of theſe kind of places, is good ſoile for other lands, and will of it ſelfe quite the coſt

of clenſing and carrying. As for the head wherein the greateſt charge conſiſteth, may be done, for a marke or a pound a pole at the moſt, but where there is good faſt earth, as is heere, I thinke leſſe will doe it. This pond may be 20. pole at the head, few ſo much: and after 2. or 3. yeres being well ſtored, it will yeeld requitall, not only for domeſticall vſe, but to be vented very beneficially: for the Fiſhmongers of London do vſe to buy the fiſh by the ſcore or hundred, of a competent ſcantling, when the ponds in the country be ſewed, and bring them to London in caſke, 20, 30, 40, 50 miles, and vent them by retaile: and if the ponds be ſo (p. 220) remote from the maine Mart London, as the fiſh cannot be conueniently tranſferred, other confining Cities, townes, & inhabitants, beſides the owners priuate families, will find good vſe of them: and many times alſo, theſe kinds of ponds may haue ſufficient fal of water for corne Mills, fulling, or wake Mills, ſyth Mills, and Mills of other kinds, as the country where ſuch conuenient places are, may require.

Fishmongers buy pond fish far off.

Ponds necessary for Mills.

19. '*Murgion, Mawme,*' *and London-ſtreet and -ſtable-ſoil.* p. 229-30.

Sur. . . . Many difficulties and impediments preuent them that will neuer be good huſbands nor thrifty. But ſuch as mean to liue like men, will ſhake off the cold with trauell, and put by ſleepe by their labor, and thinke no coſt too great, no labor too painefull, no way too farre to preſerue or better their eſtates. Such they be that ſearch the earth for her fatnes, and fetch it for fruites ſake. Many fetch Moore-earth or Murgion from the riuer betweene *Colebrooke* and *Vxbridge*, and carry it to their barren grounds in *Buckinghamſhire*, *Hartfordſhire*, and *Middleſex*, eight or ten miles off. And the grounds whereupon this kind of ſoile is employed, will indure tilth aboue a dozen yeres after, without further ſupply, if it be thorowly beſtowed. In part of *Hamſhire* they haue another kind of earth, for their drie and ſandy grounds, eſpecially betweene *Fordingbridge* and *Ringwood*, and that is, the ſlub of the riuer of *Auon*, which they call *Mawme*, which they digge in the ſhallow parts of the riuer: and the pits where they digge it, will in few yeares fill againe: & this *Mawme* is very beneficial for their hot and ſandy grounds, arable and paſture. And about *Chriſtchurch ſwineam*,

Moore earth Murgion.

Mawme.

Meddowes cut and caried into dry grounds

and vp the riuer of *Stoure*, they cut and dig their low and beſt meddowes, to helpe their vpland hot and heathie grounds. And now of late, the Farmers neere *London*, haue found a benefite, by bringing the Scauengers ſtreet ſoyle, which being mixed as it is with the ſtone cole duſt, is very helpefull to their clay ground: for, the cole duſt being hot and drie by nature, qualifieth the ſtiffeneſſe and cold of the ſoyle thereabouts. The ſoyle *London soile.* of the ſtables of *London*, eſpecially neere the *Thames* ſide, is caried Weſtward by water, to *Chelſey*, *Fulham*, *Batterſey*, *Putney*, and thoſe parts for their ſandie grounds.

20. *The Paradiſe of England.* p. 230.

Bay. I was once in Somerſetſhire, about a place neere Tanton, called Tandeane, I did like their land and their huſbandry well.

Tandeane, the Paradice of England.

Sur. You ſpeake of the *Paradice of England:* and indeed the huſbandrie is good, if it be not decayed, ſince my being in thoſe parts: as indeed (to be lamented) men in all places giue themſelues to too much eaſe and pleaſure, to vaine expence, and idle exerciſes, and leaue the true delight, which indeed ſhould be in the true and due proſecution of their callings: as the artificer to his trade, the huſbandman to the plow, the gentleman, not to what he liſt, but to what befits a gentleman, that is, if he be called to place in the commonweale, to reſpect the execution of Iuſtice: if he be an inferior, he may be his owne Bayly, and ſee the managing and manuring of his owne reuenewes, and not to leaue it to the diſcretion and diligence of lither ſwaines, that couet onely to get and eate. The eye of the idle maſter may be worth (p. 231) two working ſeruants. But where the maſter ſtandeth vpon tearmes of his qualitie and condition, and will refuſe to put (though not his hand) his eye towards the plow, he may (if he be not the greater: for I ſpeake of the meaner) gentlelize it awhile: but he ſhall find it farre better, and more ſweet in the end, to giue his fellow workmen a congie early in the morning, and affably to call them, and kindly to incite them to their buſineſſe, though he ſoyle not his fingers in the labor. Thus haue I ſeene men of good qualitie behaue them towards their people, and in ſurueying of their hirelings. But indeed it is become now contemptible and reprochfull, for a meane maſter

A prouident maſter.

to looke to his laborers, and that is the reaſon, that many well left, leaue it againe before the time, through prodigalitie and improuidence, and mean men induſtrious ſteppe in, and where the former diſdained to looke to his charge, this doth both looke and labor, and he it is that becomes able to buy that, which the idle and wanton are forced to ſell. Now I ſay, if this ſweet country of *Tandeane*, and the Weſterne part of *Somerſetſhire* be not degenerated, ſurely, as their land is fruitfull by nature, ſo do they their beſt by art and induſtrie. And that makes poore men to liue as well by a matter of twenty pounds *per annum*, as he that hath an hundred pounds.

Good husbandry in the West

21. *Of Heath, Heather, and Ling.* p. 235-6.

Sur. . . Though heathy grounds be commonly in the higheſt degree of barraineſſe, yet are ſome more in the meane then ſome. Some are more tractable and more eaſily reduced to ſome vſe then others, and therefore hath ſundry names. Heath is the generall or common name, whereof there is one kind, called Hather, the other, Ling. And of theſe particulars, there are alſo ſundry kinds diſtinguiſhed by their ſeuerall growth, leaues, ſtalkes, and flowers: as not far from *Graues end*, there is a kind of Hather that beareth a white flowre, and is not ſo common as the reſt, and the ground is not ſo exceeding barraine as ſome other, but by manurance would be brought to profitable tillage. Some, and the moſt, doth beare a purple or reddiſh flowre, as in the *Foreſt of Windſore*, and in *Suffolke*, and ſundry other places; and this kind is moſt common, and groweth commonly in the worſt ground. In the North parts, vpon the Mountaines and Fells, there is a kind of Ling, that beares a berry: euery of theſe hath his peculiar earth wherein it delighteth. Some in ſandy, & hot grounds, as betweene *Wilſord bridge*, and *Snape bridge* in *Suffolke*. And that is bettered eſpecially, and the heath killed beſt and ſooneſt, by (p. 236) good fat marle. Some in grauelly and cold earth, and that is hard to be cured, but with good ſtable dung. But there is a kind of heathie ground, that ſeemeth altogether vnprofitable for tillage, becauſe that the grauell & clay together, retaineth a kind of black water, which ſo drenched the earth, & cauſeth ſo much cold, as no

Hather Ling.

Heath diuers kinds

Heathy ground vnprofitable

huſbandry can relieue it: yet if there be chalk-hils nere this kind of earth, there may be ſome good done vpon it: for that onely or lime will comfort the earth, drie vp the ſuperfluous water and kill the heath. But the ſandy heathie ground is contrarily amended, as I told you, with fat marle and that it is commonly found neere theſe heathie grounds, if men were prouident and forward to ſeeke for it.

22. *Of Hay-boot and Hedge-boot.* p. 238-9.

Bay. What meane you by *hay boote:* I haue read it often in Leaſes, and I promiſe you, I did euer take it to be that which men commonly vſe in hay time, as to make their forkes and tooles, and lay in ſome kind of lofts or hay tallets, as they call them in the Weſt, that are not boorded: and is not that the meaning?

Hay boot, what it is.

Sur. I take it not: it is for hedging ſtuffe, namely, to make a dead hedge or raile, to keep cattle from corne or graſſe to be mowne.

Hedge-boote and hay-boote, the difference.

Bayly. What difference is there betweene *hay-boote* and *hedge-boote?*

Sur. Some there is: for a hedge implieth quick-ſet and trees: but a hay a dead fence, that may be made one yeere, and pulled downe another, as it is common vpon the downes in many countries where men ſow their corne, in vndefenced grounds, there they make a dead hay next ſome common way to keepe the cattle from the corne.

Baylie. If that be the difference, we haue ſome vſe of it alſo in this country, but we want it much, as you ſee, by the lying of our hedges.

Sur. I ſee the hedges lye very vnhuſbandly: a true note of few good huſbands: for he that will ſuffer his hedges to lye open, and his houſes vncouered, neuer put a good huſbands hand to his head. Quicke-ſet hedges are most commendable, for they increaſe & yeeld profit and ſupply, to repaire decayed places: but dead hedges or hayes deuoure and ſpend, and yet are ſeldome ſecure.

Dead hedges deuoure.

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Publishers: N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.
Agents for North Germany: ASHER & CO., 53, Mohren-Strasse, Berlin.
Agent for South Germany, &c.: KARL J. TRÜBNER, 2, Münster Platz, Strassburg.