Harrison's

Description of England

IN

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*, &c.

PART II. THE THIRD BOOK,

WITH

A VIEW OF THE NORTH OF CHEAPSIDE IN 1638 A.D., EXTRACTS FROM STOW, HOWES, BUSINO, AND DE LA SERRE ON LONDON, 1598—1638; PLANS OF CAMBRIDGE, AND CANTERBURY, 1588 A.D.; AND A MAP OF SHAKSPERE'S ROUTES TO LONDON;

ALSO WITH

PLANS OF PARIS GARDEN, 1627, AND THE BANKSIDE, SOUTHWARK, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THESE PLACES AND THE GLOBE AND OTHER THEATRES THERE, BY

W. RENDLE, ESQ., M.R.C.S.L.

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BOOK II.

Comparative Table (by Mr. Ed. VILES,) of the Chapters of Book II. in the two editions of Harrison's *Description of Britaine*, 1577, 1587. (The headings of the new chapters in ed. 1587 are in italic.)

Chap. ed. 1577.	lines	Chap. ed. 1586-7.	lines
1. Of riuers and waters that lose their names before they come at the sea, & first of those betwene the Thames and Sauerne. I. 11, 12; ed. 1587.	2420	1. *Of the ancient and present estate of the church of England.*	1275
2. Of such riuers as fall into the greater afore mentioned, betwene Sauerne & the Humber. I. 13, 14, ed. 1587.	2520	†2. Of the number of bishoprikes and their seuerall circuits. II. 5 (1577).	1125
3. Of those that fall into the mayne riuers, betwene Humber and the Thames. I. 15, 16, ed. 1587.	1200	‡3. Of vniuersities. II. 6, ed. 1577.	750
		*4. Of the partition of England into shires and counties.	600
		5. Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England. III. 4 (1577).	1275
		6. Of the food and diet of the English. III. 1, ed. 1577.	900
		7. Of their apparell and attire. III. 2, ed 1577.	150
		8. *Of the high court of parlement & authoritie of the same.*	570
4. Of the partition of Englande into shyres and counties	440*	9. Of the lawes of England since hir first inhabitation. III. 3.	900
5. Of the number of Byshopricks in England. II. 2, ed. 1587.	780†	10. Of prouision made for the poore. III. 5, ed. 1577.	240
6. Of our Vniuersities. II. 3 (1587).	450‡	11. Of sundrie kinds of punishment appointed for malefactors. III. 6, ed. 1577.	380
		§12. Of the manner of building and furniture of our houses. II. 10, ed. 1577.	380
7. Of cities & townes. II. 13.	570	13. Of cities and townes in England. II. 7, ed. 1577.	740
8. Of castels & holdes. II. 14.	100	14. Of castels and holds. II. 8.	100
9. Of pallaces belonging to the prince. II. 15, ed. 1587.	300	15. Of palaces belonging to the prince. II. 9, ed. 1577.	375
10. Of the manner of buylding and furniture of our houses. II. 12, ed. 1587.	260§	‖16. Of armour and munition. II. 12, ed. 1577.	300
11. Of fayres and markets. III. 15.	220††	¶17. Of the nauie of Englande. II. 13, ed. 1577.	310
12. Of armour & munition. II. 16, ed. 1587.	120‖	††18. Of faires and markets. II. 11 (and see III. 15, ed. 1587).	370
13. Of the nauy of England. II. 17, ed. 1587.	180¶		
14. Of Bathes & hote wells. II. 23, ed. 1587.	300		
15. Of parkes and warrens. II. 19.	380	19. Of parkes and warrens. II. 15.	600
		20. *Of gardens and orchards.*	380
		21. *Of waters generallie.*	150
16. Of wooddes & marises. II. 22.	320	22. Of woods and marishes. II. 16.	400
		23. Of baths and hot welles. II. 14.	360
17. Of antiquities found. II. 24.	240	24. Of antiquities found. II. 17.	210
18. Of the marueyles of England. I. 24, ed. 1587.	260	25. Of the coines of England. III. 20.	190

In Ed. 1577. Bk. II. comprises. 18 chaps. or 11,060.
„ „ 1586 „ „ 25 „ „ 13,150.

BOOK III.

Comparative Table (by Mr. E. Viles), of the Contents of Bk. III. of Harrison's *Description of England* in his *1st* ed. of 1577, and his *2nd* of 1586—7,

Chap. ed. 1577.	lines
1. Of the foode and dyet of thenglish. (See II. 6, ed. 1587.)	660
2. Of their apparrell and attyre. II. 7, ed. 1587.	120
3. Of the lawes of England sithens hir first inhabitation. II. 9, ed. 1587.	1120
4. Of degrees of people in the common wealth of Englande. II. 5, ed. 1587.	1020
5. Of prouision made for the poore. II. 10, ed. 1587.	240
6. Of sundry kindes of punishment prouided for offenders. II. 11, ed. 1587.	180
7. Of sauage beastes and vermines. III. 4, ed. 1587.	180*
8. Of Cattell kept for profite.	250
9. Of wylde and tame Foules.	140
10. Of fishe vsually taken vpon our coastes.	90
11. Of Hawkes and rauenous Foules.	90
12. Of venimous Beastes.	170
13. Of English Dogges.	280
14. Of English Saffron.	230
15. Of quarries of stone for buylding.	180
16. Of sundry Mineralles.	110
17. Of Salt made in Englande.	170†
18. Of Mettalles.	170
19. Of precious Stones.	110
20. Of the Coynes of Englande. II. 25, ed. 1587.	180
21. Of our accompt of time and hir parts.	360
22. Of our maner of measuring the length and bredth of thinges.	200
23. Of English weightes.	360
24. Of liquide measures.	250
25. Of drie measures. Fairies &c.	500§
26. Of thorowfares.	480‡

	Chaps.	lines.
Ed. 1577. Bk. 1	17	10,433
2	18	11,060
3	26	7,840
	61	29,333

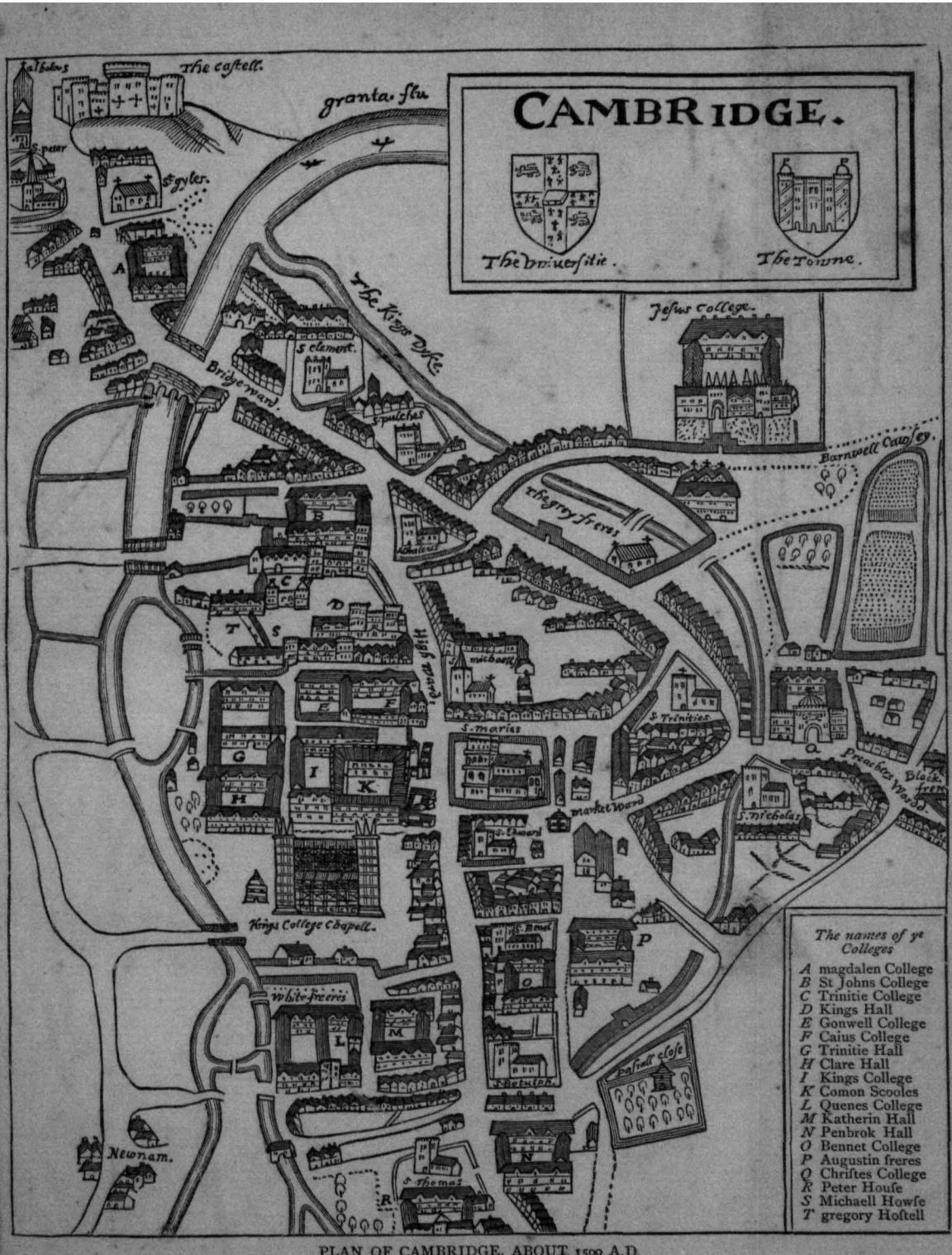
Chap. ed. 1586-7.	lines
1. Of cattell kept for profite.	400
2. Of wilde and tame fowles.	170
3. Of fish usuallie taken upon our coasts.	200
*4. Of savage beastes and vermines.	260
5. Of Hawkes and ravenous Fowles.	130
6. Of venemous beasts	250
7. Of our English Dogs and their qualities.	375
8. Of our Saffron and the dressing thereof.	375
9. Of quaries of stone for building.	220
10. Of sundry minerals.	120
11. Of metals to be had in our land	300
12. Of pretious stones.	180
†13. Of salt made in England.	150
14. Of our accompt of time and hir parts.	450
§15. Of principall faires and markets. II. 11. (See II. 18. of ed. 1586-7.)	240
‡16. Of our innes and thorowfares.	600

	Chaps.	lines.
Ed. 1586—Bk. 1	24	18,012
2	25	13,150
3	16	4,410
	65	35,572
		29,333
		6,239

So that Ed. 1586 contains 4 more chapters and 6,239 lines more than Ed. 1577.

ENTREE ROYALLE DE LA REYNE MERE DV ROY TRES-CHRESTIEN DANS LA VILLE DE LONDRES

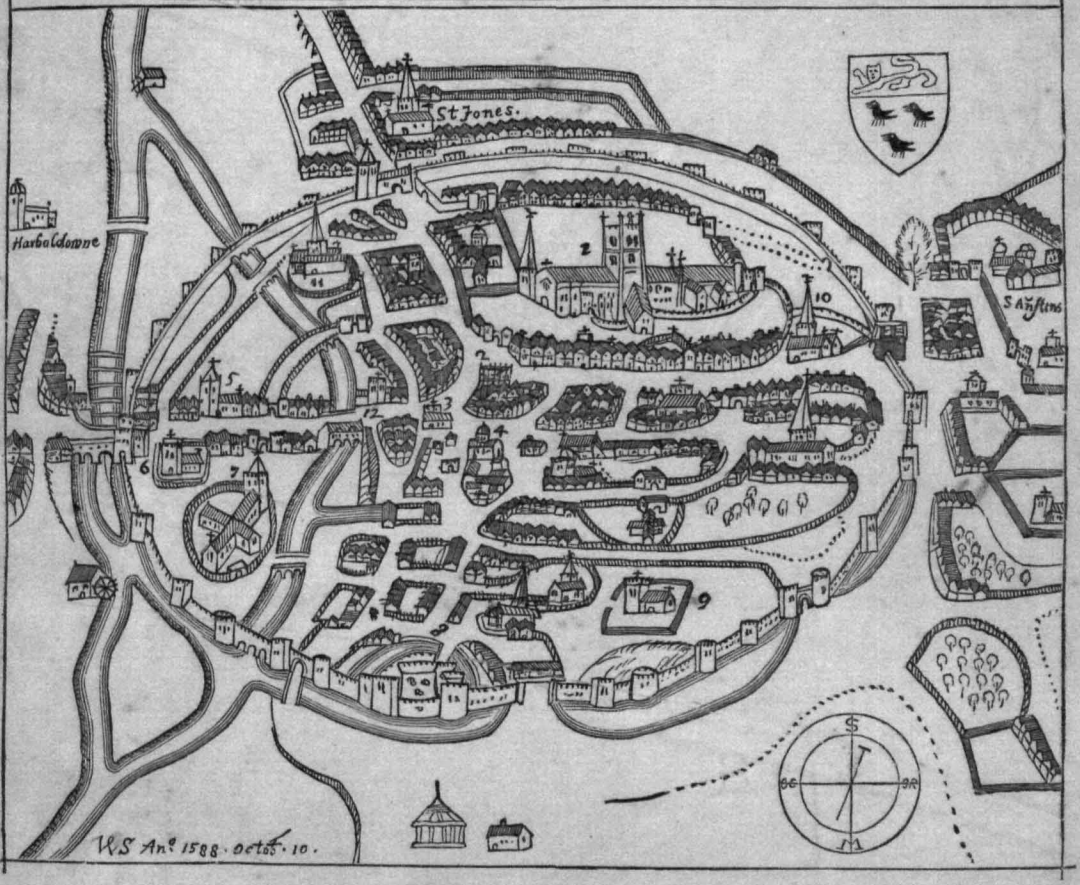

WORCESTERSHIRE
WARWICKSHIRE
OXFORD
BICESTER
BUCKINGHAM
BANBURY
TOWCESTER
STONY STRATFORD
FENNY STRATFORD
AYLESBURY
DUNSTABLE
HIGH WYCOMBE
AMERSHAM
BERKHAMSTED
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD
WATFORD
HATFIELD
KINGSTON
LONDON
SHAKSPERE'S ROADS
to and from
LONDON



PLAN OF CAMBRIDGE, ABOUT 1590 A.D.

From William Smith's unique MS, Sloane 2596, leaf 64, back, in the British Museum.

CANTERBVRY



1. *Chriſties church*
2. *yᵉ Market Place*
3. *our Lady*
4. *Sᵗ Andrewes*
5. *Sᵗ Peter*
6. *Weſtgate Church*
7. *St Mildred*
8. *The Castell*
9. *Our Lady*
10. *St George*
11. *The freeres*
12. *Alhalows*

(From William Smith's unique MS, Sloane 2596, in the British Museum.)

FOREWORDS TO PART II.

§ 1. In pursuance of the hope expresst on p. xlii of my Forewords to *Harrison*, Pt. I., I now give a slightly reduced photogravure copy of the View of the North of Cheapside in 1638, which is the best existing representation of what this "Beauty of London," Cheapside, probably was in Shakspere's time.—The 1547 view, engraved from the since burnt Cowdry picture, is put off till next year, because it sets Cheapside on the bank of the Thames, and takes other painters'-liberties with facts.—Our 1638 Cheapside-View, of the *Entrée Royalle de la Reyne mère du Roy très-chrestien dans la ville de Londres*—is from a Folio of 1639: "Histoire de l'Entrée de la Reyne mere du Roy tres-chrestien dans la Grande Bretagne. Enrichie des planches. Par le S^r. de la Serre, Historiographe de France. A Londres par Jean Raworth pour George Thomason & Octavien Pullen, a la rose, au Cemetiere de Sainct Paul, 1639.[1]" "This miserable old queen," as Lilly calls Marie de Medicis,[2] having been invited by her daughter, the queen

[1] It was reprinted by W. Bowyer and J. Nichols for T. Payne and W. Brown, in 1775, as the second tract following Estienne Perlin's '*Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse*,' 1558, so often quoted in Appendix II. to *Harrison*, Part I.

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of Charles I., to visit England, landed at Harwich on Oct. 29,[1] 1638, came to London on Oct. 31, and so to St James's. By the king's command, the Lord Mayor and citizens received her with honour, though she was unpopular amongst them, for they dreaded her Papist attendants, as well as the plague, war, or famine, that always followd her.[2]

The View shows nearly the whole of Cheapside and part of the Poultry. The houses on the South are cut away, except part of the Nag's Head inn,[3] and the inraild successor of the Eleanor Cross seems to be put closer to the Standard or Great Conduit than it ought to be, or perspective justifies,[4] in order to get a clear view of the procession. The Little Conduit near Paul's Corner is out of the picture on the left or west. The openings of the narrow streets are either not shown, or are boarded over, &c. The street is lined on the north with the members of the City Companies behind a draped railing, every Company having its own flag. Behind them are rich merchants' and traders' houses, most having signs hung on poles,[5] running out over the pentices of the open shops beneath, from which on this procession-day hang draperies of blue cloth. Above are the owners' families, friends, and servants, in windows and balconies, with a few apprentices (I suppose) on roofs.

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[1] Oct. 19, says Archbp. Laud. Nichols, p. iv.

[2] Nichols, p. v.

[3] Shown by its 'bush beyond its sign,' like the *Mermaid* more to the left, on the north, the wrong side of the street for Shakspere's inn.

[4] That is, according to my fancy, but I know next to nothing of drawing or perspective.

[5] On the left, the 3 Nuns (or Kings of Cologne ?), then the Swan, Star, White Lion, Mermaid (Inn), two Crescents or Half-moons, Star again, Cardinal's Hat (?), Rose, Black Lion, Cross, &c. The following are some of the signs mentiond in the Calendars of Domestic State Papers :

1591. Mr. Cut, an ironmonger, dwells at the sign of the *Frying Pan*, in Cheapside.—*S. P. Dom.* p. 104. 1600. to Mr. Stone's in Cheapside, at the sign of the *Maiden head.*—*S. P. Dom.* 1598—1600, p. 400. —— March 18. to Mr. Smith at the *Golden Key*, Cheapside.—*ib.* p. 411. 1601. Feb. 8. to Edw. Westwood, goldsmith, at the sign of the *Hare* in Cheapside, *ib.* p. 545. *1637. April 14. John Layingham lives* at the *Broad-Arrowhead* in Cheapside.—*S. P. Dom.* 1636—7, p. 567.

Comparing this View[1] with Norden's map of 1593, in *Harrison*, Pt. I., we see that the de-la-Serre cut stretches from Norden's eastern *t* to nearly his western *t*. But at the point where we want Shakspere's *Mermaid*, the corner of Friday Street on the South, opposite Wood Street on the North, and close by the Eleanor-Cross substitute, in between (Wheatley in *Harrison*, Part I., p. cii), we find the *Nag's Head*, while the Mermaid Inn, with its bush, is on the opposite side some 20 doors up. This fact, with the seeming stopping-up of the openings of Wood-St., Milk St, &c., on the North, obliges one to ask whether de-la-Serre's sketcher or engraver

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[1] Nichols, p. 30, says of our view: "The houses on the south (i. e. north) side of the street bear a great resemblance to some now (1775) in Fleet-street at the end of Chancery-lane, and in the Strand just without Temple-bar, and to some lately standing in and about Aldersgate and Bishopsgate street. They appear to be built of timber & plaister [hence the need of James I's Proclamations against timber buildings cited below], each story over-hanging the other, terminating in sharp pediments, the roofs projecting on cantilivres, and the windows occupying the whole front of each of the lower stories. The signs hang mostly on single beams, thrust into the fronts, or supported by a single or a few plain irons, without any of the modern fantastic and costly supporters, of which see *Voyages de Monconnys* II, p 38. About the middle of the side, and nearly opposite to the Cross, opens an embattled building, with two long windows, corresponding with a tower and spire behind, and probably intended for *St. Peter's church* at the N.W. corner of Wood-street [and therefore on the North of Cheapside], which Stowe, p. 337, says stood *by the said cross*, and was "a proper church lately new built." It may be seen in Aggas's Plan of London, made in queen Elizabeth's time, (which also exhibits the Cross and Standard), but seems to have been down when Hollar drew his views, before the fire. The "*long shop or shed*, incroaching on the high-street before this church-wall, and licensed to be made 1401," seems to be still continued in the low house fronting to Cheapside, at the corner of Wood-street. I confess myself unable to ascertain that lofty embattled castle-like mansion of three stories, with somewhat like round towers, or corbeil battlements, which seems to project at the corner of a street, probably Milk-street, unless it be one of the "many fair houses" which in Stowe's time were in Milk-street. The last public building in the off-skip is probably the Royal Exchange. I have dwelt the longer on these particulars, as this and the Cowdry picture are the only views of old London before the fire."

has not drawn on his fancy for some other details of his cut.[1] No doubt he has: but in the main, I believe the picture is a faithful one of the best part of London in Shakspere's time. Mr. Overall, the Guildhall Librarian, his cousin of the Record Office, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, &c., do so too.

Had the View been one of the South side of Cheapside, and included the famous *Goldsmiths' Row*, lying between our *Nag's Head* Friday St., and Bread St. on its east, no one could have accused de-la-Serre's artist of exaggerating the fineness of its houses.[2] For Stow says, under Breadstreet Ward:

Goldsmithes Rowe in Cheape

"Next to be noted, the most beautifull Frame of faire houses and shops, that be within the Wals of London, or elsewhere in England, commonly called Goldsmiths Rowe, betwixt Breadstreete end and the Crosse in

[1] That the old Ballad illustrators projected London, as well as their characters, from the depths of their own consciousness, is shown by the cut below, which I borrow from Mr. Ebsworth's copy of a "view of Old London and the Thames, from an early exemplar of the 'Waterman's Delight,' at the Bodleian Library, mentioned on p. 955," of Mr. Ebsworth's edition of *The Bagford Ballads*, Ballad Soc., 1878. The big church at the bottom must be old St. Paul's, with its broken steeple. (See Harrison, Pt I, p. liv.)

[2] See Hentzner's witness to it in *Harrison*, Pt I, p. lxxxiv.

Cheape, but is within this Breadstreete ward; the same was builded by Thomas Wood, Goldsmith,[1] one of the Sheriffes of London, in the yeere 1491. It containeth in number ten faire dwelling houses, and foureteene shops, all in one Frame uniformely builded foure stories high, beautified towards the streete with the Goldsmiths Armes, and the likenesse of Woodmen in memory of his name, riding on monstrous Beasts: all which is cast in Lead, richly painted over, and gilt: these hee gave to the Goldsmiths,[2] with stockes of money to bee lent to young men having those shops, &c. This said Front

[1] 1570, Feb. 15. Lord Hunsdon to Sir William Cecil. P.S. Skidmore has brought such ill French crowns and clipped angels that they will scarcely be uttered; and I think the tellers have bought ill gold in *Cheapside* to send hither. *State Papers, Dom.* Addenda, 1566—79, p. 234.

[2] The Goldsmiths and Elizabeth's successors were desirous to keep this famous Row for Goldsmiths only: see in the Calendars of State Papers, Domestic:

1622. Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company complain to Sir Robt Heath that there are 183 alien goldsmiths resident in London . . . so that the goldsmiths are impoverished, and meaner trades have crept into Goldsmith's Row in *Cheapside* and Lombard Street. *S. P. Dom.* 1619—1623, p. 334.

1623. Reasons of the Goldsmiths' Company. The King wishes to have *Cheapside* and Lombard Street replenished with goldsmiths, which cannot be if the trade be taken away, and gold and silver thread bought in private houses, p. 656. *S. P. Dom.* Addenda, 1580—1625.

1628, Jan. 12. Petition of Simeon Fincham and John Dover, prisoners in the Fleet, to the Council. The petitioners were ordered by the Council to depart their dwelling, they living in *Cheapside*, and not being goldsmiths. Not yielding thereto, they were committed. They now submit, and pay for their release. *S. P. Dom.* 1627—8, p. 5.

1634. Nov. 12. Order of Council. "Whereas in the Goldsmiths Row, in Cheapside and Lombard Street, divers shops are held by persons of other trades, whereby the uniform show which was an ornament to those places, and a lustre to that city, is now greatly blemished, of which incongruous change his Majesty taking notice, is therewith much offended;" Order given that all goldsmiths *must* live in Goldsmiths' Row, and all folk not goldsmiths must clear out of it (*S. P. Dom.* 1634—5, p. 288). And they have to promise to, too: see p. 374—5; but not carrying out the promise soon enough, are reported again, *S. P. Dom.* 1635, p. 237—8; and some evidently have to do as they were told, *ib.* p. 304; 1635—6, p. 280; 1637, p. 145. On Jan. 7, 1637—8, 'there are at the least 24 houses and shops that are not inhabited by goldsmiths.' *S. P. Dom.* 1637—8, p. 155.

was againe new painted and gilt over in the yeere 1594, Sir Richard Martin being then Maior, and keeping his Maioralty in one of them, serving out the time of Cuthbert Buckle, from the second of July till the 28. of October"[1] (ed. 1842, p. 129). See *Harrison*, I. p. cii.

But Mr. Wheatley has already (*Har.* Pt. I., p. ciii) called our attention to the fact that Edmond Howes, who continued Stow's *Annales*[2] in 1615, and again in 1631, said Cheapside 'was formerly very meanly furnished on the north side.' Does this 'formerly' mean in and after 1587 A.D., when Shakspere probably came to London with Burbage's Company after their Stratford performances of that year? Did Shakspere see Cheapside 'meanly' furnisht, or handsomely, as the 1638 artist shows it? The latter, I believe; for Howes is really speaking of Cheapside in 1563. He says: "At that time [A.D. 1563], Cheapside, which is worthily called *the*

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[1] Stow notices this Row before, under Cripplegate Ward, p. 111, col. 1, ed. 1842: "Thomas Wood . . . also built the beautiful front of houses in Cheape over against Wood street end, which is called Goldsmiths row, garnished with the likeness of woodmen."

[2] The edition of 1605 was the last that Stow toucht. Has any one examined, and printed an account of the differences of the 1605, 1615, and 1613 editions of Stow's and Howes's *Annales*, in the years treated by all three? On a cursory look, I see that the 1615 Howes has a new Dedication, Address to the Reader, and Historicall Preface; and that after Stow's 'xii May 1602,' Howes (p. 804, col. 1, l. 10) inserts a long, or as he calls it "a breefe relation of some of the chiefe Eng. Souldiers and Nauigators of the Queenes Raigne, with other things of note" (an account of John Stow, a list of our poets, and an account of Sir Humfrey Gilbert), to p. 811, col. 2. Then he starts again with Stow's 'xxii June,' leaving out his 'xix of June' (Lady Walsingham's burial). He follows Stowe to the end of Elizabeth's death (p. 1425); but after Stow's "24. of March," puts in a fresh account (p. 812, col. 2), of the proclamation of K. James; and on p. 813—15 gives, "A commemoration of Queene Elizabeth." The back of p. 815 is blank. On p. 816 (a right hand one), start a fresh heading, and an account of K. James, which so swallows, and enlarges, and continues, Stow's that it becomes a fresh original work.

The 1631 edition enlarges greatly the list of new inventions, customs, &c., given in the 1615 ed., and has fresh remarks on the increase of population and buildings in London. We want a reprint of the Elizabeth and James I parts. See some extracts below.

Beauty of London, was on the North side, very meanely furnished, in comparison of the present estate" (1631, E. Howes, p. 869). And in the 53 years between then and Shakspere's death, enormous changes must have taken place.

Both north and south sides of the east end of Cheap, and part of the Poultry, were in Cheap Ward; then came on the south side, Bread-Street Ward, &c., and on the north, Cripplegate Ward for a short distance, and Farringdon Within for the rest of Cheap [1] The street itself was a fine broad open paved one, where markets, tourneys, &c. had been held, it was the strolling place of the dandies of the time, their Bond St. or Rotten Row walk [2], and, as we have seen, the South side containd the handsomest houses in London. It is true

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[1] "This Warde of *Farringdon* within the walles, is bounded thus: Beginning in the East, at the great Crosse in West Cheape, from whence it runneth West." 1598. I. Stow. *Survay of London*, p. 249.

Criplesgate warde. "Now on the south side from ouer against the west end of S Lawrence church, to the Pumpe, and then vp Milke streete, south vnto Cheape; which Milkestreete, is wholy, on both the sides of Cripplegate warde, as also without the Southe end of Milke-streete, *a part of West Cheape*, to wit *from the standarde to the Crosse*, is all of Cripplegate warde. Then downe greate Woodstreete, which is wholy of this warde on both the sides thereof; so is little Woodstrete which runneth downe to Cripplegate." *ib.* p 230—1.

Ld. 1598, p. 207. "Next adioining is Chepe warde, which also begin-neth in the East, on the course of Walbrooke, in Bucklesbury, and run-neth vp on both the sides to the great Conduit in Cheape. [For 'which' above, Thoms's reprint of 1842, p. 97, col 2, reads "and taketh name of the market there kept, called West Cheping. This ward."] ed 1842, p. 97. "Then to begin again in the east upon the said course of Wal-brooke, is St. Mildred's church in the Poultrie, on the north side, and over against the said church gate, on the south, to pass up all that high street called the Poultrie, to the great conduit in Cheape; and then Cheape itself, which beginneth by the east end of the said conduit, and stretcheth up to the north-east corner of Bow Lane on the south side, and to the Standard on the north side; and thus far to the west is of Cheape ward." (See too the map in Strype's edition of Stow)

[2] (1584?) In five years he [a gentleman of Lancashire] owed £500 more than he was worth, and *Cheapside*, Paul's, and the Exchange were no walking places for him, and he had to walk like owls at night. *State Papers, Domestic*, Addenda, 1580—1625, p. 138.

that Stow says nothing of the beauty of the houses on the north side, but his silence does not imply that they were mean.[1] He does speak of some of the houses in the smaller streets near or running out of the north of the great Cheapside, and says that in Milk St. "there be many fair houses for wealthy merchants and other" (p. 111, col. 1, ed. 1482); of Adle St. "at this present it is replenished with fair buildings on both sides" (*ib.* col. 2), of Basinghall St. "amongst divers fair houses for merchants, have ye three halls of Companies" (p. 107, col. 2), and I therefore assume that the North-Cheap houses were fine too,[2] though with meaner among them (Pt I. p. lxvi), as de la-Serre's artist has made them, and that it was in such a scene and some such guise as this, that Shakspere hoped for a welcome to Essex in 1599, after his first greeting outside the City walls.[3]

§ 2. So before going on to the city pageant of 1638 which Shakspere could not have seen, let us take that of July 31, 1606, which he may well have seen,[4] on the visit of the King of Denmark to his brother-in-law, James I. In anticipation of it, the King, says Howes, *Annales*, p. 885, col. 2:

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[1] His Bladder Street,—calld by others, Blow-bladder St.—with its shambles and slaughterhouses at the back, and then Newgate Market, was clearly west of Cheapside, p. 117, col. 1, ed. 1842.

[2] If you look in the 3rd vol. of Allen's *Hist. of London*, you will find opposite p. 375 a little plan of the west end of Cheapside and Paternoster Row (dated 1585), from which it would appear that the houses on the north side matched those on the south side.—H. B. W.

[3] How London doth powre out her citizens!
The Maior and all his Brethren in best sort,
Like to the Senatours of th' antique Rome,
With the Plebeians swarming at their heeles,
Goe forth, and fetch their Conqu'ring Cæsar in:
As, by a lower but by louing likelyhood,
Were now the Generall of our gracious Empresse,
As in good time he may, from Ireland comming,
Bringing Rebellion broachèd on his Sword
How many would the peacefull Citie quit,
To welcome him! *Henry V.* Act V. Prol.

[4] For receptions of Q. Elizabeth and others by the Londoners, see Stow's *Annales* 1605, p. 1309, 1401, 1404, 1405, &c.

"gaue forthwith order to the Lorde Maior of London, to prepare the cittie against Thursday sen-night following, [July 31, 1606] and to make such Trophies, & deuices, as the time would permit, and that the graue cittizens should sit in their accustomed state, and order, in their liueries, as is vsed at coronation of Princes, which they very dutifully performed . . ..

About three of the clocke [on July 31, 1606] they set forward, being accompanyed and attended with the chiefe of the cleargie, the whole Nobilitie, and most of the English and Scottish gentry, and office[r]s of honor and armes, in as great pompe as when the King and Queene rode through London two yeers past . . .

[p. 886] The King of Denmarkes pentioners rode on Horsebacke, but his guard went on foote, hauing nowe omitted the carrying of their Muskets, and marched with gilded Halberds, which King Iames had caused to bee giuen them: at theire first entrance into London, they were receiued by the lord Maior, at the East end of Tower streete, in a robe of Crimosin veluet, bearing a golden Scepter in his hand before the Kinges, vntill hee came to Temple-bar.[1] As these great Potentates with their sumptuous trayne passed along y^e^ streets, the King of Denmarke seriously obserued the huge multitudes of common people thronging in euery corner, and the vnimaginable number of gallant ladies, beauteous virgins, and other delicate Dames, filling the Windowes of euery house with kind aspect, saluting their worthinesse with health and heartie welcome wheresoeuer they past. *The Ambassadors of France, Spaine, and Venice, were placed in seuerall houses to beholde the solemnitie.* Upon the great Fountaine in Cheapside was erected the bower of the Muses, with pleasant musicke: at the west end of Cheapside, by the Goldsmiths row neere vnto the pageant, sate the great elders of the citie in scarlet Robes, where the Recorder, after he had made a solemne Oration in Latine, in the behalf of the cittie, and for testimony of their loue and zeale vnto their liege Lord, and his louing friends, presented the K. of Denmarke with a fayre cup of gold, who with as great kindnesse accepted it: then the pageant, after it had ceased her melodious harmonie, beganne to expresse the purpose thereof, viz. Diuine concord, as sent from Heauen, descended in a cloud from the toppe vnto the middle stage, and with a lowd voyce spake an excellent speech in Latine, purporting their heartie welcome, with the heauenly *Sir Henry Mountague, Recorder of London*

[1] 1620 . . . "at Temple barre, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Recorder, receiued him [Jas. I] and presented him with a purse of gold, and from thence attended him to Paules, the streets being rayled on both sides, and the seuerall Companies of London in their seuerall places, in their Liueries and Banners, gaue their attendance all the way to Paules." E. Howes. *Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1631, p. 1033, col. 1.

happines of peace, and vnitie, amongst Christian Princes, &c.; but through the distemperature of the vnrulie multitude, the Kings could not well heare it, although they enclined their eares very seriously thereunto. At the faire Fountaine in Fleetstreete was a pleasant pastorall deuice, with songs, wherewith the kings were much delighted: this Fountaine, and diuers other, ranne cleere wine. And after they were come to Whitehall in the euening, they were entertained with fier-workes vpon the water."

For the rest of the King's amusements and entertainments, see the continuation; and in further illustration of the *Hamlet* healths (*N. Sh. Soc. Trans.* 1874, p. 512—13) note that on Monday, Aug. 11, when James I, Queen Anne, Prince Henry, &c., went on board the King of Denmark's biggest ship, the *Admiral*, anchord at Gravesend,

"the said princes were very royally feasted; and as they sat at Banquet, greeting each other with kindness and pledges of continuing amity, and hearts desire of lasting health, the same was straight wayes knowne, by sound of Drumme, and Trumpet, and the Cannons lowdest voyce, beginning euer first in the Admyrall, seconded by the English block-houses, then followed the vice Admirall, and after her the other six Denmarke ships, ending alwaies at the smallest." p. 887, col. i. l. 21—31.[1]

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[1] See too the accounts in Howes of the Merchant Taylors' entertainments to K. James, p. 890-1, the great frost, p. 892, the planting of mulberries and making silk, p. 895, the lion-baiting before the Court, p. 895 (below, p. 42*), the making of copper, p. 896, the triumphs in honour of the Prince of Wales's taking the order of the Bath, p. 907, of the Princess Elizabeth's marriage, p. 916 (below, p. 38*—42*), &c. &c.

That there were painful sights as well as pleasant ones to be seen in Cheapside follows from its being the whipping-place for London; see the following five notes from the Calendars of State Papers:

1587. June 2. Soldiers levied in the city for seruice in the Low Countries, who had mutinied against Captain Sampson . . . to be tied to carts and flogged through *Cheapside* to Tower Hill, then to be set upon a pillory, and each have one ear cut off. *S. P. Dom.* p. 415.

1591. July 19. Last Friday the two prophets [Coppinger, of mercy, Ardington, of vengeance] came into *Cheapside*, stepped up into a cart, and began to put in practice their communication from Heaven, and, amongst others, denounced their judgments against the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Canterbury, whom they called traitors to God and the realm; but, being pulled down, they were shortly after apprehended, and examined at the Lord Mayor's, p. 75.

§ 3. We now return to our Cheapside View of 1638, and the reception of Marie de Medicis pictured in it.

M. de la Serre (Nichol's reprint, p. 28) says that the Lord Mayor, having the King's orders to prepare for his mother-in-law's entry,

"fit dresser . . . d'un costé dans la grande rue de Londre, de la longueur d'une lieue, des bancs a docier enrichis des balustres de trois pieds de hault, tous couverts egalement de drap bleu: avec commandement a toutes les compagnies ou fraternitez de divers mestiers, en nombre de cinquante d'y comparoistre en personne, chacun avec sa robe de bourgeois à paremens de marte, pour estre assis dessus ces bancs le jour de l'entrée, & chasque compagnie debvoit avoir sa baniere avec ses armes, affin qu'on la peut distinguer des autres, comme estant toutes de suitte: ce qui fut executé. Six mille soldats des esleux & enfans de la ville separez en diverses compagnies, chacune ayant en particulier ses officiers, tous gentilshommes, furent destinez a occuper en haye l'autre costé de la rue, tous armez richement: ceux-cy avec des mousquets, ceux-là avec des piques. Et quoyque

North of street lined with backt benches, and 3-foot balustrades in front, all coverd with blue cloth

On these, members of the 50 City Companies in fur-trimd robes, each Company with its banner.

South of street lined with 6000 soldiers and train-bands.

1600. June 13. Gascoin, a soldier, to ride with his face to the horse's tail, to stand on the pillory at Westminster and *Cheapside*, to be branded in the face, and imprisoned for life. *S. P. Dom.* 1598—1601, p. 441.

1601. The Cheapside scenes in Essex's rebellion are matters of history. Notes of them are in *S. P. Dom.* 1601-3, p. 11, 24, 25, 38, 110.

1603. Feb. 28. Darling, a youth of Merton College (who pretended to be dispossessed of a devil by Darrell), is sentenced by the Star Chamber to be whipped and lose his ears for libelling the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and divers of the Council: he has had part of his punishment in *Cheapside*. *S. P. Dom.* 1601-3, p. 26.

1624. Feb. 22. Moore, an attorney, for speaking ill of Queen Elizabeth and Henry VIII, was sentenced to lose both his ears, and to imprisonment during pleasure. He laughed while the sentence was performing in *Cheapside*. *S. P. Dom.* 1623-5, p. 168.

For some of the cruel execution-scenes in Smithfield that Shakspere may have witnesst, see Stow's *Annales*, 1605: in Dec. 1604, woman burnt for coining, p. 1279; in June 1592, another for poisoning her husband, p. 1271; in April 1594, another for murdering her husband, p. 1275. On June 7, 1594, three Portuguese men were, at Tyburn, "hanged, cutte downe alive, holden downe by strength of men, dismembred, bowelled, headed and quartered, their quarters set on the gates of the citie," p. 1278. Other chronicles record the boiling of women alive.

les boutiques, les balcons, & les fenestres deussent estre remplis de nouveau encore d'un grand nombre de dames, on avait fait commandement de tapisser les rues, a discretion toutesfois . . . De sorte que comme cette grande rue contenoit en sa longueur plusieurs autres rues, les divers marchans, & des unes & des autres, les ornerent si richement, & chacun de son invention, qu'il ne se pouvoit rien voir, ny de plus somptueux ny de plus superbe. Celle-là estoit parée d'une tapisserie hautelice[1]: celle-cy de Brocatel; l'une de tapisserie de Lachine, & l'autre des Indes, dont la rareté les metoit hors de prix.

Streets adornd with superb hangings of the finest tapestry and cloth of gold.

The carriages were coverd with crimson velvet, trimd with gold, inside and out, and drawn by 6 horses.[2] The Litter, of velvet and gold too, seen on the left of the Cross, was drawn by 2 mules, and not 2 horses as drawn by the artist. The order of procession was 1. The "messagers de la chambre."—? Gentlemen-Ushers (Nichols)—well mounted, two and two, in scarlet liveries with the king's arms in gold on breast and back; 2. Twelve Trumpeters as richly clad, sounding their trumpets; 3. fifty Gentlemen-Pensioners ("the cowslips tall, her Pensioners be"), all well mounted and equipt; 4. the Serjeants-at-Arms, "sergeans d'armes gentilshommes" —each carrying on his shoulder a heavy mace of silver gilt, with a solid crown at the top ("coronee d'une coronne close, de mesmes matière a l'imperialle"); 5. the carriage of M. le Viscomte de Fabroni, and that of the Queen's Equerries; 6. their Majesties' carriage, preceded by two Equerries (*Escuyers*), and with others, and the footmen of the King and queen at the sides, with the Earl

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[1] *Tapisserie de haute-lice.* Tapistrie of rich stuffe, or high price; the best, and largest kind of Tapistrie. *Brocatel*: m. Tinsell; or thin cloth of gold, or silver. 1611. Cotgrave. *Lachine* must be China.

[2] Compare Lady Leicestèr's carriage in Cheapside, probably before Shakspere had seen London:

1584? Of the Countess of Leicester, before, Lettice, widow of the Earl of Essex. "Yet still she is as proud as ever, rides through *Cheapside* drawn by four milk-white steeds, with four footmen in black velvet jackets, and silver bears on their backs and breasts, two knights and 30 gentlemen before her, and coaches of gentlewomen, pages, and servants behind, so that it might be supposed to be the Queen, or some foreign Prince or ambassador." *S. P. Dom.* Addenda, 1580—1625, p. 137.

of Salisbury (William Cecil, 2nd Earl), captain of the Pensioners, and the Earl of Morton, captain of the Guards, mounted, and M. de la Masure, lieutenant of the hundred gentlemen of the bodyguard of the queen, all well mounted, 7. the Litter drawn by 2 mules; 8. the carriages of the Maids-of-Honour, waiting-maids, &c., &c.

The artist couldn't of course get all these carriages, &c., into his view, and so he has given us only 3 grand carriages and the litter. The reader, who has paid his money, must 'take his choice' as to which carriage Lilly's "miserable old queen" is in; but as the third is the only one that contains anything like a woman, I suppose that is meant for it. At any rate, the Trumpeters are there, and the Serjeants at Arms with their maces. The inevitable dog of course appears, but the man behind him is not meant to be hopping. The loss of half his leg is owing to a fault in M. Dujardin's copy of the original.

The grandeur of the sight of London in holiday dress struck M. de la Serre with warm admiration, and the prettiness of our English women toucht his susceptible French heart.[1] I quote one of his less ardent paragraphs, and put the others in a note:

"je vous diray sur un ton un peu plus bas, que l'eclat de ce riche carrosse ou estoient leurs Majestés, la beauté de ces dames estrangeres, qui causoient de la foule en mille lieux; la gravité de ces Bourgeois, dont la moitié paressoit armée, & l'autre decement vestue dans ces balustres; & enfin cette grande quantité de peuple de tout sexe & de tout age egalement plein de zelle: Tous ces objects ensemble partageant mon esprit & à l'admiration & à la joye, m'obligeoint à confesser, que je n'avois jamais veu tant de merveilles ensemble: & comme leur portrait etoit son jour, par la beauté de celluy qui l'esclairoit, les moins curieux & les plus insensibles touchez d'un secret ravissement, & d'un extreme plaisir, advouoient à part eux, ce que je publiois à tout le monde" (p. 38).[2]

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[1] Compare the Extracts in *Harrison*, Part I, p. lxii, lxiii, lxv, &c. The *Daily News* says the waitresses at the English restaurant at the Paris Exhibition are a great attraction there.

[2] As to the pretty women, he says: "Que les plus fecondes immaginations se representent le contentement qu'on peut recevoir en l'admiration de la beauté mesmes, depeinte au naturel par la nature, sur un nombre infiny de visages qui n'estoient differens les uns des autres, que

And as the women charmd his eyes, so the music delighted his ears:

"Que si mes yeux trouvoient leur paradis en ces delices, mes oreilles etoient charmees encore du nouveau plaisir de la melodie des cris de joye, & de l'armonie des trompetes, & autres sortes d'instrumens, dont la vertu excitoit les esprits les plus melancholiques a tenir leur partie dans le concert de l'allegresse publique." (p. 29.)

Let us then all make a bow to M. de la Serre, and bid him good-bye.

§ 4. *Shakspere's Roads to London.* Not being able to find any county maps of Shakspere's time, with the roads laid down on them, I got Mr. Emslie to make from the Ordnance Map a smaller one of the country between Stratford and London, and to colour on it the roads that I suppose Shakspere would be most likely to travel by. That on the right hand, over Edge Hill, thro' Drayton, Banbury, Buckingham, Aylesbury, Amersham, Uxbridge, is the shorter road, and is given by our earliest road-map-maker, Ogilby in 1675, and his successors, as *the* London road. On the other hand, the tradition of Shakspere's connection with the lively landlady of the Crown at Oxford, and the dramatist-actor Sir William Davenant's reported boast that he was the result of that alliance, point to Shakspere's use (in June 1605, at least, if not 'commonly in his journey' as Aubrey says,[1]) of the left-hand road, thro'

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pour faire voir la diversité des douceurs & des graces dont l'amour se sert pour ravir les cœurs, & captiver les libertez: car si l'une arretoit sur elle & mes yeux & mon esprit, l'autre un moment aprez exercant son empire, charmoit mon ame de complaisance en son admiration: Si celle-la, dis-je ensuitte, me persuadoit à force d'appas de l'estimer uniquement; celle-cy tenant tout à coup mon jugement en suspens, le determinoit enfin à la preferer à toutes ensemble. Mais quel plaisir, je n'estois pas plutost resolu a cela, qu'un nouvel object tout adorable me faisoit repentir à l'instant en sa faveur, de la precipitation de mon jugement. De sorte que je vous puis asscurer sans mentir, que cent & cent fois encore je donnay & j'ostay la pomme à un grand nombre des dames, sans en pouvoir faire une derniere fois un dernier présent, tant mon esprit etoit diverty & occupé egalement en la contemplation de leurs diferantes perfections, toutes fort peu communes." (p. 39.)

[1] The story is also told, with variations, by Oldys. See Dyce's *Shakespeare*, 1866, i. 123, note. On the roads see *Harrison*, I, p. xli, xciii.

Shipston, Long Compton, Woodstock, Oxford,[1] High Wycombe, Beaconsfield—name of ill odour now—and Uxbridge, with the alternative of taking the Henley road between Oxford and Uxbridge. Oh that our Vice-President, Mr. William Black, would drive that Phaeton of his over these roads, and tell us what the fair land he'd see, is like! Meanwhile let the reader walk or ride the roads for himself,—as I hope to do some day[2]—and fancy what Shakspere's feelings would be on first seeing Oxford and London. For the Oxford road, Prof. Hales's paper in the *Cornhill Magazine*, January 1877, will help him: for the other, I recollect nothing: Carlyle did not describe Edge Hill (*Cromwell*, 1846, ii. 156). For the look of the country and cattle between London and Oxford in 1592, see *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. lxxxi,[3] lxxxvii; for the inns on the road, and the friendly way in which Shakspere, as a guest, would be treated in them; for his chance of being robbd if he had much money in his bag—as assuredly he hadn't;—for the 'aspicious persons' he would meet—little better than false knaves who'd commit flat burglary—and how he d go armd, see the present *Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 107—9, and also Part I, p. 283, and p. lxx.

§ 5. *The plans of Cambridge and Canterbury* are put in, *really* because I'm an old Cambridge man, and because Chaucer pilgrimd it to Canterbury, *nominally* because they picture part of Shakspere's England. Neither plan had been engraved -so far as I know—from Wm. Smith's MS. before I hit upon it, and each plan is either the earliest, or among the earliest, known of its city. Cambridge men will note with interest King's in its old form, and many another

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[1] See Harrison's 'waie' from Canterburie to Oxford, p. 114 below; and note on the same page that his village of Radwinter is on the 'thorowfare from Douer to Cambridge.' Marlow no doubt went this road to Cambridge from Canterbury. He took his M.A. at Cambridge in 1587, probably the year in which Shakspere came to London.

[2] Mr. H. B. Wheatley, who has walkt the Stratford-Oxford road, says: "My own impression of the route is, that the Warwickshire portion is delightful walking; but when Oxfordshire is entered upon, the scenery becomes very ordinary." See my *Leopold-Shakspere Introd.* p. xiv.

[3] Mr. Hales's quotations as to the fen country, stage-coaches, &c., do not of course apply to Shakspere's roads.

change in town and college from their present state. Canterbury men will find considerable liberties taken with their river, &c ; but if they will look at the worthy Smith's sketches of London and Oxford, they will think their city most admirably treated. My calling Mr. Wheatley's attention to Smith's MS. will lead to its speedy publication in facsimile, colours and gold—250 copies at 2 guineas each—by Mr Ashbee and himself. A Duplicate of our Canterbury cut, with comments by a sound authority, the Rev. Canon Scott Robertson, will appear in the Kent Archæological Society's Transactions for 1879.

6. There are some more bits in Stowe and Howes which refer to Shakspere's London,[1] and I give them on the chance of their interesting our members as they've interested me. For some men life is still long enough to read the old worthies' words, and feel with them in the pride they took in their city; but few of our members have a 1598 *Survay*, a 1615 and 1631 *Annales* on their shelves.

The exact dates of the spread and improvement of London in Shakspere's days, I cannot get at,[2] but Queen Elizabeth's "Proclamations against encrease of new buildings," and the extracts below, prove that much of both took place under Shakspere's eye, while all the old writers' words bear witness to the consciousness of the new power and life in the land, of which Shakspere's genius was the supreme outcome. The extracts run in this order:

a. The Population and State of London, 1598, p. 17*. Its increase in Wealth, 1609, p. 17*.
b. The Growth of London, 1614, p. 23* (see *d*—*i*).
c. Proclamations for Uniformity of Building and Sparing of Timber, 1604, p. 23*.
d. Britan Burse in the Strand built, 1608, p. 25*.
e. The Spread of Building, and Reclaiming of Moorfields, 1607-8, p. 26*.
f. New Granaries and Coal-Stores at Bridewell, p 27*.
g. Revival of the Finsbury Artillery Gardens, p. 28*.
h. Building westward in Bloomsbury, Long Acre, Covent Garden, p. 29*.
i. Clerkenwell House of Correction. Smithfield pavd. First pavd Foot-paths. Ruffians' Hall. Rapier and Dagger, p. 30*.
j. Bawdy-Houses and Play-House destroyd, p. 32*.
k. Increast Use of Sea-Coal, p. 32*.

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[1] Even if he left it about 1609, he must have visited it afterwards. See 'Ben Jonson's London' in C. Knight's *London*, i. 365—396.

[2] Howes in 1614 says 'especially within these twelue yeeres,' 1602—1612, p. 26* below.

l. New Importations, Inventions, Customs, chiefly in Shakspere's time, p 33.*
m. Masks at Court on Princess Elizabeth's Marriage, Feb. 1613, p. 38*.
n. Fights between Lions, a Horse, Bears and Dogs, 1609-10, p. 42*.
o. England's knowledge of Navigation; East-India Company, p. 44*.
p. Building of the biggest English Ship then being, 1400 tons, 1610, p. 48*.
q. London Theatres, 1613, p. 48*.
r. Somerset or Denmark House, Strand, 1616, p. 49*.
s. The praise of London, by Edmund Howes, 1611, p. 49*.
t. Busino on London in 1617-18, p. 51*. *P.S.* On English country, p. 59*.

a. The Population and State of London.

(1598. John Stow. A Survay of London. p. 478 (really 462) to 469.)

"The multitude (or whole bodie) of this populous Citie is two waies to bee considered, generally, and specially: generally [1]they bee naturall subiectes, a part of the commons of this Realme, and are by birth for the most part a mixture of all countries of the same, by bloud Gentlemen, Yeomen, and of the basest sorte, without distinction: and by profession busie Bees, and trauellers for their liuing in the Hiue of this common welth; but specially considered, they consist of these three parts, Marchantes, Handicraftsmen, and Labourers. Marchandize is also deuided into these three sortes, Nauigation,—by the which Marchandizes are brought, and carried in and out ouer the Seas,—Inuection—by the which commodities are gathered into the Citie, and dispersed from thence into the Countrie by land—and Negotiation, which I may call the keeping of a retayling or standing shop. In common speech they of the first sort bee called Marchantes, and both the other Retaylers. Handicraftes men be those which do exercise such artes as require both labour and cunning as Goldsmithes, Taylors and Habberdashers, Skinners &c. Labourers and Hirelinges I call those *quorum operæ non artes emuntur*, as Tullie sayeth, of which sorte be Portars, Carmen Watermen &c. Againe these three sortes may be considered eyther in respect of their welth, or number: in welth, Marchantes, and some of the chiefe Retaylers have the first place; the most part of Retaylers, and all artificers, the second or meane place; and Hyrelinges the lowest roome: but in number they of the middle place, be first, and do farre exceede both the rest: Hyrelinges be next, and Marchantes bee the last. Now, out of this, that the estate of London, in the persons of the Citizens is so frendly interlaced, and knit in league with the rest of the realme, not onely at their beginning by birth and bloude as I have shewed, but also very commonlie at their ending by life and conuersation (for that Marchantes and rich men being satisfied with gaine doe for the most part) marrie their children into the Countrie, and conuey themselues after Ciceroes counsell, *Veluti ex portu in agros et possessione:* I doe inferre that there is not onely no danger towardes the common quiet

[1] p. 479, really 463.

thereby, but also great occasion and cause of good loue and amitie: out of this, that they bee generally bent to trauell, and do flie pouertie, *per mare, per saxa, per ignes*, as the Poets ayeth, I draw hope that they shall escape the note of many vices, which the people doe fall into. And out of this, that the bee a great multitude, and that yet the gretest part of them bee neyther too rich nor too poore, but do liue in the mediocritie, I conclude with Aristotle that the Prince needeth not to feare sedition by them, for thus sayeth hee: "Magnæ vrbes, magis sunt a seditione liberæ, quod in eis dominetur mediocritas, nam in paruis nihil medium est, sunt enim omnes vel pauperes vel opulenti." I am now to come to the strength and power of this Citie, which consisteth partly in the number of the Citizens themselues, whereof I haue spoken before, partly in their riches, and in their warlike furniture; for as touching the strength of the peece it selfe, that is apparent to the eye, and therefore is not to bee treated of.

The welth and warlicke furniture of London is eyther publicke or priuate; and no doubt the common trasure cannot be much there, seeing that the reuenew which they haue, hardly sufficeth to maintaine their Bridge and Conduites, and to pay their officers and seruantes. Their Tolle doth not any more then pay their Fee Ferme, that they pay to the Prince. Their Issues for default of Appearances be neuer leuied, and the profites of their courtes of Iustice do go to particular mens handes. Arguments hereof bee these twoo: one that they can do nothing of extraordinarie charge without a generall contribution: an other that they haue suffered such as haue borne the chiefe office amongst them, and were become Bankrupt, to depart the Citie without releefe; which I thinke they neyther would nor could haue done, if the common treasure had sufficed to couer their shame; hereof therefore wee neede not be afraid. The publike armour and munition of this City remayneth in the Halles of the Companies, as it doth throughout the whole Realme, for a great part in the parish churches, neyther is that kept together, but onely for obedience to the law, which commandeth it, and therefore if that threaten danger to the estate, it may (by another law) be taken from them, and committed to a more safe Armourie.

The Priuate riches of London resteth chiefly in the handes of the Marchantes and Retaylers, for Artificers haue not much to spare, and Labourers hau[e] neede that it were giuen vnto them. Now how necessarie and seruicable the estate of Marchandize is to this [1]Realm, it may partly appear by the practise of that peaceable, politike, and rich Prince king Henry the seauenth, of whome Polidore (writing his life sayeth thus, "Mercatores ille sœpe numero pecunia multa data gratuito iuuabat, vt mercatura (ars vna omnium cunctis æque mor-

[1] p. 465.

talibus tum commoda, tum necessaria) in suo regno copiosior esset." But chiefly, by the inestimable commodities that grow thereby: for who knoweth not that wee haue extreame neede of many thinges, whereof forraine countries haue great store, and that we may spare many thinges whereof they haue neede? or who is ignorant of this, that wee haue no mines of siluer or golde within our Realme? so that the increase of our coyne and Bulloine commeth from elsewhere, and yet neuerthelesse we be both fedde, clad, and otherwise serued with forraine commodities and delightes, as plentiful as with our domesticall: which thing commeth to passe by the meane of marchandize onely, which importeth necessaries from other countries, and exporteth the superfluities of our owne. For seeing we haue no way to increase our treasure by mines of gold or siluer at home, and can haue nothing without money or Ware from other countries abroad, it followeth necessarily, that if we follow the councel of that good old husband Marcus Cato, saying, *oportet patrem familias vendacem esse, non emacem*, and do carrie more commodities in value ouer the seas, then we bring hether from thence; that then the Realme shall receiue that ouerplus in money: but if we bring from beyond the seas marchandize of more value, then that which we do send ouer may counteruaile, then the Realme [1]payeth for that ouerplus in readie money, and consequently is a looser by that ill husbandrie: and therefore in this part, great and heedefull regard must be had that Symmetria, and due proportion be kept, least otherwise, eyther the Realme bee defrauded of her treasure, or the subiects corrupted in vanitie, by excessiue importation of superfluous and needlesse Marchandize, or els that we feele penurie, euen in our greatest plentie and store by immoderate exportation of our owne needeful commodities. Other the benefites that marchandize bringeth, shall hereafter appeare in the generall recitall of the commodities that come by London: and there [2]fore it resteth that I speake a worde of Retaylers and finallie shew that much good groweth by them both. The chiefe parte of retayling is but a handmaid to marchandize, dispersing by peecemeale that which the marchant bringeth in grosse: of which trade be Mercers, Grocers, Vinteners, Haberdashers, Ironmongers, Millayners, & all such as sell wares growing or made beyond the seas; & therefore so long as Marchandize it self shalbe profitable, & such proportion kept as neyther wee loose our treasure thereby, nor be cloyed with vnnecessarie forein Wares, this kinde of retayling is to be retayned also.

Now that Marchantes and Retaylers of London bee very rich and greate, it is so farre from any harme, that it is a thing both praise worthy and profitable: for *Mercatura* (sayeth Cicero) *si tenuis est, sordida putanda est; sin magna est & copiosa, non est vituperanda.*

[1] layeth *orig.*

[2] p. 466.

And truely Marchantes and Retaylers doe not altogether *intus Canere*, and profite themselues onely; for the Prince and Realme both are enriched by their riches: the realme winneth treasure, if their trade be so moderated by authority, that it breake not propo-tion; & they besides beare a good fleece, which the Prince may sheare when he[1] seeth good.

But heere before I conclude this part, I haue shortly to aunswere the accusation of those men, which charge London with the losse and decay of many (or most) of the auncient Cities, Corporate Townes, and Markets within this Realme, by drawing from them to her selfe alone (say they), both all trade of traffique by sea and the retayling of wares, and exercise of manuall artes also. Touching Nauigation, which (I must confesse) is apparantly decayed in many Port townes, and flourisheth onely, or chiefly at London, I impute that, partly to the fall of the Staple (the which beeing long since a great trade, and bestowed sometimes at one town, and sometimes at another within the Realme, did much enrich the place where it was: & being now not onely diminished in force, but also translated ouer the seas, cannot but bring some decay with it), partly to the empayring of Hauens, which in many places haue empouerished those townes, whose estate doth ebbe and flow with them, and partly to the dissolution of Religious houses[2] by whose welth and haunt, many of those places were chiefly fed and nourished. I meane not to rehearse particular examples of euery sorte: for the thing it selfe speaketh, and I hast to an ende. As to Retaylers therefore, and Handicraftes men, it is no maruaile if they abandon Countrie Townes, and resorte to London; for not onely the Court, (which is now a dayes much greater and more gallent then in former times, and which was wont to bee contented to remain with a smal company, sometimes at an Abbey or Priory, sometimes at a Bishops house, and sometimes at some meane Mannor of the Kings own) is now for the most part eyther abiding at London, or els so neare vnto it, that the prouision of thinges most fit for it, may easily be fetched from thence: but also by occasion thereof the Gentlemen of all shires do flie, and flock to this Citie; the yonger sorte of them to see and shew vanity, and the elder to saue the cost and charge of Hospitalitie, and house keeping. For hereby it commeth to passe, that the Gentlemen being eyther for a good portion of the yeare out of the Countrie, or playing the Farmours, Grasiars, Brewers or such like, more then Gentlemen were wont to doe within the Countrie, Retaylers and Artificers, at the least of such thinges as pertayne to the backe or bellie, do leaue the Countrie townes where there is no vent, and do flie to London, where they be sure to finde ready and quicke market. And yet I wish, that euen as many townes in the

[1] she *orig.*

[2] p. 465 (really 467).

Low Countries of king Philips do stand. some by one handy art and some by an other: so also that it might be prouided here, that the making of some thinges might, by discreet dispensation, be allotted to some speciall Townes, to the ende, that although the daintinese of men cannot be restrayned, which will needes seeke those thinges at London, yet other places also might bee relieued, at the least by the Workemanshippe of them.

Thus much then of the estate of London, in the gouernment thereof, in the condition of the Citizens, and in their power and riches. Now follow the enumeration of such benefites as redound to the Prince and this Realm by this City: In which doing I professe not to rehearse all, but onely to recite and runne ouer the chiefe and principall of them.

[*The advantages of London to the Realm.*]

[1] Besides the commodities of the furtherance of Religion and Iustice: The propagation of Learning: The maintenance of artes: The increase of riches, and the defence of countries (all which are before shewed to grow generally by Citties, and bee common to London with them) London bringeth singularlie these good thinges following.

By aduantage of the scituation it disperseth forraine Wares (as the stomacke doth meate) to all the members most commodiously.

By the benefite of the riuer of Thames, and great trade of Marchandize, it is the chiefe maker of Marriners, and Nurse of our Nauie: and ships (as men know) bee the wodden walles for defence of our Realme.

It maintaineth in florishing estate, the countries [2] of Norfolke, Suffolke, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, which, as they lie in the face of our most puissant neighbour, so ought they (aboue others) to be conserued in the greatest strength and riches: and these (as it is well known) stand not so much by the benefit of their own soile, as by the neighbourhood and neernes which they haue to Lond*on*.

It releeueth plentifully, and with good policie, not onely her owne poore people (a thing which scarcely any other Towne or shire doth) but also the poore that from each quarter of the realme do flocke vnto it; and it imparteth liberally to the necessitie of the Vniversities besides. It is an ornament to the realm by the beautie thereof, & a terror to other countries by reason of the greate wealth and frequencie. It spreadeth the honor of our Countrey far abroad by her long nauigations, and maketh our power feared, euen of barbarous Princes. It onely is stored with rich Marchantes; which sort onely is tollerable: for beggerly Marchantes do byte too neere, & will do more harme then good to the realme.

It only, of any place in this realme, is able to furnish the sodain necessity with a strong Army. It auaileth the prince in Tonnage,

[1] p. 469, really 468.

[2] counties.

Poundage, and other her customes, much more then all the rest of the Realme.

It yeeldeth a greater Subsidie then any one part of the realme ;[1] I meane not for the proportion of the value of the goods onely, but also for the faithfull seruice there vsed, in making the assesse; for no where else bee men taxed so neare to their iust value, as in London: yea, manye are founde there, that for their countenaunce and credite sake, refuse not to bee rated aboue their abilitie, which thing neuer happeneth abroade in the countrie. I omit that in auncient time, the inhabitantes of London and other cities, were accustomably taxed after the tenth of their goodes, when the Countrie was assessed at the fifteenth, and rated at the viij. when the countrie was set at the xij. for that were to awake a sleeping Dogge, and I should be thought *dicenda, tacenda, locutus,* as the Poet said.

It onely doth and is able to make the Prince a ready prest or loane of money.

It onely is founde fit and able to entertaine strangers honorablie, and to receaue the Prince of the realme worthely.

Almightie God (*qui nisi custodiat ciuitatem, frustra vigilat custos*) grant, that her Maiestie euermore rightly esteeme and rule this Citie; and he giue grace, that the Citizens may answere duly, as well towards God and her Maiestie, as towardes this whole realme and countrie. Amen.

1609. *The Increase of Wealth in London and England* (*Howes's Stow's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 896, col. 2.)

Kingly payments beyond all presidents.

The great blessings of God through encrease of wealth, in the common subiects of this land, especially vpon the cittizens of London: such within mans memony, and chiefly within these few yeeres of peace, that except there were now due mention in some sort made thereof: it would in time to come bee held incredible, to the great obscuring of the gratious bounty of almightie God, and dishonor of the king and common wealth. For in the 15. yeare of Richard the second, the generall weaknes of wealth in y^e^ cittie of London, was such, as the whole cittie hazarded the losse of their charter, which at that time to them was most pretious, for refusing to lend the King one thousand pound: since which time, though the citizens haue encreased in riches, yet the loane of 10. thousand pound a good while after was held a great matter, and in tract of time after that the lending of twentie thousand pound was held a wonderous matter, euen within mans memorie: and in the yeare 1587. when the queene sent to the citizens to borrow threescore thousand pound, I well remember it was made a matter of great admiration, which

[1] p. 469.

way and of whom it should bee leuied: since which time to *the* eternal prayses of almightie God, such is his boundlesse blessing vpon the whole kingdome in generall, And London in perticuler, that certaine priuate cittizens, farmers of the *custome-house* in December 1607. lent the K one hundreth & twenty thousand pound for one whole yeare, which som his Maiestie most graciously & carefully repaid in December, 1608. with full royall consideration for the same; & in May y^e^ last yeare 1608. the K. borrowed also of certaine other cittizens, three score and three thousand pound, for fifteene moneths; and this Midsomer day 1609. the K. not onely repayd all that somme, but allowed them likewise their full content for that time, viz. seuen thousand and fiue hundreth pound as a royall recompence: the king sent them word hee had the money ready for them, and would haue payed them before their day, but they refused it: and touching this kingdomes wonderous encrease of traffique and Nauigation, I shall somewhat speake thereof (though not so much as I ought) when I come to speak of the east Indya Company.

[See p. 45* below. He goes on here with an account of the first making of Copperas and Alum in England.]

b. 1614. *The Growth of London.*

(Howes's *Stow's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 938, col. 1, l. 26—58.)

The glorious Cittie of London, most famous by that name, being in deede, one of the most auncient flourishing Cities of the whole world, and without wrong to anie other cittie, it may iustly bee sayd to bee the only auncient Cittie, that since her first founding, hath beene preserued from destruction, and Alteration, from her first Seate and foundation: and for these late yeeres so much encreased in people, and building, as no knowne Cittie of the Vniuerse may compare with it, and is euery way the more strange and wonderfull, in being but a cittie in an Island, lying quite out of all common passage, or thorough-fayre to anie other Nation, which sayde encrease of beautifull buildings, and inhabitantes, as well without the Walles and Liberties, as within the Cittie consisting nowe of very ingenious people, as well natiues as of all other Christian Nations, professors, and practisers of all arts and sciences, vsed and knowne vppon the vpper face of the earth, besides great multitudes of other people, of lesse deseruing commendations, residing within the cittie and suburbes, for whose generall and particular vse of Water, the former prouision would no way suffice, notwithstanding sixteene common Conduits, and the great supply from that most delicate and seruiceable ryuer of Thames.

c. With regard to Buildings, in consequence of the quick using up of wood which so grieved Harrison's soul (Part I., p. 343–5:

see p. 32* below), James I. tried, as Elizabeth had done, to stop the making of timber fronts and window-frames to houses, as well as the building of new houses in the City, and within a mile of it. Howes, referring to 1607—possibly the year of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*—says under 1610, in his first or 1615 edition of *Stow's Annales*, p. 892, col. 1:—

Proclamations for vniformitie a building and preseruation of tymber

Notwithstanding the late great generall sicknes and mortallitie, especially within the Cittie and Suburbs of London: yet ner the lesse the Cittie by this time was wonderously encreased in people and new buildings; and albeit that in the queenes time there were diuers strickt proclamations against Inmates and encrease of new buildings, yet they tooke small effect.[1] And vpon the[1] first of March in the second yeere of his Maiesties raigne [1604], Proclamation was made, straightlie forbiding all encrease of new buildings within the Cittie of London and one mile thereof: expresly commanding all persons to build their fore fronts and windowes of all their new buildings either of Bricke or stone, by reason all great and well growe woods were spent and much wasted, so as timber for shiping waxed scarce; but it tooke small effect: wherupon the twelfe of October this present yeare, 1607, Proclamation was made againe to the same purpose, wherein they were commannded to build al their vtter walls, forefronts, and windowes, either of bricke or stone; and the sixteenth of October some were Censured in the Starre Chamber for building contrary to the tennor of the first Proclamation.

Contemners punished.

This extract appears with some changes and additions in Howes's second, or 1631 edition of *Stow's Annales*, p. 1023, col. 1, under the year 1615:—

Reformation of building in London

The King in the second yeare of his Maiesties raigne [1604], vpon good aduice, for preseruation of Timber, preuention of all further excessiue encrease of Buildings in London and the Suburbs, and for the reducing of all their Buildings into a more safe, comely, and vniforme Building,

[1] Compare Stow, in his *Annales* 1605, p. 1424: *An.* 1602. The xxii of June, Proclamation was made for the pulling downe of late builded houses, and voyding of Inmates in the Cities of London and Westminster, and for the space of three miles distant of both these Cities; but little was done, and small effect followed, more then of other the like Proclamations before time made, and also an acte of Parliament to that Purpose: these Cities are still increased in buildings of Cottages, and pestered with Inmates, to the great infection and other annoyances of them both.

Proclamation was then made, straightly commanding, that from that time forward all their fore-fronts of all their new Buildings, should bee made either of Brick or Stone; but neither that, nor diuers other Proclamations wholly to that purpose preuailed: whereupon diuers were censured in the Starchamber: and yet many still persisted, contrary to all the Kings Proclamations, which were made from time to time, euen vnto this present, in which was mentioned the tenour of all the former Proclamations, and commanded all Commissioners to proceede with all stricktnesse vpon all such wilfull offenders[1]: and from this time began the new reformation of Building: and the first house of note was Collonell Cecills house in the Strand, and after that a house neere Drapers Hall toward Broadstreet, and after that a Goldsmithes house in Cheapeside, ouer against Sadlers Hall: and a Leather-sellers house in Paules Churchyard neere the North gate, he was compelled thereunto after his house was set vp, being all of Timber. [On our rookeries being due to James, see p. 52*.]

d. 1608. *The building of Britan Burse in the Strand.*

Britan Burse builded In the Strand on the North side of Durham house, stoode an olde long stable, the outward wall whereof, to the streete side, was very rude and ruinate; all which was taken downe, and a stately building sodainely erected in *that* place, by Robert, Earle of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England. The first stone of this beautifull building was laid the tenth of June last past [1608], and was fully finished in Nouember following. And vpon Tuesday the tenth of Aprill, this yeere one thousand sixe hundreth and nine, many of the vpper shoppes were richly furnished with

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[1] Compare in the Calendars of Domestic State Papers:

1624. July 5. 71. "The King to (the Council). Many persons have lately violated the proclamations for reformation of buildings in and about London, by rebuilding with timber, or building on new foundations. An exact certificate is to be taken of all offenders, and the sheriff ordered to demolish such buildings as may give the greatest example to terrify others; the rest to be proceeded against in the Star Chamber. The buildings in Long Acre especially are to be pulled down, and information to be brought of any future offenders (2 pages, draft, unsealed)." *S. P. Dom. Addenda*, James I, p. 668.

That some Long Acre building was stopt for a time by the Proclamation, see *S. P. Dom.* 1629—1631, p. 220—1. Yet again comes:

1630, July 16. Proclamation concerning new buildings in and about the City of London, and against dividing houses into several dwellings, and receiving inmates, *ib.* p. 508. Another Proclamation of like kind in 1631, *ib.* p. 554. But folk must have houses, so comes:

1631. Jan. 10. Licence to be prepared to Francis Earl of Bedford, to build upon the premises called Covent Garden and Long Acre.

Wares; and the next day after that, the King, Queene, and Prince. the Ladie Elizabeth, and the Duke of Yorke, with many great Lordes and chiefe Ladies, came thither, and were there entertayned with pleasant speeches, gifts, and ingenious deuices; and then the King gaue it a name, and called it Britan Burse. 1615. E. Howes. *Annales*, p. 895, col. 1.

e. The Spread of Buildings and the Reclaiming of Moorfields, 1607-8. 1615. E. Howes. *Stow's Annales*, p. 945, col. 1, to col. 2, l. 16.

The new walkes on the north sid of London formerly called Morefieldes, with other things of note

[1614] Amongst the manifoulde Tokens and signes of the infinite Blessings of Almightie God bestowed vppon this Kingdome, by the wonderous and merciful establishing of peace within our selues, and the full benefitte of concord with all Christian nations, and others: of all which graces let no man dare to presume he can speake to much, whereof in truth there can neuer be enough said: neither was there euer any people lesse considerate, or les thankfull then at this time, being not willing to endure the memory of their present happinesse, as well in the vniuersall increase of commerce and trafique throughout the Kingdome, great building of royall ships by priuate merchants, the repeopling of Citties, Townes, & Villages, besides the vndiscernable and sudden encrease of fayre and costly buildings, as well within the Citty of London, as in the suburbs thereof, *especially within these twelue yeeres:* for pregnant witnesse whereof, I referre all that are present, vnto the vnimagined and vnthought of buildings at this day, scarcely finished betweene Saint Katherines and Radcliffe, with the rest there adiacent, and vnto the new buildings, on the west end of the Citty, namely the two new streetes, neere Charing-Crosse, and the Strand, aunciently called Saint Martins Lane & Drury Lane, and the innumerable new buildings there adiacent, besides y^e^ world of new buildings, at the west, and south parts of Westminster, &c. And therewithall, the sudden encrease and new building of faire and stately pallaces in euery village, And in al Townes Corporate within ten mile compasse of the Citty, as also the plantation of English in Ireland, Virginia, and new found Land and in the Bermodes, the discouery of the Northwest passage, and the making of new Riuers, namely that which is brought to the North part of London, of all which due mention is made in their propper places, besides the generall repayre of parish churches, the amending of streetes, highwayes, and through fayres in Cittie and countrey, within this last seauen yeares, more then in fifty yeeres before, as also the plenteous encrease of orchards, and Gardens, more then in all former times. And lastly, whereof *there is a more generall and perticular Notice taken by all persons,* resorting, and residing in London, the new and pleasant walkes, on the North side of the Citty, aunciently called Morefielde, which

fielde (vntill the third yeere of King Iames) was a most noysome and offensiue place, being a generall laystall, a rotten morish grounde whereof it first toke the name. This fielde for manie yeeres was enuironed and crossed with deepe stincking ditches, and noysome common shewers, and was of former times, euer held impossible to be reformed, especially to bee reduced to any part of that fayre, sweete and pleasant condition, as now it is. And likewise the two other Fieldes adioyning, which vntil the late time aforesaid, were infectious, and very grieuous vnto the Citty, and all passengers, who by all meanes endeauoured to shun those fieldes, being loathsome both to sighte and sent: yet neuer thelesse vppon the good opportunitie of sweete peace, whereof these three fieldes will euer remaine a perfect testimonie, the first of which, viz. that fayre square next the Citty wall, was greatly furthered by Sir Leonard Holliday, in the time of his Mairalty, and through the great paynes and industry of Master Nicholas Leate, reduced from the former vile condition, vnto most faire and royall walkes as now they are: which worke, whilst it was in doeing, being very difficult, the people spake very bitterly and rudely against those two worthy men, and their good endeauours therein, and in derision said 'it is a holiday worke.' All which they patiently endured, and persisted; but when the multitude saw this worke brought vnto desiered effect, then their vnconstant mindes changed: and applauded the effect: vnto this worke there were diuers Cittizens desierous to put to their helping hands: amongst which there was none like to Master Nicholas Leate, a very graue, wise, and well affected cittizen: who toke very great paynes, in the beginning and finishing the first field called moorefield, and disbursed diuers sommes of Money, as well for mending the high way, as for reducing the two other outward fields into that comely shape and pleasant manner as now they are, as well in making the wals, as planting the trees; without whose especiall ayde this worthy worke had neuer bin accomplished. He purposeth to make the outmost walke, the fayrest of all the three walkes: all which was done at the generall charge of the cittizens of London, and other the inhabitants: and what else is to be said touching the particulars of the first fielde, I refer you vnto my abridgment. [See R. Johnson's *Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields*, 1607.]

f. The building of Twelve Granaries and Two Coal-Stores at Bridewell, 1610.

(1615. E. Howes. *Stow's Annales.* p. 907, col. 2, l. 41 to 61.)

The Citty of London buildeth new granaries and storehouses

[1610] Notwithstanding the generall and particuler former plentiful prouision in London, as well by the seuerall halles of Companies of the Citty, as in building and furnishing sundry Granaries, and storehouses for the general seruice thereof, for preuention of suddaine Famin, yet

such is the late vnspeakeable encrease of people within, and about the Citty: as well of Straungers as Natiues, so as the magistrates in their prouidence, for preuention of Famine, and for prouision for the poore: very carefully, about two yeares past beganne to builde at Bridewel, Twelue new fayre Granaries, beeing sufficient to keepe six Thousand quarters of Corne, and two storehouses for Sea Coale for the poore, which will keepe foure thousand loade of coales: these necessary howses were not finished vntill this time; master Aderman Leman, tooke great care and paines to contriue and accomplish this Memorable worke.

g. *The Revival of the Finsbury Artillery-Garden, and Practice in it.* A.D. 1610.

(1615. E. Howes. *Stow's Annales*, p. 906, col. 2, l. 5.)

The practize in the artillery Garden reuiued

Whereas in the yeere 1586, as I haue formerly made mention, there were certaine marchants and other Cittizens of London who practized arms & martiall discipline in the Artillerie Garden without Bishops gate, which ground was auncientlie belonging to Saint Maries spitle there, and was since graunted for many yeares, by the last Prior thereof, to the vse and practize of great and small Artillerie: which of all others, is most worthie to bee commended and exercised; hauing beene discontinued, euer since the yeere one thousand fiue hundred eightie eight, was this present yeere, one thousand fiue hundred and ten, by meanes of Philip Hudson, (now lieutenant of the companie there) Thomas Lauerocke[1], Robert Hughes, Sammuell Arthois, Robert Greenehurst, and diuers other Gentlemenne, and cittizens of London, assotyated in the saide Artillery Garden, now newly erected, exercised, and set on foote, againe, with sufficient warrant, and tolleration graunted them, by the Lords of his Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsell, vnto whome they became humble sutors in the beeginning for preuention of all future mistruction of their honest intent, and Actions there, and hauing duely considered the necessitie of the knowledg of Armes in so populus a place, and the inconueniences that happened, to Antwerpe, and other their late populus and flourishing neighbour cities, principally by reason of their neglect of that most noble exercise of Armes, and martiall discipline, in times of wealth and peace. They haue now therefore, for preuenting the like mischiefe in this theire nursing mother, so farre as in them lies, like louing sonnes to so glorious a Citty, vndertaken at their owne priuate and particular charg, a weekely exercise of Armes, and millitary discipline, after the moderne and best fashion and instruction now in vse. And for their better ease and more conueniency, they haue

[1] The old form of our Lark.

erected a strong and well furnished armory in the saide ground, in which are Armes of seuerall sortes, and of such extraordinary beautie, fashion, & goodnes for seruice, as are heard to bee matched else where. Of which saide company, Captayne Edward Panton was theyre first Captayne, and Nic. Speering, a marchant of this Citty, their first elected auncient or Ensigne bearer: those that were formerly of the ould Artillery Garden, did good seruice many wayes in their owne persons, and in teaching others; and these now last are more likely to doe much more particular and general seruice, by reason their practise is greater, and more skilfull. (p. 907, col. 2, l. 40.)

h. And in a later passage, p. 1048, col. 2, of the same 1631 edition, Howes mentions the extensions westward in Bloomsbury, Queen St., Drury Lane, Long Acre, and Covent Garden!—

"I haue formerly made mention of a great suddaine encrease of buildings in London round about the Suburbs, with the skirts and Towns adiacent, as you may reade; since which time there hath beene much encrease of Buildings in all parts aforesaid, chiefly whereof I now speake, is from the West part of Holbourne[1] and Bloomesbury, and the parts on that side, and on the other side of the way in a place anciently called the Elmes, of Elmes that grew there, where Mortimer was executed, and let hang two dayes and two nights to be seene of the people, as you may reade; which place hath now left his name, and is not knowne to one man of a Million where that place was; and from thence the New faire buildings called Queenes street leading vnto Drury lane[2]; and then on the other side the high way in the great [3]Field, anciently called Long Acar, with the South side of the street called Couent Garden that leadeth vnto Saint Martins Lane which is newly made a faire streete. You shall reade that in the rebellion of Wat Tylor, he with his great Army, lay neere Smithfield barres, which was then a voyde open place, and the kings friends, with their assembled forces, being placed before Saint Bartholomewes gate in Smithfield, espied King Richard with his nobility comming to their ayde riding ouer Long Acre which they plainely and ioyfully beheld, not being any way hindered of that sight in that place by any manner of Buildings either in Smithfield, Holbourne, Chancery Lane, or

Late new encrease of buildings, with other things of note.

The Elmes.

Long Acre
Couent Garden

[1] 1630. Petition for leave to build on a dangerous and noisome passage between High Holborn and St. Giles's Fields, by reason of a dead mud wall, and certain old housing which lately stood close to the same, wereh divers people have been murdered and robbed. *S. P. Dom.* 1629—31, p. 284. Leave to be granted, *ib.* 321.

[2] See too the extract, p. 26*.

[3] p. 1049.

other places: Let the vnderstanding Reader iudge of the vnspeakeable and incredible encrease of Buildings in those parts within the space of two hundred and forty yeares, the like suddaine and vndiscernable encrease of Buildings vpon the North side of the Riuer of Thames, within these last forty yeares betweene Saint Katherines and Radcliffe, beside the vpper high way and other places, &c. In the fore-named Couent Garden there is a particular parcell of ground layd out, in the which they intend to build a Church or a Chappell of ease; At this time also neere Hammersmith, there was built a new Chappell of Ease, and was consecrated this Spring.

i. 1615. *House of Correction for Rogues. Smithfield. Broad stone foot-Pavements. Ruffians' Hall. Sword and Buckler replaced by Rapier and Dagger.*

(1631. E. Howes. *Stow's Annales*, p. 1023, col. 2, l. 16.)

A new house of Correction for the County of Middlesex.

Such was the great encrease of Roagues and Vagabonds in London and Middlesex, that Bridewell could not containe them, nor imploy them, nor willingly receiue any from the Iustices out of the County of Middlesex, because they held it contrary to the Charter of London, and the foundation of Bridewell; whereupon the Iustices of Middlesex, by licence from his Maiestie, builded a house of Correction for the County of Middlesex, neere vnto the East end of Clarkenwell Church, for the punishment and imployment of sturdy Roagues and Vagabonds of the County of Middlesex; and for the furtherance of the said house, the Citty of London gaue vnto it fiue hundred pounds in money, to make a stock for the employment of their Poore, and the Iustices ordained two Masters and a Matron to gouerne the House: This was done this yeere 1615.

Smithfield paued.

And this Sommer 1615, the Citty of London reduced the rude vast place of Smithfield, into a faire and comely order, which formerly was neuer held possible to be done, and paued it all ouer, and made diuers shewers to conuay the water from the new Channells which were made by reason of the new Pauement: they also made strong rayles round about Smithfield, and sequestred the middle part of [p. 1024] the said Smithfield, into a very faire and ciuill Walke, and rayled it round about with strong Rayles, to defend the place from annoyance and danger, as well from Carts, as all manner of Cattell, because it was intended hereafter, that in time it might proue a faire and peaceable Market-place, by reason that Newgate Market, Cheapeside, Leaden-hall, and Gracechurch street were vnmeasurably pestred with the vnimaginable encrease and multiplicity of Market-folkes, as well by Carts as otherwise, to the great vexation of all the Inhabitants, annoyance of the streete, trouble, and danger to all passengers, as well Coaches, Carts, &

Horses, as otherwise; so as the Magistrates of the Citty, for diuers late yeares, tooke great care and deuice how to make some new conuenient Market-place, for the generall seruice of the Citty, and to auoyde danger and offence to all passengers: and at this time the Cittizens began their new Pauement of broad free stone, close to their Shops; and the taking down of all high Causies about London, namely, in the Strand, in Holbourne, Saint Iohns streete, Barbican Red crosse streete, Whitecrosse streete without Bishops gate, and Aldgate, and at the Mynories, and other places.

The first paving of London streets with broad Free stone

And the generall taking downe of all high Causies

And concerning Smithfield, why it was so called, I read not, though some imagine it to be anciently the habitation of black Smithes and Farriers, for the generall seruice of the Citty; which opinion is easily refelled, by reason there were alwayes many Smiths in all the parts of London; yea, euen in the North side of Cheapeside, betweene the Standard and the Crosse, there was a Smiths Forge within this 80 yeares[1]; neither is it yet full threescore yeares past, since a great part of Cheapeside was unpaued[2], and likewise the South Churchyard of Paules, anciently called the Close. And lest in time to come, some captious Cockbraines should either denie this to be true, or not worthy the Chronicling, you shall vnderstand that the Citie of Paris in Fraunce was not paued vntil the yeare 1186, nor the Citie of Lubeck in Germany in [= for] many yeares after, as appeares by their seuerall Chronicles.

This field, commonly called West-Smithfield, was for many yeares called *Ruffians Hall*, by reason it was the vsuall place of Frayes and common fighting, during the time that Sword and Bucklers were in vse. When euery Seruing man, from the base to the best, carried a Buckler at his backe, which hung by the hilt or pomell of his Sword which hung before him.

Ruffins Hall.

Sword and Buckler in great vse.

This manner of Fight was frequent with all men, vntill the fight of Rapier and Dagger tooke place, and then suddenly the generall quarrell of fighting abated, which began about the 20. yeare of Queene Elizabeth [1577-78]; for vntill then it was vsuall to haue Frayes, Fights, and Quarrells, vpon the Sundayes and Holidayes, sometimes twenty, thirty, and forty Swords and Bucklers, halfe against halfe, as well by quarrells of appointment as by chance. Especially from the midst of Aprill vntill [p. 1024, col. 2] the end of October, by reason Smithfield was then free from dirte and plashes. And in the

[1] That is, I assume, 80 years from 1615, the date Howes gives above, and not from 1631, the date of his book. Either way, soon after 1550, as well as soon after 1535, would clear Shakspere in London.

[2] 'Twould then have been pavd by Shakspere's time.

Winter season, all the high streetes were much annoyed and troubled with hourely frayes of sword and buckler men, who took pleasure in that bragging fight. And although they made great shew of much furie, and fought often, yet seldome any man hurt, for thrusting was not then in vse; neither would one of twentie strike beneath the waste, by reason they held it cowardly and beastly. But the ensuing deadly fight of Rapier and Dagger, suddenly suppressed the fighting with Sword and Buckler. [See *Harrison*, I. 282-3.]

j. 1617. *Destruction of Victualling and Bawdy Houses, and a Play-house.*

(1631. E. Howes. *Stow's Annales*, p. 1026, col. 2, l. 31.)

Disordered Youths.

Shroue-Tuesday the fourth of March, many disordered persons of sundry kindes, amongst whom were very many young boyes and lads[1], assembled themselues in Lincolnes Inne field, Finsbury field, in Ratcliffe, and Stepney field, where in riotous manner, they did beate downe the walles and windowes of many victualing houses, and of all other houses which they suspected to bee bawdie houses. And that afternoone, they spoyled a new Play-house, and did likewise more hurt in diuers other places, in pulling downe walles and windowes, and spoyling of household stuffe, and were so head-strong, that they dispightfully vsed and resisted the Sheriffes of London, and the Constables and Iustices of Middlesex: Whereupon the Lords of the Councell by the Kings appointment, ordayned diuers of the chiefe Iustices of Middlesex to be Prouost Marshalls, and to execute Marshall Law, if the like occasion should happen. [See p. 55* below.]

k. Increast vse of Sea-Coal.

1631. Howes, p. 1024, col. 2, l. 67.

The making of Glass and brick and Iron with sea coale and pit coale.

Such hath beene the plenty of wood in England for all vses, that, within mans memory, it was held impossible to haue any want of wood in England: But contrary to former imaginations, such hath beene the great expence of timber for Nauigation, with infinite increase of building of houses, with the great expence of wood to make houshould furniture, caskes, and other vessels not to be numbred, and of Carts, Wagons, and Coaches, besides the extreame wast of wood in making Iron, burning of brick and tile, That whereas in the yeere of our Lord God, 1306, King Edward the first, by proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea coale in London and the Suburbs, to auoid the sulferous smoke and sauour of that firing; and in the same proclamation commanded all persons to make their fires of wood, which was performed by all, (Smiths onely excepted,) yet at this

[1] lads that, *orig.*

Within 30 yeares last, the nice dames of London would not come into any house or roome where sea coales were burned, nor willingly eat of the meat that was either sod or roasted with sea cole fire

present, through the great consuming of wood as aforesaid, and the neglect of planting of woods, there is so great scarcitie of wood through-out the whole kingdome, that not only the Cittie of London, all hauen townes, and in very many parts within the Land, the inhabitants in generall are constrained to make their fiers of Sea coale or pit coale, euen in the Chambers of honourable personages. And through necessitie, which is the mother of all artes, they haue of very late yeares deuised the making of Iron, the making of all sorts of glasse, and burning of bricke, with Sea coale or pit coale. [See *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. xxvi. 343, and Pt. II, ch. 9, p. 61, below.]

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l. 1520—1630. *New Importations, Inventions, and Customs, chiefly in Shakspere's time.*

[*Carp, Pippins, Apricots, Turkies, Hops, Tobacco* (*p.* 33*), *Masks, Busks, Muffs, Fans, Perwigs, [Shakspere's Heath-broom for his head], Bodkins, fine Knives, Pins, earthen Fire-Pots, steel Poking-sticks, Spanish Needles* (*p.* 34*), *Licorice, Christening Plate (for Shirts), Love-kerchiefs, Silk and Crystal Buttons* (*p.* 35*), *Shoe-Buckles & -Roses, Scarfs and Garters, Waistcoats, Silk-Shops, Women's white knit Caps, Minever Caps* (*p.* 36*), *Apprentices' blue Gowns & Cloaks, Flat-Caps, Clubs and Apprenticeship-fees, City Companies' Plate, Venice Glasses, Iron Rods and Nails* (*p.* 37*), *Copper Plates, White and Whitey-Brown Paper* (*p.* 38*).]

1615. E. Howes. Stowe's *Annales*, p. 948, col. 1.

Obseruations not altogether vnworthy remembrance.

Read his books of Fishing, fowling, & planting, [1590]

Carpes, and Pippins, as master Leonard Mascall affirmeth, were brought into Englande by Master Mascall of Plomsted in Sussex, and since that time came in Apricoks[1], and many other delicate fruites. Turkies, which all other nations call Guyney cockes, are generally saide to bee brought into England beetweene the tenth, and fifteenth yeere of Henry the eight [22 April 1518, to 21 April 1524]: and about the same time came in the planting of Hoppes, brought from Artois, and presently vppon that, and for many yeeres after was vsed this Rime:

Turkeys, Carpes, Hops: Piccarels, and beere,
Came into England: all in one yeere

Sir Walter Ralegh, brought first the knowledg of Tobacco.[2]

Apricoks, Mellycatons, Muske-Millions and Tobacco, came into England about the twentieth yeere of Queene Elizabeth, and since that, sundry other straunge fruites, and flowers. [20 Eliz. was 17 Nov. 1577 to 16 Nov. 1578.]

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[1] Peaches too, before 1592: see Hentzner in *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. lxxxiii. He there mentions Carp also; see too I, p. xxxv.

[2] "Sir Walter Raleigh was the first that brought Tobacco in vse, when all men wondred what it meant." Sidenote in ed. 1631.

Womens Maskes, Buskes, Muſs, Fanns, Perewigs,[1] and Bodkins, were first deuised and vsed in Italy by Curtezans, and from thence brought into France, and there received of the best sort for gallant ornaments, & from thence they came into England, about the time of the Massacar in Parris. [St. Bartholomews, 24 Aug. 1572.]

Knives.

He attayned his skill by trauayling & residing in diuers Nations.

His Knines were marked with the halfe-moone according to his Letters Pattents.

Richard Mathews at fleete bridg, was the first Englishman that attayned the perfection of making fine kniues, and kniue hafts, and in the fift yeere of Queene Elizabeth he obtained a prohibition against all straungers, and others, for bringing any kniues into Englande from beyond the seas, which vntil y^t^ time were brought into this land by shippes lading from Flaunders and other places. Albeit at *that* time and for many hundred yeeres before, there were made in diuers parts of this Kingdome, many course, and vncomely kniues; and at this day the best and finest kniues in the Worlde, are made in London.

Pinnes made in England.

About that time Englishmen began to make all sorts of Pinnes, and at this day they excell all Nations, and it may easily bee proved that straungers haue sold Pinnes in this land to the value of threescore thousand pounde a yeere.

About the tenth year of the Queene (Nov. 1567—8,) Richard Dyer, after he had bin many yeeres in Spayne, where hee learned the making of earthen furnaces, earthen fier pottes, and earthen Ouens, transportable, hee taught his Countrymen the making of the same at London without Moregate, and for a time enioyed the whol profit thereof to himselfe by pattent.

About the sixteenth yeere of the Queene (Nov. 1573—4,) began the making of steele poking-stickes, and vntill that time all Lawndresses vsed setting stickes, made of wood or bone. (See Stubbs's *Anatomie.*)

Tobacco, was first brought, and made knowne in England by Sir Iohn Hawkins, about the yeere one thousand fiue hundred sixty fiue, but not vsed by englishmen in many yeers after,[2] though at this day commonly vsed by most men, & many women: the making of Spanish Needles, was first taught in Englande, by Elias Crowse a

Spanish needles.

Germaine, about the Eight yeere of Queene Elizabeth; and in Queene Maries time, there was a Negro made fine Spanish needles in Cheapside, but would neuer teach his Art to any.

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[1] Did Shakspere brush his hair with a small heath-broom? Cp. Cotgrave's "*Brosse*, the head-brush thats of a whitish, or straw-coloured heath (now most in vse among the better sort). *Brossettes*, f. Small heath whereof head-brushes are made. 1611. A.D."—F.

[2] See *Harrison*, Part I, p. lv, lxxix.

About the first yeare of Queen Elizabeth, [17 Nov. 1558, to 16 Nov. 1559], began the planting and growing of Licoras in Englande.

[*The following are added in the edition of* 1831, p. 1039, col. 1.]

The lower vault of the Royall exchange furnished with Shops, and all sortes of fine wares

And concerning the Royall Exchange in London whereof I haue formerly made some discourse: I forgot to set downe that about fiue or sixe years after it was furnished with wares, as formerly mentioned, Sir Thomas Gresham constrained all the shoppe-keepers, that had shopps aboue, to take shopps below, in the lowest vault vnder ground of the Royall Exchange, where was equall number of Shops to those aboue. At which time euery man payed foure marks a yeere for euery shop aboue; and he would haue as much rent for euery shop below as aboue, or else they should not haue any shopps aboue. and after they had kept shopps below, a short season, what with the dampe of the vault, the darkenesse of the place and the vnwillingnes of Customers to buy their wares there, they were so wearied, that they agreed among themselues, to giue foure pound a yeere for a shoppe aboue, so that they might be freed from keeping shoppes below, and that Sir Thomas Gresham should turne the vault to what other vse he would, either for Merchants goods or otherwise, which offer he accepted, and these Tenants only furnished the shopps aboue, as they are at this day, according to the time. [Royal Exchange or Burse, A.D. 1571: see *Harrison*, I. ciii.]

Christening shirts giuen in stead of plate

At this time, and for many yeeres before, it was not the vse and Custome (as now it is) for Godfathers and Godmothers, generally to giue plate at the Baptisme of children (as Spoones, Cupps, and such like) But onely to giue christening shirts, with little bands, and cuffs, wrought either with silke or blew thread, the best of them for chiefe persons weare edged with a small lace of black silke and gold, the highest priceof which for great mens children, were seldome aboue a noble and the common sort, two, three, or foure, and fiue shillings a piece.

Handkirchirs worn in mens hats, in stead of bruches or iewels.

And it was then the Custome for maydes, and Gentlewomen, to giue their fauourites as tokens of their loue, little handkerchiefs of about three or foure inches square, wrought round about, and with a button, or a tassell at each corner, and a little in the middle, with silke or threed: The best edged with a little small gold lace, or twist, which being foulded up in foure crosse foldes, so as the middle might bee seene, gentlemen and others did vsually were them in their hatts, as fauours of their Loues, and Mistrisses: some cost sixe pence a piece, some twelue pence. and the richest sixeteene pence.

Silke buttons.

Likewise at the same time the making or wearing of silke buttons, was very little, or not at all knowne to the generallity, but onely to the very best sort, who at that time

made buttons of the same stuffe, their doublets, coats or Ierkins were made of.

Great christall buttons worne by great personages.

At which time likewise, many very honourable personages, and others, as well women as men, did weare borders of great Christall buttons about their cappes, or hatbands, as a worthy garment, to distinguish betweene the Gentry and others. But about [1567—8] the tenth yeere of Queene Elizabeth, many young Citizens and others, began to weare Christall buttons vpon their doublets, coats, and Ierkins, and then the former wearing of borders and hatbands, set with Christall buttons ceased. And within few yeeres after, began the generall wearing of buttons, of threed, silke, haire, and of gold and siluer threed.

Buckles worne vpon mens shoes, and no roses worne or knowne.

And about the time afore mentioned, and many yeares before, many honourable personages, wore their shooes with buckles, viz. the common sort wore copper buckles, and the best sort wore buckles of siluer, or copper gilded.

Shoe roses scarfes and garters.

But concerning shooe Roses, either of silke, or what stuffe soeuer, they were not then vsed nor knowne; neither any scarffes aboue the value of foure nobles, or thirtie shillings at the most, by any person whatsoeuer: neither was there any Garters aboue the price of sixe shillings a payre, although at this day men of meane ranke weare Garters, and shooe Roses, of more then fiue pound price; and some weare scarffes from ten pounds a piece, vnto thirtie pounds or more. The like maybe truly sayd concerning wrought Wastcoates, when no workeman knew how to make a Wastcoate wrought, worth fiue pound, nor no lord in the Land, wore any of that value, although at this day many milleners shoppes are stored with rich and curious imbroydered Wastcoats, of the full value of tenne pound a piece, twentie pound, and some forty pound.

Wastcoats.

Silke shops of late years.

'And vntill [1568—70] the tenth or twelfe yeere of Queene Elizabeth, there were but few silke shoppes in London, and those few were onely kept by women, and maide seruants, and not by men, so now they are: At which time all the silke shoppes in London had not so much, nor so many sorts of silke, gold or siluer threed, nor sorts of silke, gold, or siluer threed, nor sorts of silke lace, and gold and siluer lace, as is at this day in diuers particular shopps in Cheapeside, and other places.

Womens white knit caps.

At which time last aboue sayd, and for three or foure yeares after, all Citizens wiues in generall, were constrayned to weare white knit Caps of wollen yarne, vnlesse their husbands were of good value in the Queenes booke, or could proue themselues Gentlemen by descent; and then ceased the womens wearing of Minevor caps, otherwise called three corner Caps, which formerly was the vsuall wearing of all

Minevor caps.

graue Matrons. These Minivor Caps were white, and three square, and the peakes thereof were full three or foure inches from their head; but the Aldermens wiues and such like, made them Bonnets of Veluet, after the Minevor Cappe fashion, but larger, which made a great show vpon their heads; all which are already quite forgotten.

In the time of Queene Mary, and the beginning of the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth, and for many yeeres before, all Apprentizes in London wore blew Cloakes in the Summer, and in the Winter blew Gownes, but it was not lawfull for any man either seruant or others, to weare their Gownes lower then to the calues of their legges, except they were aboue three score yeares of age; but the length of Cloakes being not limited, they made them Cloakes downe to their Shooes; their Breeches and Stockings were vsually of white broad cloath, viz. round Slops, and their Stockings sowed vp close thereunto, as if they were all but one piece; they also wore flat Caps, both then and many yeares after, as well Apprentizes as Iourney-men and others, both at home and abroad, whom the Pages of the Court in derision called Flat-Caps. [*Harrison*, Pt. I, p. lxxxvi.]

Blew Gowns and Cloakes for Apprentizes

Flat Caps vsually worn.

When Prentizes and Journey-men attended vpon their Masters and Mistresses in the night, they went before them carrying a Lanthorne and Candle in their hands, and a great long Club on their neckes, and many well growne sturdy Apprentizes vsed to weare long Daggers in the day time at their backes or sides.

Apprentizes vsed to carry Clubs.

At this time, and likewise formerly, and diuers yeares after, it was a very great matter to giue ten pound to binde any Youth Aprentize, although at this day it is vsually to giue twenty, forty, 60. or an 100. pound with an Apprentize; for then it was the generall vse and custome of all Apprentizes of London, Mercers onely excepted, to carry the water Tankerd, to serue their Masters from the Thames, and the common Conduits of London.

At the comming of Queene Elizabeth, and for diuers yeares after, there was very small store of Plate belonging to any of the Halls of London, although at this day they are all generally very plenteously furnished.

Plate in Halls or Companies.

The first making of Venice glasses in England began at the Crotched Fryers, in London, about the beginning of the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth by one Iacob Venaline an Italian. [See *Harrison*, Part I, p. 147.]

Venice glasses.

The cutting of yron barres in a mill for the ready vse of Smiths, to make long rods and all sorts of nayles, was brought first into England in the yeare 1590, by Godfrey Box of the Prouince of Liege: who set vp the first Mill for that purpose, neere Dartford in Kent.

Cutting of Iron barres.

Copper Plates

He likewise set vp the first mill for the making of Copper plate, called a battery mill.

White paper.

And vpon the same Riuer (called Dartford Riuer) not long before, was sett vp a mill to make white Paper, by Master Iohn Spilman, (a German) who was, long after, Knighted by King Iames; this was the first Mill in England, wherein fine white Paper was made.

Browne paper

In the raigne of King Iames, course Paper (commonly called browne Paper) was first made in diuers places (as about Windsor and Surrey, this Paper was called white browne Paper, seruing for Grocers and such like.

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m. 1612—13. *Shows and Masks* on Feby. 11, 13, 15, 16, *before and after the Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I.*

1615. E. Howes. Stowe's *Annales*, p. 916, col. 1, l. 31, to col. 2, l. 10; then l. 56, p. 918, l. 57, col. 1.

Triumphs vpon the water in honor of the ensuing marryage of the princesse Elizabeth to the Palsgraue

The appoynted day of Marriage of the lady Elizabeth, with the Palsgraue drew neere. In honor whereof, there were prepared, and that with great speed, diuers kindes of triumphs, pastimes, and sundry deuises vpon the water: the first was vpon the Thursday night; before the wedding day and about x of the clock that night was performed many pleasant, strange, and variable fier-workes vpon the Thamis ouer against White-hall: these entertainments consisted of fantastique or enchanted Castles, Rocks, Bowers, Forrests, & other deuises floting vpon y^e^ water, being as pleasant to behold by day, as they seemed strange by night, each property in due course seconded one another.

And vpon the Saterday, though suddenly prepared, yet very well appointed a stately fleete of ships, galeons, argoses, galleys, and bergantines, which all this week in most triumphant manner lay at anchor between London bridge and White hall, being in all warlike manner furnished with skilful, Nauigators, & nimble saylers, and with great Artillery, & small shot, in as ample manner as if it had bin for the best of seruice, and in such state & brauery, as might well haue daunted a daring aduersarie: for amongst these imaginary vessels of warre, there were some that were ships of war in deed, one whereof was the Kings pinnance, such as vntill then neuer shot the Bridge, nor thought possible to be brought so high into the ryuer: to encounter this Armado, there was also built a faire Castle at Stangate[1], and was fully furnished with small shot & great artillery,

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[1] On the South of the Thames, opposite Westminster. Searle's and other boathouses were there in my early days.

sufficient to haue staid y^e^ passage of a proud enemy. This Castle with the forts, rocks, beacon, and store of warlike Turkish galleys, resembled Argier, to surprise and spoil the Christians ships comming in their way: or to bee imagined the battell of Lepanto, betweene the Christians & the Turke, in the yeere 1571. for such was the signification of this dayes triumph, which was very well performed: it began about 2. a clocke in the afternoone, and held on vntill y^e^ euening; but the floud comming in, & the wind being easterly, impeacht some parte of their entended pastimes.

[Howes then describes the marriage of the lady Elizabeth and the Palsgrave on Shrove Sunday the 14th of February 1612—13, and goes on with the Masks in honour of it: cp. Busino, below:]

A Maske of Lord[s] and Ladies.

And that night in honor of this ioyfull nuptiall, there was a very stately Maske of Lords & Ladies, w^t^ many ingenious speeches, delicate deuises, melodious musique, pleasant daunces, with other princely entertainements of tyme, all which were singularly well performed in the Banquetting house.

The seuerall maskes of the Innes of Court.

The 4. honorable Innes of Court, as well the elders and graue Benchers of each house, as the towardly yoong actiue gallant Gentlemen of the same houses, being of infinite desire to expresse their singular loue and duteous affection to his maiestie, and to performe some memorable & acceptable seruice worthy their own reputation, in honor of this nuptiall, & thereupon w^t^ great expedition they ioyntly and seuerally consulted, and agreed amongst themselues to sette out two seuerall rich and stately masks, and to performe them brauely, without respect of charge or expences, and from amongst themselues they selected the most pregnant & actiue Gentlemen to bee their maskers, who, to the lasting honor of themselues and their societies performed all things as worthily: they imployed the best wits and skilfullest artizens in deuising, composing, and erecting their seuerall strange properties, excellent speeches, pleasant deuises, and delicate musique, braue in habite, rych in ornaments, in demeanor courtly, in their going by Land and Water very stately and orderly: all which, with their rare inuentions and variable entertainments of time, were such, as the like was neuer performed in England by any Societie, and was now as gratiously accepted off by his Maiestie, the Queene, the Prince, the Bride and Bridegroome. From whom they receiued all princely thankes and encouragement: concerning which two maskes, with the multiplicitie of deuises, depending vpon those entertainements of time, though I may not sette downe the particulars, nor say all I ought in their deseruing commendations, by reason it would require a verie large discourse: yet for distinction sake I will briefly set downe their seuerall times and order of going to the court:

The middle Temple and Lincolnes Inne. Vpon Shroue-mundaie at night, the gentlemen of the middle Temple & Lincolnes Inne, with their Trayne for this businesse, assembled in Chancery-lane, at the house of Sir Edward Philips, maister of the Roles; and about eyght of the clocke, they marched thence through the Strand, to the Court at White-hall, in this manner. First rode fiftie choyce Gentlemen richly attyred, and as gallantly mounted, with euery one his footemen, to attend him: these rode very stately like a vauntguard: next after, with fit distance, marched an antique, or mock-maske of Baboons, attired like fantastique trauaillers, in very strange and confused manner, ryding vppon Asses, or dwarfe Jades, vsing all apeish and mocking trickes to the people, mouing much laughter as they past, with Torches on either side to shew their state to be as ridiculous, as the rest was noble: After them came two chariots triumphal, very pleasant and full of state, wherein rode the choyce Musitians of this Kingdome, in robes like to the Virginian priests, with sundry deuises. all pleasant and significant, with two rankes of Torches: Then came the chiefe maskers with great state in white Indian habit, or like the great princes of Barbary. richly imbrodred w^t^ the golden sun, with suteable ornaments in all poynts; about their neckes were rufs of Feathers, spangled and beset with pearle & siluer, and vpon their heads loftie corronets suteable to the rest: they wore long silk Stockings, curiously imbrodred with gold to *the* midleg: their buskins were likewise imbrodred; and in their hands as they rode, they brandished Cane darts[1] of the finest gold: their vizards were of Oliue collour, their haire long & black, downe to their shoulders: the horses for rich shew equalled the Maskers: their caparisons were enchast with suns of golde & ornamentall Iewels, with siluer, scarffing ouer the whole caparison, & about their heads, which made such a strange & glorious show, that it dazelled the eyes of the beholders with great admiration: euery of these horse had 2. Moores to attend them, attired like Indian slaues, with wreathes of gold and watshod[2] about their heads, being about an hundreth in number: the Torch bearers carryed Torches of virgin waxe, the staues whereof were great Canes guilded all ouer, and their habits were likewise of the Indian Garb, but more extrauagant then those of y^e^ maskers: the maskers rode single, & had euery man his torchbearer ryding before him. All which, with the last triumphall Chariot, wherein sate manie strange attired personages, with their embleams, conceitfull and variable deuises, made a wondrous pleasing shew. And thus they marched through the Strand to Whitehall, where the King, the Prince, the Bride & Bridegroome, and the chief nobilitie stoode in the gallery before the Tilt-yard to behold their approch; and because there should be a full view had

[1] page 917, col. 2.

[2] ? watchet, light blue.

of their state & traine, the King caused them to march one turne about the list; and being dismounted, they were honorably attended through y^e^ gallery to a chamber, in which they were to make them ready for performance of their Scene in the hall; in which place, were erected their sundry properties & deuises, formerly mentioned, where they performed all things answerable to the best of expectation, and receiued as royall thankes and commendations.

The Inner Temple and Grayes Inne

The next day being Shroue-Tuesday, the gentlemen of the Inner Temple & Grayes Inne, with their traine, & many other gallant young gentlemen of both these houses as their conuoy, assembled themselues at Winchester house, being the appointed place for their Rendeuous: this nights entertainement consisted of 3 seuerall masks, viz. an Anti-maske of a strange & different fashion from others, both in habit & manners, and very delectable: a rurall or countrey maske consisting of many persons, men & women, being all in sundry habits, being likewise as strange, variable and delightfull. The third, which they called the maine maske, was a maske of knights, attired in arming dublets of carnation sattin, richly imbrodred with starres of siluer plate, beset with smaller stars, spangles, and siluer lace, betweene gorgets of siluer maile, with long Venetian hose imbrodred suteable to the rest, silke carnation stockings imbrodred all ouer: their Garters and Roses answerable; their Hats were of the same stuffe & imbrodred, cut before like a Helmet, & the hinder part like a Scollop, answering the Skyrts of their dublets; their hat bands were wreaths of siluer, in forme of garlands of wild Oliues; their feathers white and carnation, their belts imbrodred, siluer swords, little Italian falling Bands and cufs imbrodred: their haire faire & [1]long, their vizards faire & yong, & concerning their sundry ingenious properties and deuises already erected in the Court hall: they were all excellent, fraught with art, state and delights, hauing all their Actors correspondent. These maskers, with their whole trayne in all triumphant manner and good order, tooke barge at Winchester stayres, about 7. of the clocke that night, and Rowed to White hall against the tyde: the chiefe Maskers went in the Kinges Barge royally adorned, and plenteously furnished with a great number of great war lights, that they alone made a glorious show: other gentlemen went in the Princes Barge, & certayne other went in other fayre Barges, and were led by two Admiralles: besides all these, they had foure lustie warlike Galleyes to conuoy and attend them; each Barge and Galley being replenished with store of Torch lights, made so rare and braue a show vpon y^e^ water as the like was neuer seene vpon the Thamis: they had three peales of great ordinance in 3. seuerall places vpon the shore, viz. when they imbarked, as they past by the Temple, and at Strangate

[1] page 918.

when they arriued at Court, where the King, prince Charles, the Bride & Bridegroom, stood in the vpper Gallery to beholde them vpon the water, and to view them in particular at their arryual; they landed at y^e^ priuie stayres, and were receiued by the L. Chamberlaine, and conducted to the vestry: for the hall wherein they should performe their scene was by this tyme filled with Companie, who although they were of very good fashion, yet were there manie principall Ladies, & other noble personages, besides Ambassadors and other strangers of account not come, so as when they should be placed, the roome would bee so scanted, as it would proue very inconuenient; whereupon his Maiestie was most gratiouslie pleased, with consent of the Gentlemen maskers, to put it off vntill the next Saterdaie, and that then they should performe all their present entended entertainments in the great Banquetting house, adding this fauor withall, that this deferring should be no impediment vnto the outward ceremony of magnificence vntill that day: and vppon Saterday, at 7. of y^e^ clocke at night, they came priuately in troope, & were brought to their places by the Earle of Northampton, and a choyce roome was reserued for the gentlemen of both these houses; and *that* night they brauely performed their Scene, to y^e^ great delight, & full satisfaction of all the beholders; and from his Maiestie they receiued as kingly thanks, and gratious acceptation.

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n. 1609, 1610. *Fights between Lions, a Horse, Bears and Dogs.*

(1615. E. Howes. *Stow's Annales*, p. 895, col. 2.)

A triall of fight betweene a Lyon, a stone horse, a beare, and of 6. mastife dogs.

The 23. of Iune, the King, Queene, and Prince, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Duke of Yorke, with diuers great Lords, and manie others, came to the Tower to see a triall of the Lyons single valour, against a great fierce Beare, which had kild a child, that was negligently left in the Beare-house. This fierce Beare was brought into the open yard, behind the Lyons Den, which was the place for fight: then was the great Lyon put forth, who gazed a while, but neuer offred to assault or approch the Beare: then were two mastife Dogs put in, who past by the Beare, and boldly seazed vpon the Lyon: then was a stone Horse put into the same yard, who suddenly sented & saw both the Beare and Lyon, and very carelesly grazed in the middle of the yard between them both: and then were sixe dogs put in, the most whereof at the first seazed vpon the Lyon, but they sodainly left him, and seazed vppon the Horse, and hadde werryed him to death, but that three stout Beare-wards, euen as the K. wished, came boldly in, and rescued the horse, by taking off the Dogges one by one, whilest the Lyon and Beare stared vppon them, and so went forth with their Dogs: then was that Lyon suffered to go into his den againe, which he endeuoured to haue done long

before: And then were diuers other Lyons put into that place, one after another, but they shewed no more sport nor valour then the first; and euery of them, so soon as they espied the trap doores open, ran hastily into their dens. Then lastly there were put forth together the two young lustie Lyons, which were bred in that yard, and were now grown great: these at first beganne to march proudly towardes the Beare, which the Beare perceiuing, came hastily out of a corner to meete them, and sodainely offred to fight with the Lyon, but both Lyon and Lionesse skipt vp and down, and fearefully fled from the Beare; and so these, like the former Lyons, not willing to endure any fight, sought the next way into their denne. And the fift of Iuly, according to the kings commandement, this Beare was bayted to death vpon a stage: and vnto the mother of the murthered child was given xx. p. out of part of that money [1]which the people gaue to see the Beare kild. [1 p. 896]

[*Another fight between Lions and Dogs*] And the 20 of April following, viz. 1610. Prince Henry, with the young duke of Bromswick, being accompanyed w[t] the D. of Lenox, the Earle of Arundell, & others, came priuatly to the Tower, and caused the great Lion to be put into the yard, and iiii. doggs at a course to be set vpon him, and they all fought with him instantly, sauing such as at their first comming into the yard in their fury, fell one vpon another, because they saw none else with whom to fight, for the Lyon kept close to the trap doore at the further end of the yard: these were choise dogs, and flue al at the Lions head, whereat the Lyon became enraged, and furiously bit diuers dogges by the head and throat, houlding their heads and neckes in his mouth, as a Cat doth hould a Rat, & with his clawes he tore their flesh extreamly, al which notwithstanding, many of them would not let goe their hould, vntill they were vtterly spoiled: after diuers courses and spoyle of diuers doggs, and great likelihood of spoile of more, which yet lay tugging with *that* Lyon, for whose rescue there entred in three stout Beare-wards, and set a lustie dogge vppon the mouth of the Lyon: and the last dog got full hould of the Lions tung, puld it out of his mouth, and held it so fast, that the Lyon neither bitte him nor any other: whereupon it was generally imagined that these doggs would instantly spoile the Lyon, he being now out of breath, and bard from biting; and although there were now but three dogs vpon him, yet they vexed him sore, whereupon the aboue mentioned young lusty Lyon and Lyonnesse, were both put out together to see if they would rescue the third, but they would not, but fearefully gazed vpon the doggs; then 2. or 3. of the worst doggs which had left the first Lion, ran vppon them, chased them vp and downe the yard, seeking by all meanes to avoyd the doggs; and so soone as their trap doore was open, they both ranne hastily into their den, and a dog that pursued them, ranne in with them, where they all three, like good friends stood very

peaceably without any manner of violence evther to other; and then the three Beare-wardes came bouldly in againe, and tooke off all the doggs but one from the Lyon, and carried them away; the Lyon hauing fought long, & his tongue torne, lay staring and panting a pretie while, so as al the behoulders thought he had beene vtterly spoiled and spent; and vpon a sodaine gazed vpon that dog which remained, and so soone as hee had spoiled him, espying the trap doore open, ranne hastilie into his den, and there neuer ceast walking vp and downe, to and fro, vntill he had brought himselfe into his former temperature.

Whilest he was hot, hee would neuer offer to lie downe, but walked to and fro.

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o. 1609. *England's knowledge of Navigation, &c.*

(1615. Howes, p. 903, col 2, l. 21.)

And in the same yeere, one Thousand fiue hundred and nineteene, Hernando Corteso, beganne his prosperous conquest of the greate West Indian Empire, now called *noua Hispania*, wherein standeth the great Citty Mexico; since which time, this our royall kingdome and noble Nation,—partly through necessity, and by dilligence and industry hath,—got the expert knowledg of making great Shippes, and by ingenious practise, singuler profoundnesse in the Art of Nauigation, hauing made many great and memorable aduentrous Voyages vnto the farthest Continent—as you may read at large in those excellent volumes of the reuerent Master Hackluit;—in due consideration whereof in generall, and for my full discharge in particuler, I haue here thought good to record vnto all that are present and to come, the great and manifould blessings of Almighty GOD bestowed vppon Englande, and the English Nation, beeing but the halfe of the Famous auncient Isle of great Britaine; which Kingdome and People, though truely auntient, and right worthily renowned thorow out the whole worlde, as well for Scituation as for Martiall prowes, profoundnesse in learning, perfection of curious Artes, and the liberall Sciences, the which, although this famous nation was not *the* first Mistrisse or inuentor, nor *the* first of *the* west nations *that* attayned true perfection in all Artes and Sciences, beecause it is an Island deuided by the Ocean from the mayne Lande, yet by degrees, —through the prouidence of her princes, together with the dilligence and industrie of the people,—they are now possest with as full measure of knowledge in all thinges as any kingdome in the Worlde, especially in Nauigation, and discouery of remote Nations, to their euerlasting honour, increase of wealth and Traffique to this Kingdome; besides all which, such hath beene their publique Estimation, that all forraine Nations haue euer held themselues greatly behoulding vnto the ENGLISH, endeauouring by all meanes to haue commerce and Trade, for the Naturall fruites and commodities of this Land,

whereof they euer stood [*page* 904] in neede, the cheefe whereof was Wooll, Tinne, Leather, and Leade, but cheefely Wool; for which choice commodities the English Marchants obtayned many gratious priuiledges and Immunities both at home & abroade, and became famous by the name of 'Marchauntes of the Staple,' in such sorte that, so soone so King Edward the third had wonne Callis, he called them from Gaunt, Bruges, and other places, and established the Staple at Callis, where for many yeares they payed the Garrison, continued a great trade, builded a fayre Chappell, and maintayned a very honorable reputation; yet neuer the lesse, by time and time It was found most necessary that the common Subiects of this Lande, as they encreased, should bee taught the full knowledge of Spinning, Carding, and making of sundry sortes of Cloathes, broade and narrow. And for that purpose, in the dayes of King Edward the second, and Kinge Edward the third, and since their time, there were many workemenne brought from Fraunce, Flaunders, and Artoyse, by whose instructions the English attayned the full knowledg of making Woollen cloath, and in short space excelled their teachers; and so this Kingdome hath continued the making of great store of excellent Cloath, which all Nations hitherto haue alwayes desiered for their generall vse.

[*The Merchant-Adventurers, East-India Company, &c.*]

For Transportation whereof, certayne Marchauntes, vppon very good consideration, obtayned a strong Corporation for themselues and their successours, and grew very famous, whose rising and encreasing was the Staplers decreasing, calling themselues the Merchaunte-aduenturers, of which name they are now ashamed: for then their vsual voyages were but Callis, Scluce, or Middleborrough, and after that to Antwerpe; their Shippes, or skill in Nauigation, was then but small, in comparison of this time; and it is recorded in the Guild Hall in London for a most memorable matter, that in those dayes there was one Cittizen that aduentured fifty poundes, which is vnto vs at this present a sufficient Testimony of the wondrous encrease of trade and Wealth in this kingdome, when at this day there are a great number of Merchauntes that aduenture particulerly fiue Thousand poundes, and some Twenty thousand: not onely such that are of the Haunce Company, otherwise called the Merchauntes-Aduenturers, but also Merchauntes of other companies, which haue obtayned Corporations within mans memory, as the *Muscouy*, *Turkey*, *Spayne*, *Barbary*, and now lastly the *East Indian Company*, which company Queene Elizabeth, in the 43 yeere of her Raigne [Nov. 1600—1], vppon good consideration, graunted letters pattents for fifteene yeares vnto the East Indian Marchauntes trading to the East Indies, who then and before had discouered many farre Kingdomes and Nations Eastwarde, the chiefe whereof

were Achine, the chiefe Citty of the Kingdome of Sumatra, and Pryaman, hauen townes in Sumatra, and the Citty Bantam in Iaua Maior, whose chiefest wealth consisteth in Cloues & Pepper.[1]

The English shippes touch also at Nycobar and at other places, and by their paineful and industrious trauaile haue discouered great Kingdomes and strange nations, besides many other Portes and Prouinces, rich and full of Traffique, to the great honour of this kingdome and Nation: yet neuer the lesse, for as much as these Indian voyages were very long and Chargeable, consisting of three-score or fowerscore Thowsand pound, the well setting forth of one

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[1] In the Mountaines of Iaua Maior, are many Canybals, who are at mortall hatred with the other inhabitantes, like as it is with the Inhabitants of Sumatra; yet neuer the lesse, vppon the three weekely market dayes which are alwayes kept at Bantam, the Canyballes goe and come peaceably to Bantam market, without any interruption or violence eyther to other: but at all other times it is quite contrary, for the ciuill people striue to take and make slaues of the Caniballes; and the Caniballes, by all meanes possible, practise to kill and eate all other the inhabitantes of Iaua Maior. The East India Marchauntes haue also recourse vnto many other places, as Amboyna, Tarenate, Machean, and Tidore, which are Isles of the Molluccoes and the Isles of Banda; in all which places aforesaide, the people, for the most part, are *Mahomatistes*, except those vpon the coastes of Cambaya; but amongst the people and Nationes aboue named, Notwithstanding that they are for the most part Mahomatists, yet are there sundry sortes of Religions amongst them. Whereof none so worthy of note as the Banyany, who erroniously belecue that there is no greater sinne then to kill, or depriue any liueing creature of life; and in that consideration, they doe absolutely abstayne from killing, or eating of, any manner of thing that draweth breath, and liue onely by hearbes, and such like. these people are the subtilest, and haue the readiest memory and best comprehension of any people in that part of the world. In some of those Isles aforesaid are sundry beastes and birds of strange shape and qualitie, as in Banda, from whence Captayne William Keeling, being generall of the third voyage, brought hither a fowle called Cassuare, as big as a Turkie, and it hath no winges: it will eate and disgest hotte burning coales, and also eat wood and any manner of Mettell beeing in small peeces. The English ships in their long voyages, goeing to the kingdomes and places beefore named, are constrayned to touch by the way in diuers places for victuall and fresh water, as in the Isle of Mayo, which is one of the Isls of Cape verd: and at *Capo de bono Esparanza* in Ethiopia, where plenty of Cattell so abound that our English Marchants at their first coming thither, to mend their prouision, bought many hundreds of good fat Bullocks, and payed for euery Bullock but a pound

voyage, besides great wages and other Expences, with three yeeres vnknowne aduenture in the voyage, They were somewhat discouraged to persist, except their Charter were greater. Whereuppon, at their humble suite vnto his maiesty, the K. was pleased,—for their better encouragement, and for the encrease of Trade, Shippes, Marriners, and skilfull Nauigators, for the more enriching and better strengthening of this kingdome, and good likelyhood to preuent both the Turke and Persians of their richest Trade,—In May, one thousand six hundred and nine, to graunt vnto them an enlargement of their first Letters pattents, and gaue them a charter, to continue for euer, enabling them thereby to bee a Body corporate and politique. At which time this company, who right worthily deserue the name of Merchaunt-aduenturers, builded a very stately Shippe, of the burthen of twelue hundred Tunne, being the greatest and fayrest Shippe that euer was made in this Kingdome by Merchauntes, or was bought in former time in any of the Haunse Townes or else where, when the Kinge of England vsed to buy forreyne Shippes[1], vntill this Nation had obtayned the full perfection of building Ships, which is within mans memory, although at this day they excell all other Nations therein. They also builded a lustie pinnace of two hundred and fiftie Tunne, and sent it with two other to attend the great ship: for in these East Indian voyages there is more imployment of extraordinary great Shippes then in any other: this company had formerly sent out fiue seuerall voyages, whereof some by this time had made a prosperous returne, with Spice and other commodities, but chiefely Cloues and Pepper, Whereuppon the Kinge, in fauour of that company, the fourth of December, by proclamation absolutely prohibited the importation of pepper from all forrayne partes, except only by the society of marchants of the east Indies. In this proclamation it was ordayned that no retayler should sell pepper for aboue two shillings six pence the pounde, at the most: and the thirtieth of December, the King and the Prince, with diuers of the chiefe Nobilitie, went to Debtford to see the great Shippe Launched, and when they had seene euery

[1] *'The Iesus of Lubeck, which sir John Hawkins lost in the west Indies, was the last great ship which was eyther builded or bought beyond the Seas.'—*[*Howes's side note*]

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of ould Iron, and for euery fat sheepe, fower ounces of ould Iron, and for euery fat Lambe, fower small pinnes, being such as are bought here in England for ten pence a Thousand; but now of late they haue raysed the prises of their Cattell fower fould. These Ethiopians are generally heathens; English ships also touch at Madagascar, *alias* S. Lawrence, where there is often extreem Thunder (*p.* 905), and lightning, continuing many dayes together, and sometimes many weekes, and the lightning burneth as blew as Asure, and is as noysome as Brimstone. the people of the country, although they bee Heathens, yet they are very curteous.

roome in the Shippe, they were royally Banqueted in the cheefe Cabin: and their followers were banqueted at a long Table in the halfe decke, plentiously furnished with delicates serued-in in fine China Dishes; all which were freely permitted to bee carried away by all persons.

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p. 1610. *Building of the biggest English Ship then being,* 1400 *tons.*
(1615. *Howes*, p. 907, col. 1.)

This yeere one thousand six hundred and ten, the Kinge builded a most goodly Shippe for Warre, the keele whereof was an hundred and fourteene foote long, and the crosse beame was 44. Foote in length: she will carry threescore and foure peeces of great ordinance, and is of the Burthen of foureteene hundred Tunne. This royall Shippe is double built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with all manner of curious Caruing, Painting, and rich gilding, beeing in all respects the greatest and goodliest Ship that euer was builded in England; and this glorious Shippe, the King gaue vnto his sonne Henry, prince of Wales; and the twenty foure of September, the King, the Queene, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Yorke, and the Lady Elizabeth, with many great Lordes, went vnto Woollwich to see it Lawnched: but because of the narrownesse of the docke, it coulde not then be Lawnched, whereuppon, the Prince came the next morning by three of the clocke, and then at the Lawnching thereof, the Prince named it after his owne dignitie, and called it the Prince: the great workmaster in building this Shippe was master Phynies Pet, Gentleman, some time Master of Arte, of Emanuell Colledg in Cambridg.

The King buildeth the greatest and goodlyest Shippe of Warre that euer was built in England.

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q. London Theatres, A.D. 1613.
(1631 Howes, p. 1003, col. 2, l. 59).

Also vpon S. Peters day last, [June 29, 1613] the Play-house or Theater, called the *Globe*, vpon the Banke-side neere *London*, by negligent discharging of a peale of Ordnance close to the South side thereof, the Thatch tooke fire, and the wind sodainly disperst the flame round about, and in a very short space the whole building was quite consumed, and no man hurt: the house being filled with people, to behold the play, *viz.* of Henry [p. 1004], the eight. And the next spring it was new builded in farre fairer maner then before.

The globe and Fortune play house burned, with other things of note.

And about foure yeeres after, a fayre strong new built Play-house neere Gouldinglane, called the *Fortune*, by negligence of a candle, was cleane burnt to the ground, but shortly after rebuilt farre fairer. In the yeere one thousand sixe hundred twenty nine, there was

builded a new faire Play-house neere the white Fryers. And this is the seauenteenth Stage, or common Play house, which hath beene new made within the space of three score yeeres [1613-60 = 1553], within London and the Suburbs, *viz.*

Fiue Innes, or common Osteryes turned to Play-houses, one *Cock-pit*, S. *Paules* singing Schoole, one in the *Black fryers*, and one in the *White-fryers*, which was built last of all, in the yeare one thousand sixe hundred twenty nine: all the rest not named, were erected only for common Play-houses, besides the new built Beare garden, which was built as well for playes, and Fencers prizes, as Bull baiting; besides, one in former time at Newington Buts: Before the space of threescore yeares aboue-sayd, I neither knew, heard, nor read, of any such Theaters, set Stages, or Play-houses, as haue beene purposely built within mans memory. [But see *Harrison*, Part I, p. liv, lv.]

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r. 1616. *Somerset or Denmark House, Strand.*

Denmarke house

Shroues-tuesday the fourth of March, this yeare 1616, the Queene feasted the King at her Pallace in the Strand, formerly called Sommerset house; and then the King commanded it should no more be so called, but that it should from henceforth bee called Denmarke house: which sayd Denmarke house the Queene had many wayes repaired, beautified, new builded and enlarged, and brought to it a pipe of Conduit water from Hyde Parke. 1631. E. Howes. *Stow's Annales*, p. 1026, col. 2, l. 52.

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s. The praise of London, by Edmund Howes[1], 1611.

Now right honorable and most worthy Elders, whose state and gouernment is renowned through the world· What is he that hath any vnderstanding, and knowes not London to be the most flourishing and peacefull cittie of Europe? of greatest antiquitie, happiest in continuance, most increased, chiefe in prosperite, and most stored with plentie: and here I might alleage many auncient presidents of pleasures, profits, tyme, and state, whereof neuer any subordinate Magistrates could equall yours. But, seeing few words to the wise suffice, I will onely speeke a word or two by the way. The promised blessing vnto the auncient Israelites to possesse a land that flowed with milke and honey, is with seauen-folde measure heaped on your heads; your Cittie filled more aboundantly with all sorts of silkes, fine linnen, oyles, wines and spices, perfection of Arts, and all

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[1] From 'The Coppie of my Epistle in my *Abridgement*, [Stow's, of the English Chronicles'], dedicated to the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London (1611). Reprinted at the end of the 1615 *Annales*, Qqqq. 6.

costly ornaments and curious workemanship, then any other prouince; so as London well deserues to beare the name of the choicest store-house in the world, and to keepe ranke with any royall cittie in Europe: her Cittizens rich and bounteous—witnesse their franke giuing of more then twice seauen fifteens in one yeere, and their long continued charges and expences, as well vpon all occasions by sea and land for defence of their prince and country, as in ayding and relieuing their distressed neighbour Nations, and in performing many other worthy matters for their owne honour, the delight of strangers, and the reliefe of the poore, as otherwise: so as without offence it may truly be sayd that the liberalitie of the Londoners is but halfe knowne to their common friends. Peace and plentie in the highest degree possesseth now your gates and pallaces: all Nations repayre with willingnesse to be partakers of your happinesse: many other glorious Cities haue many wayes wanted these incessant blessings: witnesse the famous Cittie Rome, which hath beene often spoyled and sacked, the Cittie Mosco, which not long since was twice spoyled with fire, the first by her enemies, the last was a priuate politicke practise of her owne Emperour. The like misfortune hath befalne vnto the great Cittie Constantinople, Stately Antwerpe hath felt the smart of diuers changes within mans memorie. Populous Paris of late yeeres was glad to beat downe her own Suburbes, and cut her skirts shorter, least other should sit vpon them: Cracouia, Lishbon, and many other royall Cities, were glad and fayne to seeke and sue for that which is freely giuen vnto her. These last haue I cited to be as a looking glasse to London: sith it is as impossible for any to know their proper face & feature, without an obiect, as it is for any people to be truly sensible of their owne feilicitie, that haue not seene nor tasted others misery.

Thus much, for the present, from our English Annalist. Now let us turn to another of those foreigners whose sketches of our forefathers and their England amused us so in *Harrison*, Part I, and let us hear from Orazio Busino's *Anglipotrida*,—as englisht by Mr. Rawdon Brown, and reviewd (though then and still in MS.) by the late *Handbook-for-Spain*-man, Mr. James Ford,[1]—part of what the chatty chaplain of Piero Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador to James I, collected for the 'sole pleasure of his most illustrious lords' on

[1] *Quarterly Review*, No. 204, Octr. 1857, vol. 102, p. 398—438. I wisht much, some time back, to print all the parts of the book that described England, but could not afford £100 the askt for the MS. The Italian originals are in the Library of St. Mark, Venice.

London, its Noises, Water (p. 51*), *Buildings, Dirt* (p. 52*), *Punishments* (p. 55*), *Lord Mayor's Show* (p. 54*), *Fortune Theatre* (p. 55*), *and Ben-Jonson Masque at Court* (p. 56*), *in* 1617—18.

Contarini took for his Embassy a house in Bishopsgate St. Without[1] belonging to Sir Paul Pindar,—'one of London's most eminent citizens, one who from small beginnings had raised himself to princely wealth and high consideration'—the site of which, 'Mr. Cunningham tells us in his *Hand-book*, is still indicated by the Sir Paul Pindar's Head:

"Bishopsgate Street Without (says Mr. Ford), might almost be called 'the country,' but its rural situation had its disadvantages. The fields adjoining the ambassador's house were used for all sorts of sports and martial exercises, for bow meetings, for sham fights and mock sieges, and various other manœuvres of the train-bands, and even 'for musquet and artillery exercise' (not, we hope, ball practice); making such a 'crash and noise,' that the poor chaplain protests he cannot eat his dinner in peace. One day, the Lord Mayor's review of his City militia, 6000 strong, was held on this British Campus Martius; and several of the companies in returning, as they passed the ambassador's apartments, fired a salute (there was more hatred of Spain than love of Venice in this), and shouted 'Venice for ever!' which was very gratifying, but rather disturbing. London, Busino pronounces 'very noble, with handsome thoroughfares and well-supplied shops,' each distinguished by its sign, like so many inns, and plenty of beautiful stone fountains, especially in the heart of the city.' This moves our envy, but it is some comfort to know that the pollutions of the 'silver Thames' are not entirely the result of modern innovations. Its water, says Busino, which is raised mechanically, is 'so hard, turbid, and foul, that its smell may be perceived in the linen which is washed with it.' The town is so large, it is hard to say where it begins or ends. There is the city of Westminster at some distance, where the king has a palace, and where the courts of law and the parliaments are held, but it is almost united with London by a continuous succession of houses. 'On the opposite shore, too, there are some good habitations, but fewer in number;' and 'these are connected by a noble stone bridge,[2] which on each side has a handsome row of shops, so that

[1] The quarter in which Burbage's pulld down "*Theatre*" stood from about 1577 to 1598, as well as the Curtain Theatre.

[2] "We are surprised at his remarking that those of the same trade occupy the same streets; for this custom was at that time very general, and is now far from uncommon, in Italy." [3] *Harrison* I, p. xxxvii.

the traveller is not conscious of passing over the river at all'—which Busino seems to consider a great advantage. But King James was doing his best to check the evil of an 'overgrown capital.' He had lately issued a proclamation to compel the demolition of all the houses which had been erected in the suburbs since his accession[1], an order so extravagant, that Busino thinks it must have been devised rather as a pretext for extorting fines, than with the intention of seriously carrying it into effect. But, unfortunately, James was sincere; and from this and similar ill-judged attempts to check the natural development of the town we are suffering at this day. Some of the worst of the 'London rookeries' owe their origin to King James's fancies as to the proper dimensions of a metropolitan city.

"Of the architecture then prevalent, which we have since called Jacobæan, Busino is no admirer. It is not that he has any theories of 'debased Gothic' or 'corrupted classic;' his objections are grounded on purely utilitarian principles. The buildings are of wood[2], and without foundations (although a recent enactment provides that in future one-half of every dwelling shall be of brick): hence they are damp and cold. The staircases are spiral and inconvenient, the apartments 'sorry and ill-connected.' He dislikes windows without shutters, and casements too narrow to look out of: and quotes with approbation the apostrophe of a Genoese gentleman, whom he heard exclaim, 'Oh! wretched windows, which cannot open by day nor close by night!'

"London, moreover, is extremely dirty—so much so, that our diarist, whose puns are not among the happiest efforts of his wit, proposes that its Italian name of *Londra* should be changed into *Lorda*, filthy, which would be well merited by the black, offensive mud which is peculiar to its streets, and furnishes the mob with a formidable missile whenever anything occurs to call forth their disapprobation. No great variety of foreign costumes is seen in the streets. For as foreigners generally are unpopular, sensible people generally conform to the English fashion, or adopt the French, which is used by the majority of the court, and is too common to attract notice. The Spaniards alone disdain to wear any but their own dress, 'and they are especially hated here, and considered little better than harpies'—a proof, Busino thinks, that they are more justly appreciated in London than anywhere else. He himself saw a 'poor Don,' for no other offence than his national costume, assaulted by a termagant with a cabbage-stalk, and compelled to take refuge in a shop from the sympathising crowd which she collected with her outcries. On another occasion he saw an attendant of Gondomar's ride over a child,—'in faith it was rather frightened than hurt;'—but the mob pursued the offender to Ely House, the

[1] See p. 24*, 25* above.

[2] See p. 3*, 24* &c., above.

ambassador's residence, in Holborn, which was with difficulty saved from their fury. To pacify the ambassador, and preserve peace in future, James was obliged to send for the Lord Mayor and scold him, and moreover to put forth a long proclamation, such as he loved to indite, for the protection of official and diplomatic residences.

"The parade of justice which is everywhere visible in the streets is truly formidable. 'There are pillories for the neck and hands, stocks for the feet, and chains for the streets themselves, to stop them in case of need. In the suburbs, there are oak cages for nocturnal offenders, and "pounds" for mischievous animals, so well regulated and severe in these parts is the law.' But, in truth, the law in those days was a harsh and capricious schoolmaster, that, in the vain attempt to enforce order, employed severities which the maintenance of order, even had that end been attained, would hardly have justified. We may form some idea of the state of the city police from the following 'hints' which King James—whose fondness for making speeches and giving lectures reminds us of incidents and scenes which many of us may remember in the last reign [Wm IV's]—addressed to the new Lord Mayor on his presentation. He said to him, according to Busino,—

"'"You will, moreover, see to two things, that is to say, to the great devils and the little devils. By the great ones I mean the waggons, which, when they meet the coaches of the gentry, refuse to give way and yield, as due. The little devils are the apprentices, alias shopboys, who, on two days of the year, which prove fatal to them, Shrove Tuesday and the first of May, are so riotous and outrageous, that in a body, three or four thousand strong, they go committing excesses in every direction, killing human beings and demolishing houses[1],' &c.

"Had these excesses proceeded solely from the spirit of mischief and plunder, or even from the mere wantonness of youth and strength, the case would have been common enough; but they were often distinguished by a mixture of good though misguided feeling—by a wild notion of righting some imaginary wrong,[2] of reaching some offence, or abating some nuisance untouched by law—which raised their authors above the level of vulgar rioters; and it is painful

[1] See the account of the Shrove-Tuesday riot, p. 32* above.

[2] "The reader will remember the fatal 1st of May, just a century earlier (vide 'Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.'), when the object of the rioters was to procure the expulsion of foreign manufacturers. It is noticeable, however, that Busino considers the streets at night secure at the period at which he writes—a statement which is contrary to most of the accounts we have of the police at that time."

to think how much good English stuff was annually lost to the country in these senseless outbreaks, and consigned to the gallows—for the gallows was the penalty of even trifling offences against property, and Busino bears witness how ruthlessly in all cases it was exacted. Among other instances, he mentions 'a lad of 15, whom he saw led to execution for stealing a bag of currants,' his first offence. And as he explains with clearness and accuracy that strange anomaly of our law, 'benefit of clergy,' we may fairly presume he does not speak loosely or without due inquiry. 'Besides extraordinary executions, they take them at the end of each month 25 at a time, singing[1] and carrying a sprig of rosemary in their hands.' But we forbear to transcribe the account of the bungling butchery which follows. Throughout Europe at this period the disregard of human life exhibited by the law was extreme. Coryat, who travelled to Venice much about the time our ambassador came to England, says that the castles on the Rhine were fringed with the victims of justice, and not unfrequently perhaps injustice, hanging from the battlements. Busino tells us that, on his road, there met his eyes sundry proofs of sanguinary executions, gibbets and wheels, 'et plurima mortis imago.' In France, capital punishments were as frequent [as], and far more cruel than, in England. Venice, by her affectations of mystery, inspired greater terror than the daily display of pyramids of heads could have caused, and by this means in her administration of justice she economised human life. But she sacrificed her fame. Mankind resents mystery and singularity. Thus, while other countries are permitted to cast the blame of their barbarities on 'the spirit of the age,' Venice personally bears the burden of the unknown, and therefore exaggerated, horrors of her Canal Orfano.[2] [On English punishments, see *Harrison* I, lxviii, 222–5.]

[*The Lord Mayor's Show.*]

"As the ambassador had not yet been formally received at Court, he could not dine with the Lord Mayor. But there was no objection to his going in private with his suite to a respectable goldsmith's shop in Cheapside, which Busino calls the Corso, to see the show. The houses are described as 'all windows' (a few such with their gables to the street yet remain), and 'every one,' says the gallant

[1] "It was common for those who were penitent and religiously disposed to sing psalms in the dreary passage to Tyburn. Lord Russell thus occupied himself in his way to the place of execution. The text here implies that the songs which Busino heard were of a very different character."

[2] "It is true the Canal Orfano was for the most part the doom of political offenders, but the whole march of criminal justice at Venice was mysterious."

chaplain, 'was filled with beautiful faces, decked with every variety of headtire like so many pictures[1],' except one that was occupied by two hideous Spanish women—yellow, livid, hollow-eyed, ill dressed —he protests, all national antipathy apart, 'perfect hobgoblins.' Up and down the street as far as you could see there was nothing but a sea of heads. The sleek plump city marshall on horseback, looking like the high priest of Bacchus, tried to keep order in vain. Rough play was not taken amiss in those days. The company in the windows amused themselves with showering down squibs and crackers on the mob below, who were delighted with the pleasantry; and to make way for the procession, a company of men dressed as savages drove the dense crowd before them by letting off a quantity of fireworks. One of the platforms which formed part of the show typified the four quarters of the globe, and bore on it representatives of the different nations of the world. He who personified the Spaniard was admirably got up, and he kissed his hands repeatedly to Gondomar, who occupied a window near the Venetian embassy, and this pantomimic wit produced shouts of mingled delight and derision from the crowd. What most surprised our aristocratic republicans was the triumph of the third estate which the whole day's pageant exhibited; and certainly it is remarkable that at a time when the power of the nobles was still so great, and the theory of the royal prerogative carried so far, the spirit of the people was so high. Few coaches appeared in the streets, and on to those few the mob climbed or clung as they pleased. In one case of resistance which Busino witnessed, the coachman and the equipage were bedaubed by the indignant pedestrians with the ever-ready mud before spoken of; but in general no opposition was made to the fierce spirit of licence which pervaded this annual saturnalia. What a pompous ovation for the citizens of London, when, immediately after the pageant, and magnificently attended, rides my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury—'which is as good as saying the Pope of this kingdom of England'—with the Chancellor at his left hand, and followed by the House of Lords two and two, all to do honour to the Lord Mayor, and he, preceded by his officers and sheriffs, and attended by his aldermen, occupies the place of honour—the hero of the day!

[*The Fortune Theatre.*]

"Soon after this day of pageantry the whole Venetian embassy repaired to the Fortune Theatre on the following melancholy occasion. Fynes Moryson tells us that, 'in order to passe over greefe, the Italians sleepe, the French singe, the Germans drinke, the English goe to playes.' On this occasion the Venetians evidently designed to take a leaf out of their entertainers' book:—

[1] Compare p. 7*, de la Serre's account, above.

"'My most illustrious Lord, my Lord and most revered patron, —I was so stunned by the sudden death of his Excellency's butler Signor Sigismondo the Lucchese, that I quite lost my wits last week. It astounded me to see a robust young man carried off so speedily, and I began to think of myself, who am the eldest, and perhaps the feeblest, in this household. . . . The other day therefore they determined on taking me to one of the many theatres where plays are performed, and we saw a tragedy which diverted me very little, especially as I cannot understand a word of English, though some little amusement may be derived from gazing at the very costly dresses of the actors, and from the various interludes of instrumental music and dancing and singing; but the best treat was to see such a crowd of nobility so very well arrayed that they looked like so many princes listening as silently and soberly as possible. [We suppose the custom of talking at the theatre was then as prevalent in Italy as it is now.] These theatres are frequented by a number of respectable and handsome ladies, who come freely and seat themselves among the men without the slightest hesitation. On the evening in question his Excellency and the Secretary were pleased to play me a trick by placing me amongst a bevy of young women. Scarcely was I seated ere a very elegant dame, but in a mask, came and placed herself beside me. . . . She asked me for my address both in French and English; and, on my turning a deaf ear, she determined to honour me by showing me some fine diamonds on her fingers, repeatedly taking off no fewer than three gloves, which were worn one over the other. . . . This lady's bodice was of yellow satin richly embroidered, her petticoat of gold tissue with stripes, her robe of red velvet with a raised pile, lined with yellow muslin with broad stripes of pure gold. She wore an apron of point lace of various patterns: her head-tire was highly perfumed, and the collar of white satin beneath the delicately-wrought ruff struck me as extremely pretty.'

"The ambassador, who, no doubt, contrived the whole scene, was sitting close behind him, enjoying the joke. We can give no clue to the name and quality of the fair one; but it would not have been out of the manners of the day for a woman of rank and respectability to lend herself to this harmless little 'hoax.' And at all events there is no disputing the costliness of her dress, which we have transcribed for the benefit of such of our fair readers as are likely to be called on to provide a costume for a fancy ball." . . .

[*Ben Jonson's Masque* 'Pleasure reconcild to Virtue,' *as performed at Whitehall on Twelfth Night* 1617—18.]

"We cannot refrain from inserting the account of the last fête given in the old Banqueting-house. There was something ill-omened in the

pageant; the theatre in which it was acted was burnt down a few months afterwards, and the chief performer in it was Prince Charles, who was destined to end his life so tragically on the scene of his present revel.

"The old banqueting-hall had a short life. It was built by King James in 1606, in the taste of the day. It is described as having been surrounded by two tiers of boxes, the lower supported by Tuscan pillars, the upper by Ionic. Opposite the stage was the box for the King and the royal family. No theatre was more honoured by the performances which took place within its walls. During the eleven years of its existence, 'rare Ben Jonson' supplied a masque for every succeeding Twelfth-night. On the present occasion the masque represented was 'Pleasure reconciled to Virtue,' the date of which has hitherto puzzled Ben Jonson's editors and commentators, but which, to the great satisfaction of future critics, we are now enabled to fix on Twelfth-night 1617—18.[1]

"For two hours the suite were kept waiting in the Venetian box. It was very hot and very crowded. And when they had so little space for themselves, my Lord Chamberlain came up and asked them to make room for a 'foreign gentlemen.' Even this their Italian good-nature would have borne, but the foreign gentleman turned out to be a Spaniard (a Jew would have been more welcome); and in he stalks, ceremoniously begging for 'dos ditos de plaza,' two inches of room; and with stately humility he bows himself onwards, and then, swelling himself out to his full size, seats himself in the best place of the box. Busino owns that he quite lost his temper. But his ill-humour did not prevent his doing full justice to the beauty of the women, 'who resembled,' he says, 'so many queens.' And he describes the splendour of their dresses with a minuteness which will be delightful to those who are accustomed to pore over the 'Morning Post' on the day after the drawing-room. But we must refer the reader to the original text, which we hope will be soon forthcoming.

"'There were some very lovely faces, and at every moment,' says Busino, 'my colleagues kept exclaiming, "Oh, do look at this one! —oh, do see that!—whose wife is this?—and that pretty one near her, whose daughter is she?" and though among so much wheat there was a certain mixture of chaff, though there were some

[1] "Busino also throws light on the date of Webster's 'Duchess of Malfy,' which has hitherto perplexed his commentators. He certainly saw it acted in 1618, for, while complaining of the irreverence with which the Romish clergy are treated on the Protestant stage, he gives an account of the part 'of a certain cardinal' which can refer only to the plot of the 'Duchess of Malfy.'"

shrivelled skins and some *devotees of S. Carlo Borromeo* [persons with very long noses like the above-named saint], yet that the beauties greatly predominated was their unanimous verdict, which I, old and half blind as I am, cannot but confirm. At length at about the sixth hour of the night (about ten o'clock) the king appeared, and, having passed through the apartments where the ambassadors (that is to say, the Venetian and the Spanish, for it was not the Frenchman's turn) were waiting for him, took them to his box.'

"The masque began. It were long to tell how Bacchus on a car was followed by Silenus on a barrel and 'twelve wicker flasks, who performed the most ludicrous antics.' Twelve boys as pages, Mount Atlas, as nearly the size of life as the stage would allow, and Mercury, the god of trade, all vied with each other in flatteries to the king. At last, twelve cavaliers in masks, the central figure always being the prince,

"'chose their partners and danced every kind of dance, the last being the Spanish dance in single pairs, each cavalier with his lady; and at length being well nigh tired, they began to flag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient, and shouted aloud, "Why don't they dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take you all; dance!" On hearing this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty's most favoured minion, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and very minute capers with so much grace and agility, that he not only appeased the ire of his angry sovereign, but, moreover, rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other masquers, being thus encouraged, continued successively exhibiting their prowess with various ladies; finishing in like manner with capers, and by lifting their goddesses from the ground. . . . .

"'The prince, however, excelled them all in bowing, being very exact in making his obeisance both to the king and to his partner; nor did we ever see him make one single step out of time, a compliment which can scarcely be paid to his companions. Owing to his youth, he has not much wind as yet, but he, nevertheless, cut a few capers very gracefully. The encounter of these twelve accomplished cavaliers being ended, by their valiantly vanquishing the sloth and debauchery of Bacchus [Comus], the prince then went in triumph to kiss the hands of his most serene parent, who embraced and kissed him tenderly; and then honoured the marquis by a display of extraordinary affection, patting his face.

"'The king now rose from his chair, and, taking the ambassadors with him, passed through a quantity of chambers and galleries, to a hall where the usual collation had been prepared for the performers,

his majesty being preceded by a torch, and, after casting a glance all round the table, he withdrew. . . . .

"'The repast was served on certain glass salvers or dishes, and, at the first assault, the board being capsized, I was thus, by the crash of the crystal platters, reminded of the smashing of our windows at Venice when visited by a midsummer hailstorm.

"'The affair ended at half-past two in the morning, and, half disgusted and weary, we then went home.'"

Mr. Ford's sketch of Busino's country excursion, and a few extracts from Tom Coryat, I put as a Postscript, and have now only to thank Mr. Rendle for his great kindness in writing for us the account of the Bankside, Southwark, with its *Globe* and other Playhouses, which forms the Appendix to these Forewords. (I suppose the Globe to have been more to the east in the Alley than Mr. Rendle puts it: compare the number of houses before the Globe is mentioned, with that of the houses after it.)

Postscript.

Busino on the English Roads, Country, Universities, Audley End, Theobalds, Wanstead, Vegetables, Fruit-eating, Grapes, Climate, Pheasant-Breeding, and Cock-Fighting.

"Before taking leave of Busino we must accompany him in an excursion into the country which he made with the ambassador in his coach. . . . .

"The journey lasted six days, and the distance travelled was 150 miles; but the roads were so bad that the coach occasionally stuck in the mud, though his Lordship's mares were very powerful. And on one occasion it positively broke down.

"'The landscape,' says Busino, 'was so extensive and beautiful, that I wish it *elsewhere* [at Piazzola]; the views in the plain being bounded by hills and woods, whilst from the rising grounds we saw interminable prospects extending as far as the keenest eye could reach, and then melting into the most liquid azure, and becoming part of the sky.'

"It would be difficult to find a prettier picture of rural landscape. The two universities are included in their tour. His observations on both, though slight, are accurate; but in fact, correctness in ancient descriptions of buildings and institutions which remain to speak for themselves is interesting only in as far as it establishes the witness's general credit. At Oxford, Busino is much shocked at

discovering in the Bodleian Library a MS. copy of Venetian Reports, which, in obedience to the Council of Ten, ought never to have been divulged.[1] They are fifteen in number, and Mr. Rawdon Brown gives all their titles, which he has extracted from a letter addressed by the secretary Lionello to the Inquisition of State.

"At Cambridge the ambassador and his party are annoyed by a drunken young graduate, whom Busino calls a doctor, and who, with drunken solemnity, forces his way into their apartments, and insists on disputing *de omni scibili* with the learned foreigners. The interpreter and the landlord with their united strength are unable to turn the obstreperous logician down stairs. Busino is extremely alarmed at being appointed by the ambassador to chop logic and talk Latin with such an awkward customer. However, at last they get him on the right side of the door; and on the morrow the penitent doctor returns to apologise for his indiscretion.

"Their eyes were attracted by a huge structure called 'King's Chapel.' They admire it as they ought; but the inside is quite bare, and Busino declares 'the tears come into my eyes at the thought of the destruction of the altars.' . . . .

"In their way from Cambridge to London they are received at a magnificent mansion of my Lord Treasurer's (the Earl of Suffolk). This is 'Audley Inn' or 'End;' and, noble as it now is, it presents but a fragment of the ancient building. When Busino visited it, there were two quadrangles, of which the present building forms, but one side. 'The palace presents itself very nobly, displaying a variety of angles and turrets, with their handsome cupolas covered with lead, like all the rest of the building, the roof of which presents a handsome terrace walk. The site, being surrounded by water and by rising ground, is very beautiful and is quite worthy so noble an edifice.' The inside is even more magnificent than the out. The spacious halls and galleries are furnished with satins and velvets and golden tissues, in the richest profusion; but Busino thinks that all this splendour must ere long change hands, and he takes credit to himself for his foresight when shortly after he hears that the Lord Treasurer had lost his staff, and that commissioners are appointed to examine his accounts. . . . .

"At Theobalds, a place once belonging to Lord Salisbury, and now a royal residence,[2] he could find little to admire after the magnificence of Audley End, except the arms of his majesty, designed to perfection in mixed borders of mignonette and pinks.

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[1] "Mr. Rawdon Brown has extracted from the archives of the Inquisition of State a letter of the Ambassador's explaining the bribery by which these copies are obtained. Busino's notice of this fact is quoted in the introduction to Giustiniani's letters."

[2] Exchanged with the King for Hatfield in 1607.

Among other magnificent suburban places he visited Wanstead, recently purchased 'by the Serafino of England, the Marquis of Buckingham.' The house was then ancient, and of small pretension; so a magnificent palace was designed in the forest, in which a whole suite of royal apartments was constructed on occasion of a fête given to the King on his birthday, 'by disposing tapestries suitably among the trees.'

"On the whole, Busino appears to think more meanly of our gardens than we should have expected. The vegetables, especially the cabbages grown in the neighbourhood of London, he extols in most glowing language; but he speaks of the common fruits[1] in terms which are hardly consistent with the accounts of it which are left by various writers of the day. He says they are seldom served at dessert, but that the whole population are munching them in the streets and at places of public amusement all day long. But in this case we beg to urge that the good health of the metropolis is a proof that the fruit could not be so bad as it appeared to our Southern connoisseur. It was a frequent amusement, he tells us, and so we believe it was till comparatively recent times, to go to the orchards and eat it on the spot, and this was often done in a sort of competition of gourmandise between the city belles and their admirers. One young woman, he avers, devoured the fabulous quantity of twenty pounds of cherries, beating her opponent by two pounds and a half. We hear, without regret, that her victory cost this heroine a severe illness. But, for the credit of our country-women, we would rather hope that the rector of Piazzola was hoaxed, and the whole story is a fable.

"It is surprising that so many modern gardeners, preferring their own experience to the most indisputable testimony, deny the existence of vineyards in this country in former days, and contend that something different from a field for growing grapes was meant by this name, or that some other use than the manufacture of wine was made of the produce. A passage in one of these letters exactly explains the state of the case. Busino, at Burleigh, was taken by Lord Exeter into his vineyard, and there, on tasting the grapes, and comparing their state of forwardness with the time of year, he expressed his fear that they 'would never come to anything;' nevertheless his noble entertainer told him that it was the family opinion they would make excellent wine. Possibly artificial means were then used to correct the excessive acidity, or it may have been relished from habit, just as the labourers in many districts enjoy the sour cider which cannot be tolerated by an unpractised palate and stomach. When the commerce and agriculture of the country

[1] "Fynes Moryson, for instance, especially extols the cherries, which Busino especially finds fault with."

improved, it was probably found that neither in quality nor in price could the home-made wines compete with those of foreign growth, and that the ground could be more profitably employed for other purposes.

"Busino is one of the few foreigners who do justice to our climate, for, though there are the usual complaints of the want of sun, and of the mists and rains which the 'ocean is always sending forth' to us, he says that, when there is not a high wind, this 'most favoured isle' may boast perpetual spring; and he speaks with becoming gratitude of the immunity he enjoys here from all noxious insects, enumerating especially every one of those which interfere so much with the comfort of a foreign tour.

"In all he sees there is a constant reference to Piazzola. In describing any piece of insular magnificence, it is a supreme satisfaction to be able to add, that, fine as it is, he knows places and things he could mention quite as fine. The only piece of luxury which in his opinion defies comparison or imitation is the English park, and this for extent, variety of scenery, and beauty of the timber, he admits is unrivalled. When he observes anything which is undeniably not to be found at Piazzola, his first thought is how it may be introduced there. . . . When he visits the king's aviary and the establishment for pheasant-breeding, he takes notes of all he hears, and sends elaborate drawings and plans, in order that the buildings, with all their details, may be reproduced at Piazzola. We have duly studied the instructions he has collected, but we need not transcribe them for the benefit of our sporting friends. They contain no novelty, and they afford by their deficiencies no cause for self-complacency to the enlightened sportsmanship of the nineteenth century. All the arrangements, including what he calls 'the clucking hens,' are substantially the same as those of the present day, except, indeed, that we hear of no contrivance for breeding flesh-maggots wherewith to pamper the nasty little biped epicures. For the same reason we think it needless to give extracts from a letter which contains descriptions of the fashionable sports of the day, including bull and bear baiting and cock fighting. The account is singularly graphic and minute. The comparison of a cockpit to an anatomy-school is very clever, and well calculated to place the scene before the eyes of his Venetian correspondent. But, with the exception that the bulls were disarmed by the addition of blunt leather guards to their horns, and the cocks were not generally allowed artificial spurs, these savage sports seem to have been carried on in exactly the same manner which was practised to the last, when they were finally put down by the advancing civilization of the age."

Now for Coryat, who gives English Theatres a better character than I expected; but evidently the production of a play

like the *Tempest* involves a great improvement of stage appliances since Shakspere's early days.

Venetian and English Theatres contrasted. Venice Glass.
(*Coryats Crudities*, 1611, p. 247.)

I was at one of their Play-houses, where I saw a Comedie acted. The house is very beggarly and base in comparison of our stately Play-houses in England: neyther can their Actors compare with vs for apparell, shewes, and musicke. Here I obserued certaine things that I neuer saw before. For I saw women acte, a thing that I neuer saw before, though I haue heard that it hath beene sometimes vsed in London[1]; and they performed it with as good a grace, action, gesture, and whatsoeuer conuenient for a Player, as euer I saw any masculine Actor. Also their noble and fauourite Cortezans came to this Comedy, but so disguised, that a man cannot perceiue them. For they wore double maskes vpon their faces, to the end they might not be seene[2]; one reaching from the toppe of their forehead to their chinne, and vnder their necke; another with twiskes of downy or woolly stuffe couering their noses. And as for their neckes round about, they were so couered and wrapped with cobweb lawne and other things, that no part of their skin could be discerned (p. 248). Vpon their heads they wore little blacke felt caps very like to those of the Clarissimoes that I will hereafter speake of. Also each of them wore a black short Taffata cloake. They were so graced, that they sate on high alone by themselues, in the best roome of all the Play-house. If any man should be so resolute to vnmaske one of them but in merriment onely to see their faces, it is said that—were he neuer so noble or worthy a personage—he should be cut in pieces before he should come forth of the roome, especially if he were a stranger. I saw some men also in the Play house, disguised in the same manner with double visards: those were said to be the fauourites of the same Courtezans: they sit not here in galleries as we do in London; For there is but one or two little galleries in the house, wherein the Courtezans only sit. But all the men doe sit beneath in the yard or court, euery man vpon his seuerall stoole, for the which hee payeth a gazet.

I passed in a Gondola to pleasant Murano, distant about a little mile from the citie, where they make their delicate Venice glasses, so famous ouer al Christendome for the incomparable finenes thereof; and in one of their working houses made a glasse my selfe. Most of their principall matter whereof they make their

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[1] Is there any evidence of the supposed fact?

[2] A contrast to their bare-faced English sisters: see Forewords in *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. lxxx, lxxxi.

glasses is a kinde of earth which is brought thither by sea from Drepanum, a goodly hauen towne of Sicilie, where Æneas buried his aged father Anchises (*Harrison* I, 147).

Venetians' and Englishmen's Dress contrasted.
(*Coryats Crudities*, 1611, p. 259.)

Vpon euery great festiuall day, the Senators and greatest Gentlemen that accompany the Duke to Church, or to any other place, doe weare crimson damaske gownes, with flappes of crimson veluet cast ouer their left shoulders. Likewise the Venetian Knights weare blacke damaske gownes with long sleeues: but hereby they are distinguished from the other Gentlemen. For they weare red apparell vnder their gownes, red silke stockings, and red pantafles. All these gowned men doe weare marueilous little blacke flat caps of felt, without any brimmes at all, and very diminutive falling bandes, no ruffes at all, which are so shallow, that I haue seene many of them not aboue a little inch deepe. The colour that they most affect and vse for their other apparel,—I mean, doublet, hose, and jerkin,—is blacke: a colour of grauity and decency. Besides the forme and fashion of their attire is both very (*p.* 260) auncient, euen the same that hath beene vsed these thousand yeares amongst them[1], and also vniforme. For all of them vse but one and the same forme of habite, euen the slender doublet made close to the body, without much quilting or bombase, and long hose plaine, without those new fangled curiosities, and ridiculous superfluities of panes, plaites, and other light toyes vsed with vs English men. Yet they make it of costly stuffe, well beseeming Gentlemen and eminent persons of their place, as of the best Taffataes and Sattins that Christendome doth yeeld, which are fairely garnished also with lace of the best sort. In both these things they much differ from vs English-men. For whereas they haue but one colour, we vse many more then are in the Rain-bow, all the most light, garish, and vnseemely colours that are in the world. Also for fashion we are much inferiour to them. For we weare more phantasticall fashions then any Nation vnder the Sunne doth, the French onely excepted: which hath giuen occasion both to the Venetian and other Italians to brand the English-man with a notable marke of leuity, by painting him starke naked with a paire of shears in his hand[2], making his fashion of attire according to the

[English Dress].

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[1] Andrew Boorde, in his *Introduction*, constantly praises this adherence to 'forefathers' dress as a great merit in a nation.

[2] See Andrew Boorde's cut in *Harrison*, Part I, p. 167. I have never seen any foreign original of it.

vaine invention of his braine-sicke head, not to comelinesse and decorum.[1]

Forks. (*Coryats Crudities*, 1611, p. 90.)

Here I wil mention a thing that might haue been spoken of before, in discourse of the first Italian towne. I obserued a custome in all those Italian Cities and Townes through the which I passed, that is not vsed in any other country that I saw in my trauels, neither doe I thinke that any other nation of Christendome doth vse it, but only Italy. The Italian, and also most strangers that are commorant in Italy, doe alwaies at their meales vse a little forke when they cut their meate. For while with their knife, which they hold in one hand, they cut the meate out of the dish, they fasten their forke which they hold in their other hand vpon the same dish, so that whatsoeuer he be that, sitting in the company of any others at meale, should vnaduisedly touch the dish of meate with his fingers, from which all at the table doe cut, he will giue occasion of offence vnto the company, as hauing transgressed the lawes of good manners, in so much that for his error he shall be at the least brow-beaten if not reprehended in wordes. This forme of feeding I vnderstand is generally vsed in all places of Italy, their forkes being for the most part made of yron or steele, and some of siluer, but those are vsed only by Gentlemen. The reason of this their curiosity is, because the Italian cannot by any meanes indure to haue his dish touched with fingers, seeing all mens fingers are not alike cleane. Hereupon I my selfe thought good to imitate the Italian fashion by this forked cutting of meate, not only while I was in Italy, but also in Germany, and oftentimes in England since I came home: being once quipped for that frequent vsing of my forke by a certaine learned Gentleman, a familiar friend of mine, one M. Laurence Whitaker, who in his merry humour doubted not to call me at table *furcifer*, only for vsing a forke at feeding, but for no other cause.

French & English Gardens & Horses. (*Coryats Crudities.*)

The knots of the garden [at Fountaine Beleau, Fontainbleau] are very well kept, but neither for the curiosity of the workemanship, nor for the matter whereof it is made, may it compare with

[1] Coryat's description of the Venetian Courtesans, p. 261—271, and the Mountebanks or *Ciarlatans*, p. 272—5, are very interesting. The women's dress and their absurdly high Chopines are described on p. 261—2. See also Lewkenor's *Contareno's Venice*, 1599, p. 194, for the Marriages Christninges, and Pastimes of the nobilitie.

many of our English gardens.* For most of the borders of each knot is made of Box, cut very low, and kept in very good order, p. 40.

I saw two stables of the Kings horses, wherein there are only hunting horses, in both, as I take it, about forty; they were fine and faire geldings and nagges, but neither for finenesse of shape comparable to our Kings hunting horses, nor, as I take it, for swiftnesse, p. 42.

[I ask readers again for Notes and Illustrations of Harrison.]

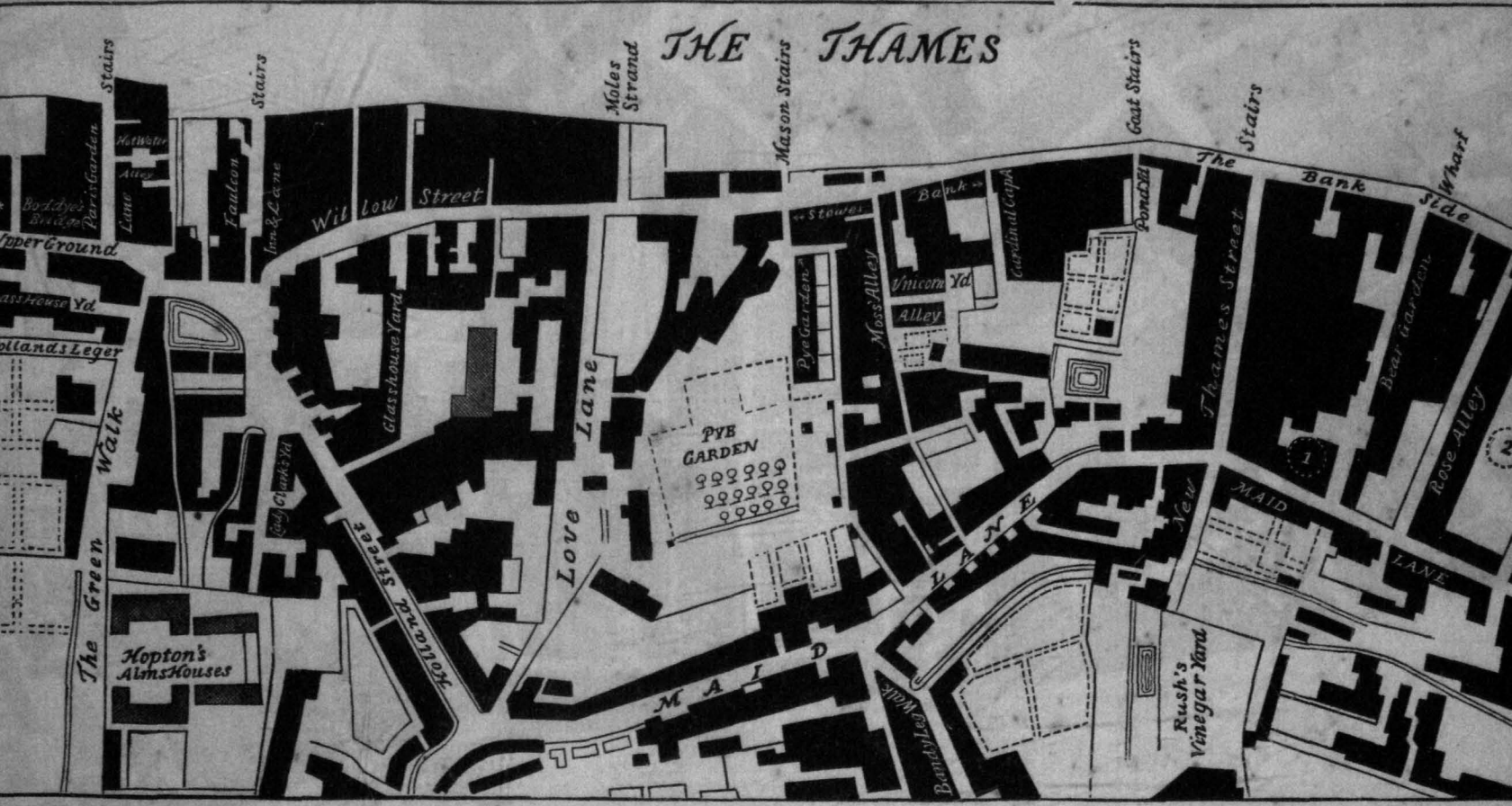
PLANS

OF THE

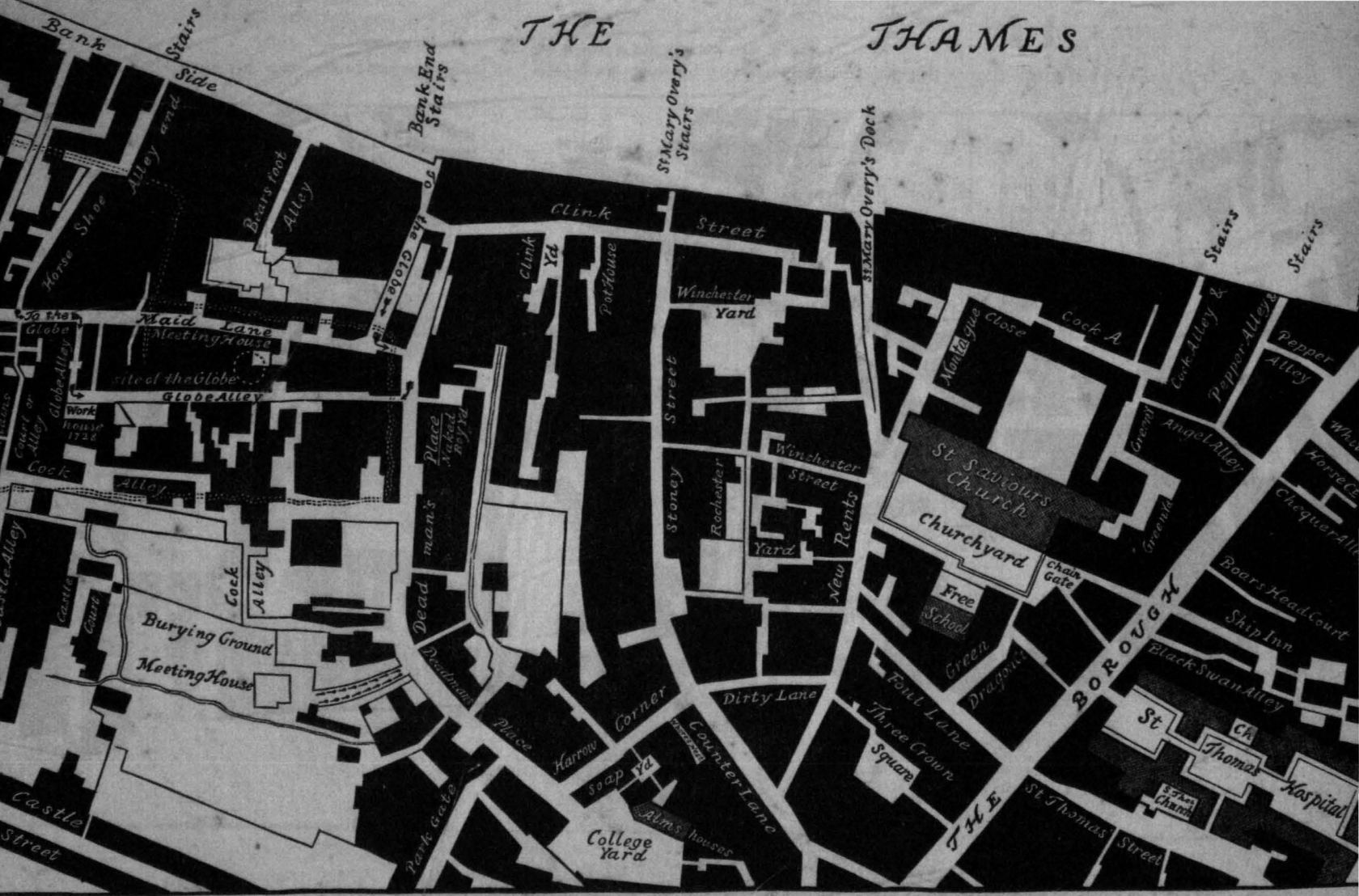
BANKSIDE, SOUTHWARK, 1746-51,

SHOWING THE PROBABLE SITES OF THE BEARGARDEN,
ROSE, AND GLOBE THEATRES.

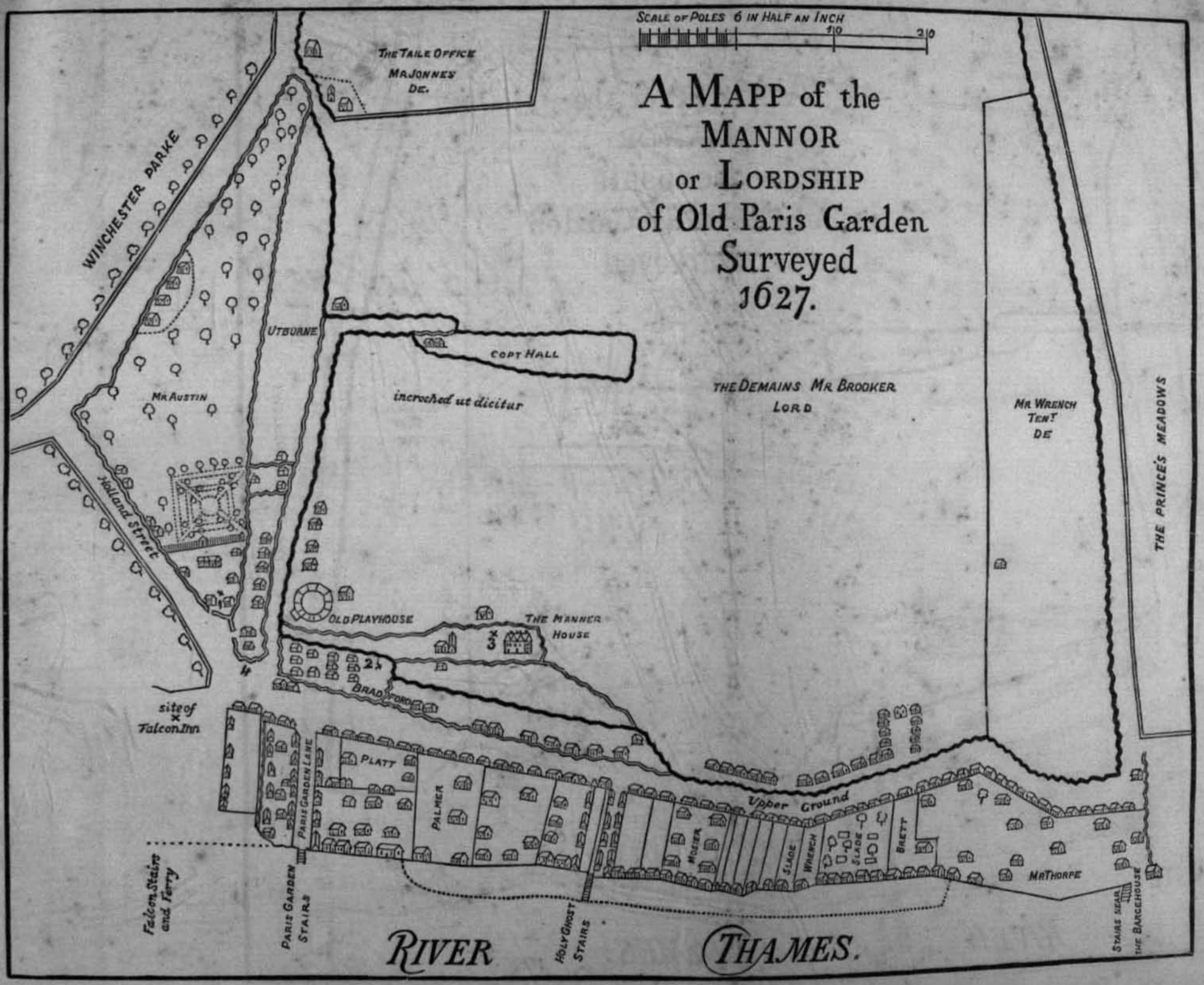
PLANS OF THE BANKSIDE, SOUTHWARK.



WESTERN PLAN of the BANKSIDE, including the probable sites of the Paris Garden Playhouse, The Bear Garden (1), and The Rose (2), chiefly from Rocque, 1746, 1751, subject to what is said in the Commentary, p. xxx.



EASTERN PART of the BANKSIDE, extending from, but not including, The Rose, to the south-western corner of London Bridge. The site of The Globe is attempted to be


A MAPP of the MANNOR or LORDSHIP of Old Paris Garden Surveyed 1627.
SCALE OF POLES 6 IN HALF AN INCH
1/0
2/0
THE TAILE OFFICE
MR JONNES DE.
WINCHESTER PARKE
UTBURNE
COPT HALL
MR AUSTIN
incroched ut dicitur
THE DEMAINS MR BROOKER LORD
MR WRENCH TENT DE
THE PRINCES MEADOWS
Holland Street
OLD PLAYHOUSE
THE MANNER HOUSE
BRADFORD
site of Falcon Inn
PLATT
PARIS GARDEN LANE
PALMER
MOSER
SLADE
WRENCH
SLADE
BRETT
Upper Ground
MR THORPE
Falcon Stairs and Ferry
PARIS GARDEN STAIRS
HOLY GHOST STAIRS
STAIRS NEAR THE BARGEHOUSE
RIVER THAMES.

APPENDIX I.

THE BANKSIDE, SOUTHWARK, AND THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE.

BY

WILLIAM RENDLE, F.R.C.S,

FORMERLY MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH, AND PARISH SURGEON,
ST GEORGE'S, SOUTHWARK.

1877.

LOOKING cursorily upon the Thames River-side south, that is, the Bankside, between Blackfriars Bridge and Tooley Street, very little to interest as now suggested to most people, other than the storage of goods and the making of money. To the Shakspere student, however, this spot is, in one sense at least, holy ground, and is full of associations of absorbing interest. It is, more than any other spot, connected with Shakspere and his triumphs. In loose papers, registers, and token-books still at St Saviour's, many a name and fact turn up, recalling vividly the Elizabethan period of English literature, of English notables, and of the customs or ways of the time. No apology, therefore, is needed for presenting this endeavour to the Shakspere Society, by way of illustration to their *Harrison*. I propose to follow, in this short paper, somewhat this order—First, to notice, The Mannor of Paris Garden and the olde Play House there. (A map was made, in 1627, I suppose for official purposes. As much of it as is required is published with this essay.) Second, The Liberty of the Clink, or Bishop of Winchester's Liberty, in which were the Rose, the Bear Garden, and the Globe. Chiefly in this Liberty, also, were the Stewes, which as a somewhat prominent institution of the Bankside from time immemorial, cannot well be left out. Third, to say a few words touching some of the more prominent personages who figured on the scene.

We have old maps and plans, passably authentic, notably Agas, Norden, and Smith, which when compared, and helped by the recollection of some few test-marks, may be found to give us the past very

much as it was; they seem, however, to be no other than close pictorial approximations, actualities with variations.[1]

Until the introduction of railways into and about London, the change from the olden times was very gradual and partial, so that some excellent modern maps, notably Rocque's, 1746 to 1754, and even Horwood's, 1799, which preserve old features and quaint old names of places, such as they must have been from time immemorial, help us greatly to understand the old localities and their conditions.

The westernmost division of our district was known as the Mannor of Paris Garden, and extended from the Old Barge House Stairs (the name still preserved in maps so modern as those of the Ordnance survey) to the Paris Garden Stairs hard by the Falcon: Holland Street, Blackfriars, leads to the spot. This Mannor of Paris Garden was at first of the parish of St Margaret's, then of the united parishes of St Margaret's and St Mary Magdalen Overy, now known as St Saviour's. The Mannor of Paris Garden was by Act of Parliament, 1671, constituted one complete parish, thenceforward known as Christ Church. Our copy of the map of the Mannor herewith is from an old parchment, a survey of 1627.[2] I have compared it with an original in the possession of the Steward of this ancient manor. We will look at it. North-west are Stairs near the Barge House; further east, Holy Ghost Stairs, and at the north-east extremity of the manor, Paris Garden Stairs, opening upon Paris Garden Lane, and the way to the 'old Playhouse,' which is a round building, twenty-six poles due south from the landing-place at the Stairs. West from the play-house, about eighteen poles, is the Manor House: Mr Brooker, a leading man of St Saviour's, is the lord. Further south, twenty-seven poles, is Copt Hall,—not to be confounded with a house of the same name opposite Vauxhall;[3] in fact, the name, Copt Hall, was more or less a common one.—Tenements are sparsely scattered over the Manor, but are placed closely enough on the river margin, some —notably Platte's rents[5]—held by persons whose names appear in the token books of St Saviour's.[4] West of the manor was the Prince's Meadow.[6] East, the park of the Bishop of Winchester.

[1] See Mr Wheatley's lucid paper, *Harrison*, Part i. App. iii.

[2] Belonging to Mr Marsland, surveyor, of Southwark. It is at present at the Guildhall Library. The word mannor, maner, manor, so spelt indifferently.

[3] Copt Hall, near the Thames, at Vauxhall, where the ill-fated Arabella Stuart was confined. *Cunningham*, London. *Manning and Bray*, vol. iii.

[4] Token Books, lists of persons to whom 'tokens' were given for the sacrament, involving the payment of a few pence, which were generally given to the poor.

[5] "The Ladie Judith Platte," "Palmer's Rents, the Musitian," and so on.

[6] *Manning and Bray*, vol. iii.

The history of this parchment map, the original of our plan of Paris Garden, may be gathered from Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 531.

'One of the methods resorted to by King James I. for raising money without the trouble of applying to parliament, was by instituting a commission to inquire into defective titles to estates which had belonged to the Crown. Under that authority, in the November preceding the King's death, Sir Edward Sawyer, the Attorney-General, made a survey of this estate, and in consequence of his report, King Charles I. in his first year, 7th Jan., 1625, granted it by letters patent to Thomas Young and Thomas Sara of London, gentlemen. Mr Browker and his son remained in possession, but thought it expedient to pay a sum of money and take a release, which was done 18 Feb., 3 Charles I., 1627.'

The first notice I find of the Paris Garden is in 1113, when Robert Marmion gave a hide of land called Widflete, and a mill, to the abbey of Bermondsey:[1] Paris Garden appears to have been included in the bequest, as the Knights Templars held of the Abbey the mills of Widflete with a certain garden called Paris Garden. In 1313, William de Montacute held it; but still of the Abbot as landlord. In 1537, the monks were *persuaded* to grant it (the manor of Hyde in Southwark) to the King, and in the same year it was settled on Queen Jane as part of her dower. The manor is heard of in 16 Richard II. as a place called after Robert de Paris who had a house there; and as an anti-climax to this Robert, the butchers of London had, or were to have there, a place for garbage and entrails of beasts, to the end that the city might not be annoyed. It was also a favourite place for baiting of beasts, usually but not always confined to bears and bulls. When it began to be so used I have no evidence; but no doubt very early, as it was away from the thickly inhabited places, and could be got at quickly and easily by boats.

1515: A charge of 16d. is noted as for the King's barge to Paris Garden. 1526: Bears are baited here. 1536: An Act is passed, 28 Henry VIII., to secure the Manor of Paris Garden to the Queen's grace.[2] 1550: It is noted now as always, that the great day is Sunday, and that these rude sports pay better than more select entertainments.[3] This

[1] *Annales Monastici, Rolls Pub., Bermondsey*, p. 432. The publication of these inestimable books, under the Master of the Rolls, demands the gratitude of all students; and the ready access and facility for reference I have experienced in the reading-room of the British Museum, I cannot but gratefully mention.

[2] *Manning and Bray*, iii. 530; *Ruffhead*, vol. ii.

[3] 1608. *Henslowe's Diary*. Three days' receipts at the Bergerden, £13 13*s.* 0*d.*; at the Fortewne, £5 14*s.* 9*d.*, with a note to the same effect; the present value would be some six to eight times this amount, or more.

custom helps much to set the Puritans against the players. Crowley, in an epigram, rhymes out the truth :—

'And yet every Sunday
They will surely spend
One penny or two,
The bearward's living to mend.
At Paris Garden each Sunday
A man shall not fail
To find two or three hundreds
For the bearward's vail.
One halfpenny a-piece
They use for to give,
When some have no more
In their purse, I believe.'

1583: There was 'a judgment' at Paris Garden; about 1000 persons were assembled on the Lord's day, 13th January, and the place fell, so that 'not a stick was left so high as the Bear was fastened to:' a figure of speech probably, but some five men and two women were killed. 'John Field,[1] minister of the word of God,' writes a godly exhortation to the people who were thus ungodly assembled at so unholy a spectacle. As he says, 'the standings and galleries full—now amidst their jollity, when the dogs and bear were in the chiefest battle, the gallery fell.' It was more than hinted that Sunday sports were encouraged by the Queen. She had been so much hunted on account of 'religion,' that she may have been rather free on the other side.

Distinguished visitors were sure to be taken to the Bankside to see the sports. Raleigh, in a letter to Cecil, says he took the French Ambassador to see the monuments at Westminster, and the Bear Garden. The Queen herself went, 'by water to the Bear Garden,' in 1599, and many another time, no doubt. Here were the celebrated bears, Harry Hunkes and Sacarson; and Master Slender[2] had seen Sacarson loose twenty times, and had even taken him by the chain. The sports sadly beguiled the young people :—

'Publius, student at the Common Law,
Oft leaves his books, and for his recreation,
To Paris Garden doth himself withdraw,
Where he is ravished with such delectation,
As down among the bears and dogs he goes.'[3]

Henslowe and Alleyn, when some restriction as to Sunday inevitably came, could not but grumble a bit.[4] The Sunday was their best day.

[1] Father, I believe, of one of the players, Nathan Field, of whom we shall hear again, as to his wordy set-to with Parson Sutton, who in 1616 had been denouncing the stage from his pulpit in St Saviour's.

[2] *Merry Wives of Windsor.* [3] *Epigrams*, Sir J. Davies.

[4] 1604. Sir William Steuart holds the patent of 'Master of his Maiesties games of Beeres, Bulls and dogges,' and sells the same to Henslowe and Allen for £450, an enormous sum; no wonder they think they have been overreached, and that the Sunday restriction, and the vagrants going about with bears, are matters to be very much complained of. *Mem. Edward Alleyn*, p. 75.

(To those who know Roman Catholic countries, this will be no surprise. When I visited Versailles one Sunday, the place was wonderfully gay, but it was also well behaved. We in this country err on the other side; we allow no Crystal Palace, no Picture Gallery or Museum to be visited on the Sunday, for fear of the thin end of the wedge! whatever that may mean. I do not say that Bear Gardens and loose company are fit for Sunday, or indeed for any day, but there is a truth that stands in the middle between license and Sabbatarianism.) No doubt that at the time I am speaking of, the neighbourhood was no better than it should be; that St. Saviour's was very badly off, and rather full than otherwise of bad people; in fact, that it could not well be worse; that Donald Lupton was not far out when he said in 1632, that hither come few that either regard their credit or loss of time, and (as he mentions) among others, the swaggering roarer, the amusing cheater, the rotten *****, the swearing drunkard, and the bloody butcher.

The Vestry had, of course, taken note of these unpleasant matters; that is, in very diverse ways: 1586. 'Morgan Pope agrees to pay unto ye parish for the bear garden and for the ground adjoining to the same where the dogs are, vjs. viijd. at Christmas next; and so on after, 6s. 8d. by the year, for tithes.' The officials are economical; they had not long before let the 'spiritual court'[1] to John Peacock for 21 years for a fine of £20, and £5 per year rent, but he is to keep it sweet and clean, and in sufficient repair. But it is said they kept pigs in it all the same. July 19th, 1598. 'It is ordered at this vestrye that a petition shal be made to the bodye of the councell concerning the play houses in this pareshe, wherein the enormeties shal be showed that comes thereby to the pareshe, and that in respect thereof they may be dismissed and put down from playing, and that iiij or ij of the churchwardens, Mr Howse, Mr Garlonde, Mr John Payne, Mr Humble, or ij of them, and Mr Russell and Mr Ironmonger, or one of them, shall prosecute the cause with a collector of the Boroughside and another of the Bankside.' The devil, so to speak, declines to be put down in this summary way. Accordingly the vestry resolves that he shall pay tithes—a good worldly arrangement; if he cannot be abolished, make him pay.—In 1600, Shakspere, Philip Henslowe, Edward Alleyn and others are here, and, no doubt, some of them came before the vestry. 'It is ordered that the churchwardens shall talk with the players for tithes for their playhouses within the liberty of the Clinke, and for money for the poor, according to the order

[1] Known as the Lady Chapel.

taken before my lords of Canterbury and London and the Mr of the revels.' It had been ordered, May 1, 1598, that Mr Langley's new buildings shall be viewed—they were near to the Paris Garden play-house—and that Mr Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall be moved for money for the poor on account of the play-houses. It may be mentioned here that Henslowe and Allen do not appear to suffer in the estimation of their friends of the vestry, on account of their making some parts of the parish, so to speak, a hell upon earth. Lupton,[1] after this, 1632, calls it 'a foul den rather than a fair garden, that cruel beasts are in it, and foul beasts come to it.' 1607: Mr Henslowe is chosen a vestryman in the place of Mr Treherne, and a few months after, 'Mr Edward Allen, Esquier,'[2] is chosen in place of Mr Browker. Shortly after, the vestry resolves to take steps 'for the general good of our posteritie,' and to bargain for the fee farm of the parsonage. Mr Henslowe and Mr Allen, among others, are appointed to carry this out, which, after a little chaffering, they are fain to do for £800. So, March 2, 1613, five of the ancients, Mr Allen and others, settle this business 'for the perpetuall good of posteritye.' 1615: Mr Philip Henslowe is buried in the chancell with an afternoon knell of the great bell, that is, seven years after Edmond Shakespeare and Laurence Fletcher had been buried here, both in the church; ten years before John Fletcher, a man, in the church; and twenty-three years before Philip Massinger, a *stranger*, is buried,—the word is not used in the pathetic sense in which some writers have put on it; it merely means that he was not of the parish, a fact which generally involved a higher charge for a funeral.—1619: Mr Allen lives out of the parish, and wishes some one to be elected for the Clink in his stead; he is evidently very popular; the vestrymen politely say that they will leave it to him to go or to stay, but they rather desire his company.[3] Returning from this digression.—1621: Leeke the Brewer lives at the manor house of Paris Garden, and 'shall pay tithes for his house and garden and orchard, and for the little plot of ground on which Baxter's house standeth, 20s. per ann., the playe house being excepted.'

As to the features of the locality we may note, that it was intersected in all directions with streams, not shewn in the map of the manor, except Utburne, the Outbourne possibly; and that bridges abounded. In

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ix., p. 321.

[2] This and other phrases speak volumes as to the bated breath with which the vestry receives this great actor and prudent man.

[3] I have most of this from the vestry papers, which are very rich in illustration of the manners of the period.

maps which shew these streams, small bars or lines are seen across them here and there: these in fact represent bridges. In Sewer presentments, notably in 1640, the old parish garden bridge and the stone bridge by the pudding-mill in the manor of parish garden are mentioned; and further east in the highway leading from the Stews bank to the Borrough of Southwark is Draper's Bridge; and Boddye's Bridge in name has come down to us. A cross stood in the highway at the end south of Paris Garden Lane, just as a reminder, perhaps, to the very doubtful people who lived thereabout, or who landed at the stairs. In 1575 the place was so wooded, 'so dark with trees, that it would take cat's or lynx' eyes to see a man.'[1] Before 1671 the manor belonged (?) to St Saviour's parish, the holding being in the Crown or its nominees; from 1684 to 1788 in the Burrow family. About 1795 Richard Ellison and Robert Heron bought the manor. When the estate was taken by the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway—we are now this side the Henslow and Alleyn times—the Company had to settle with the copyholders. Trustees claimed reversion as to 2000 years' tenure granted to them by Queen Elizabeth, for which claim, left to the arbitrator, he awarded £50.[2]

Passing over the imaginary line which bounds Paris Garden on the east, we are in the Manor of the Bishop of Winchester, known as the Manor or Liberty of the Clink;[3] extending from and including the Falcon, to, and not including,[4] the St Mary Overy's or St Saviour's Dock. The space east and west of this imaginary line was from 1162 a most equivocal territory, known as the Stews, that is, as places for resort 'of incontinent men to the like women,' and the act passed then refers to 'old customs.' Its title is curious: 'Ordinances touching the government of the Stewholders in Southwark under the direction of the Bishop of Winchester,' to be kept within the said Lordship and Franchise according to the old customs, time out of mind, which old customs are referred to as 'contained in the Customary.'[5] A manuscript of further

[1] *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic.*

[2] Mr. Halliwell Phillipps's notes, which I have been often most kindly permitted to use.

[3] The Clink, the Clink Prison, and the Stews, one or the other, are noted in almost every volume of the domestic series of the Rolls publications.

[4] There was a dispute about this; and in 1793 the vestry used plain language to the Bishop, that the dock had always been free for parishioners, and that he, the Bishop, had no exclusive right; a board stating that the use is free, is now, 1877, placed on the wall over this little dock.

[5] *Manning and Bray*, iii. 587; see also an article by Wm Beckett, Surgeon, *Philosoph. Transactions*, 1717-18, vols. xxx., xxxi.; and *Dr Farr's Letter to the Registrar General*. Feb. 5, 1875, p. lxviii.

regulations written on vellum, it is supposed about 1430, preserved in the Bishop's Court, is now, this or another, in the Bodleian Library, presented in 1689 by Mr John Ledgard of Queen's College. (I make no apology in such a paper as this should be for discussing so unsavoury a subject as the Stews, a most prominent institution of the Bankside, recognized by the law and regulated by the Lord of the Manor, the Bishop of Winchester. In the first part of *Henry VI.* Gloster flouts the Cardinal as one that gives whores indulgences to sin, and cries derisively, 'Winchester goose,' the well-known nickname for a parasite of many of the women so licensed. One of the stew-houses was known as the Cardinal's Hat, and the name is perpetuated in modern maps, *e. g.* map of Clink, 1827, as Cardinal Cap Alley.

The regulations adopted by the Bishop run thus: 'Here begynne the Ordinances, Rules, and Custumes, as well for the Salvation of mannes Life, as for to aschewe many Myschiefs and Inconvenients that dayley be lik there-for to fall owte, to be rightfully kept.' One of the articles conterns those who 'custodiunt mulieres habentes nephandam infirmitatem.' such were to be put out, 'under peyne of a fyne unto the Lord of a hundred Shylings.' The bailiff had to see all 'single women' voided out of the Lordship on holidays[1]; no one was to keep more than three in a house, each woman was to pay duly, as the old custom is, 13*d.* weekly for her chamber; no woman of religion nor any man's wife was to be received, *that is, if it be known;* and if so, the Lord's officer was to be made acquainted with the fact. If any woman come within the Lordship, and would be kept private in it, *and it be not the Steward's will*, the woman shall be taken and fined, and set thrice on the cucking-stool,[2] and forswear the Lordship; no stewholder to keep a boat,[3] no common woman to wear an apron under pain of forfeiting it,[4] and being fined; no stewholder to sell or retail victuals out of the same.[5]

[1] Holidays. 'Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do,' hence the shrewdness which contrived this prevention.

[2] A cucking-stool is shewn in some of the old maps. 'Porter's, and the Countreyman's guide,' &c., it is close to the Clink Prison, west of Winchester House, and there are pictures of the same in use. (See the illustration.)

[3] This would not matter, as stairs or landing-places abounded, and there was a ferry in the very thick of the colony, at the Falcon.

[4] 'Divers affrays,' more especially through Flemish women. 'Women' are not to go about, but to keep themselves to their places, *i. e.* 'lestuppes,' the Stews on the other side of the Thames, and Cokkes Lane, on pain of losing the upper garment and hood she may be wearing, half value to those who take the garments and hoods. — Riley, *Mem. Lond.*, p. 535.

[5] This possibly did not prevent the players and others supping, as they often did,

Mrs Alleyn by some mistake or other, got into trouble, while her husband was away. He writing,[1] 2nd. May, 1593, to 'E. Alline on the Bankside,' says: 'mouse, I littell thought to hear that which I now hear by you, for it is well knowne they say that you wear, by my lorde maior's officer, mad to rid in a cart, you and all your felowes;' probably this was some brawling or 'infringement of an order against dramatic performances.' However, the Clink prison, carting, and the cucking-stool were all handy for women, especially for those who meddled or procured; and the process was summary and public enough. Then, as afterwards, Alleyn had property and an interest about the Stews. Mrs Alleyn's punishment shews the ready discipline of the district.

On the Paris Garden side of our boundary was a very noted house known as Holland's Leaguer.[2] It is said that a Madam Holland rented the old Manor House and converted it into a stew-house. In the play[3] she, derisively no doubt, asks, 'Am not I the Lady of the Manor?' She could scarcely, however, have had the Manor House, as Leeke the brewer lived here in 1621.[4] Some noted old signs were here, but I can fix no other date than that they were probably here about Leeke's time; the Windmill and Orange Tree in Paris Garden Lane, the Falcon, which we believe was a Shaksperean resort; the Castle, at the bottom of Holland Street, the 'Leaguer' which was 'a castle,' so in the play Trimalchio says, ''Tis a castle this, a fort,' &c.; opposite the Castle, the Next Boat and the Beggar's Bush;[5] the Blue Pump was here with a sign of a man pumping with all his might, and the words under, 'Poor Tom's last refuge.'[6]

In the Roxburghe collection of ballads[7] there is one, probably temp. Charles I., which represents, Mr Halliwell-Phillipps says, the notorious

at the Cardinal's Hat and like places; this house was one of Edward Alleyn's customary places of resort.—*Mem. Alleyn*, p. 165, &c.; and Taylor the water poet was reproached by the watermen with, as it were, selling them, and supping with the players at the Cardinal's Hat —*Works*, 1630, p. 173.

[1] This is genuine, is at Dulwich College, and copied by Malone. And really Alleyn does not seem much surprised by the event, but he declares he will be revenged. He had not been married a year.

[2] Curious that the name Holland is perpetuated on the site, Holland Street; but I think it is only a coincidence, as Holland Street does not appear in the maps until late in the last century, and Marmion, the name taken by the writer of *The Leaguer*, is, of course, no descendant of the Marmyon who gave land here to the monks of Bermondsey, in fact Marmyon is a *nom de plume*.

[3] *Holland's Leaguer*, by Shakerly Marmion, Master of Arts, 1633.

[4] *Parish Papers*.

[5] Bush, a generic 'signboard.'

[6] I took this from a fly-leaf of Sir William Tite's copy of *Holland's Leaguer*, where it is signed George Daniel; but it is all in *Wilkinson*.

[7] *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. ii. 132, edited by Mr. Chappell.

brothel of Mrs Holland in Southwark.[1] The rude woodcut at the top is represented as the Map of Mock-beggar Hall, 'with his situation in the spacious Countrey called Anywhere; to the tune of It is not your northerne Nanny's or Sweet is the Lasse that Loves me.' The ballad has but little to do with the title, and the picture is taken from 'the Historical Discourse of the life and actions of Dona Britannica Hollandia, the Arch-Mistris of the wicked Women of Eutopia, 4to., 1632.' The house seems to have been fortified by a moat, and a drawbridge, natural probably in a place of swamps and streams. I may say that in my own time I have had to cross many extemporized drawbridges, that is, planks, to get at one-story cottages in the midst of their gardens, in Southwark; and I think, therefore, that probably the people of the Leaguer may only have improved their natural defences, so as to delay the officer of the manor, if he took it into his head to visit their establishment. It is not likely that the Bishop's officer would wink at such elaborate defences as the picture gives, unless indeed the hush-money was very large indeed. I look upon it, therefore, as fact embellished for the purposes of a catch-penny book. So much for the chief of these houses in Paris Garden: no doubt there were others plenty enough.

The Clink was, however, the chief resort. Here was a row of houses along the Bank, and they were under the Bishop of Winchester. They were painted white, with signs on the front; for instance, the Boar's head, the Crane, the Cardinal's Hat, the Swan, the Bell, the Castle, the Cross-keys, the Gun, and 'the Thatched House by the water side, whitlymed above.' In the time of Henry VII. there were eighteen, but soon after that they were shut up; in 1506, they were reduced to twelve, and again opened. Before this time, in 1443, a petition to the Parliament puts it thus: 'Please hit to the wysdome and high discretion of the worshipfull Communes to consider a grete myschief in late dayes begonne amonge untrewe lyvers, dwellyng in a suspect and wycked place called the Stewys in the Burgh of Southewarke.' They noted also that 'even in the common hostries and taverns of the Hygh Street, thieves and common women were

[1] 1631-33. Vol. I. p. 221. *Rolls. Dom.* 'Hunt and Rogers petition, they have bought a lease of the house where Mrs Holland dwelt in old Paris Garden; she was reputed to keep a house of obscenity, said house and twenty others to be pulled down. They fear the apprentices, and pray that the train bands of Southwark may attend.'

The Steward of the Manor tells me (Nov. 1877), that there is in the strong box now in Hepton's Almshouses, Green Walk, a lease of the Leaguer, of the time of Queen Elizabeth, granted by the Chamberlain to Dame Hollandia, whoever she was, with conditions that the lease should be void *if one woman was found bringing in more than two men, or one man coming in with three women on the same day.*

received as at the Stewes.' The worshipful House is asked for 'the love of God and in wey of Charitie' to amend this. At length the places are put down, or supposed to be so. In the proclamation, 1535, 'all such as dwell on the Banke called the Stewes, are to forbear, and the houses are not to be abused with the like abomination.'[1] The proceedings must, however, have been half-hearted, as implying to some slight extent a Quixotic attack on a windmill, that *will* go round. Nevertheless, if we effect little we may say something, at least in serious public announcements. 1545: 'The stewes and publike bordell houses are abolished, and so continue untill the time of Quene Mary, in whose daies some of the Clergy made labour to have them restored againe; and were very likely to have obteined their sute if she had lived a while longer; soche trees, soche frute! for the stewes, saith one of them, in a sermon made at Paules Cross, are so necessary in a comon welth, as "a jaxe" in a mannes house': his name I spare, sith it shall suffice that it beginneth with the same letter that Papa dothe.'[2] The City—as with their physical refuse, so with their moral refuse—tried more or less to banish the foulness to the suburbs or further; and the silent highway with its hundreds of swift little boats made it quite possible, and indeed facilitated the coarser parts of the process. Accordingly we in the south had places for refuse and entrails in Paris Garden, in St. George's Fields, in the Exuvie at the end of Kent Street, and in various 'dung-hills,' so called; and for the moral part of it, in the enormous number of prisons in Southwark; and on the Bankside and other places, the Stews and convenient lodgings. As to the success of the proclamation and various raids made upon the haunts, what came of them? Latimer[3] says, '*You* must reform, my Lords. You have put down the Stewes: ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away.' And again,[4] 'The city! yea the Bank where it stood, the thing was never so common. It is a marvel that the earth gapeth not and swalloweth it up; and dicing-houses there are, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift.—For the love of God, let remedy be had, let us wrestle and strive against sin.' Then Hall, who died in 1656, implies in one of his satires, that even in his time the Winchester revenues went on; he speaks of—

[1] *Manning and Bray*, vol. iii. 589.

[2] Furnivall citing *Harrison:* 'but the enmities were great, and this writer did not love Quene Mary, as indeed who could; Philip found it too difficult.' Some say, and I half believe them, that the unrequited craving for affection led to most of the martyrdoms.

[3] *Third sermon before King Edward VI*, 1549.

[4] *Sixth sermon preached before King Edward VI.*, 1549.

'Lousy cowls come smoking from the Stews,
To raise the lewd rent to their lord accrues.'

(Well, it is hypocrisy to say we can banish the evil; but we may mitigate it, take off somewhat of the coarseness, and lessen disease, the taint of which, even to the third and fourth generation, only doctors who are behind the scenes can discern. And yet so-called politicians, and some mistaken persons, try to raise a popular cry against an honest attempt to recognize and grapple with the evil; and these outcriers, shifting the impurity and shewing their nature, have not hesitated to flood our houses with filthy suggestions,[1] worse than the evil they are supposed to be attacking. In some times, the earlier that is, 'Houses of ill fame were exempted from ecclesiastical interference on the ground that they were a necessary evil, and might be thus better *surveille*.'[2] At all events let us, since we do not desire to license houses, as the Bishops of Winchester did, and as we should probably have done had we lived then, at least be reasonable in mitigating their evil.)

Henslow and Alleyn seem to be much concerned in property now or before of the Stew character. 1603: Henslow is to be a free inheritor of houses in the Pike Garden, that is, between 'Love Lane' and 'the Cardinall's Hat.' The names imply the associations. 1610: While Henslow is as vestry-man engaged in buying the fee-simple of the rectory for the parish, he pays a fine to have the fee-simple of land on the Bankside.[3] 1584: The little Rose estate, further east than the Stews, is assigned to Philip Hinchley, citizen and dyer, for a certain sum of money. 1582: A lease is recited as from the Bishop of Winchester, temp. Henry VIII., 'of tenements, the Barge, the Bell and the Cocke, upon the Banke called the Stewes, late in the parish of St Margarete; against the Kynges highe way next the water of Thamis on the north, and against a tenement called the Rose on the east, and against a tenement sometime the Lady Stratfordes on the west, and against a lane called Maiden Lane on the south,' &c. This property, in Alleyn's will, 1626, is left in trust to Sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, and Sir Thomas Grymes of Peckham, for Alleyn's wife Constance; and he leaves also an inn called the Unicorn, all in the Stew district. Alleyn also lets, in 1615, some dwelling-houses in Pye Alley.[4] I may note, before I leave this subject, that in certain modern leases granted by the Bishops of Win-

[1] Under the plea of informing us.
[2] A most estimable modern lady writer.
[3] Noted by his fellow-vestrymen in their Minutes.
[4] Mr Halliwell's Papers.

chester, of land east and west of the Falcon, it is recited that the same was recovered of the prior of St John of Jerusalem.[1] In some leases which Mr Furnivall and I saw lately at the Anchor Brewery (Barclay's), some tenements are noted as 'near the Stews bank,' quasi-ecclesiastical property, 'lately appertaining to the Brotherhood of our Lady, in the parish church of St Saviour's.' The Vine, a well-known house, was also the property of the Brotherhood. (This is the only record I have seen of a Brotherhood connected with St Saviour's, although doubtless there must have been gilds in it, as in all other Southwark churches. Of these other gilds there is some account.) One more word upon the ordinances. The fact of the subordination of the Stews to clerical authority is certain; but I infer that at first the control over them was partly lay, partly clerical, and that it was at length vested in the Bishop, as the Lord of the manor. The Ordinances before noticed, p viii., are (says Mr Macray of the Bodleian), very rigorous, and intended to secure good order, as far as the subject admitted. They are contained in a small vellum 8vo. vol., in the Bodl. Libr., very neatly written in English, of the fifteenth century. The whole vol. contains thirty-seven leaves, but the first fourteen are, curiously enough, occupied with a Calendar of the Account of the Annunciation, from St Luke. Then come the original orders, which are said to have been made by Parliament, 8 Hen. II; then follow further ordinances, in accordance with these; and lastly there come additional orders, made at a 'Court Leet of the Manor, 10 Apl. 37, Hen. vj.'

The 'old play-house' in the Paris Garden Map. I am a little troubled about this. It is usually received that there were at one time or another four playhouses: the Swan, the Rose, the Globe, and the Hope. Among these no doubt are included the bear-baiting and bull-baiting places, on the Bankside, adapted or rebuilt upon old foundations, as the phrase was; there was also the Paris Garden Theatre. In Cunningham's *Handbook*, under each name, may be found the generally-received opinion as to these theatres. The Swan, in the liberty of Paris Garden, in repute before 1598, fell into decay in the reign of James I., and was after that used for fencers, &c. It is represented as being near the Falcon Stairs or Paris Garden Stairs, and as having been shut up in 1613. Some token books of St Saviour's at a very interesting time have disappeared, but, in 1615, John Henslow and John Lowin are living near the play-house, and the play-house is near Copt Hall, and the play-house and Copt Hall are in the Mapp of Paris Garden. 1627: 'The old play-house' looks, so far as the

[1] St. John's Acre, Upper Ground, is noted in the Paris Garden Manor records.

'mapp' can shew it, quite fit for service yet The Swan then appears to be the same as the Paris Garden Theatre, this, however, with me almost a certainty, is perhaps a question. Cunningham says the view of Paris Garden Theatre forms the frontispiece of the 2nd vol. of Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, and that of the Swan the vignette to the 3rd vol, but all this needs verification. The *Hope* was commonly known as the Bear-Garden, but like others was used both for the drama and for sports. 1586, 28th November 'Morgan Pope did agree to pay for tithes unto ye parish for the bear garden, and for the ground adjoining to the same where the dogs are, 6*s*. 8*d* at Christmas next, and so on after, at 6*s* 8*d*. by the year'[1] The place had been in use some time, but I can find no date. This is the 'Beare Howse' of Norden's Map, 1593 Probably this refers to the *old* house of the agreement between Henslowe and Allen and Peter Street[2] 'Peter Street was to execute the work of the messuage called the Beare Garden, next the river of Thames in the parish of St Saviour's, of sound Tymber of oke, and the size of the building was to be in length, from outside to outside, fifty-six feet, and in breadth sixteen feet (*sic*), evidently the erection was a cheap one' The Bear-Garden had probably passed from the first owner, Morgan Pope, to Henslowe and Alleyn. When it was a bear garden, especially on Sundays, the receipts were comparatively large this is so noted in the diary of Philip Henslow. 1614 Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was acted here facetious articles of agreement between the spectators or hearers on the one part, and the author on the other part, form part of the induction. Among the typical audience are expected,—a wise Justice of Peace meditant, a civil cutpurse searchant, a sweet singer of ballads allurant, and a fresh Hypocrite rampant. It is urged that although the fair is not kept at the house of its namesake, yet here at the Bankside there is a special decorum, the place being as dirty as Smithfield, and as stinking every whit The Puritans, sweet Vin the Fight and Brother Zeal of the-land, are, as the other characters are, dealt very freely with. Sooner or later the revenge came, and the place was shut up by the Parliament about 1642 The sale of it, January 14, 1647, realized £1783 15*s*. 0*d*; at the same time the Falcon and the Stews sold for £484.[3]

The *Rose*. We know pretty well all about this place In connection with some very recent law proceedings between the Charity Commis-

[1] Vestry Minutes, St Saviour's. See above, p v.
[2] Mem Edward Alleyn *Shakespeare Society*, p 78
[3] Tiley, *St Saviour's*, p 51.

sioners and the parish of St Mildred's, Bread Street, to which the little Rose estate on the Banksde belongs, the will of Thomasyn Symonds has been discovered, and a copy has been handed to me. The estate, or some great benefit out of it, had been given by Thomasyn, the widow of Rauf Symonds, 'some time before 1629,' says Collier, to the parish of St Mildred. She calls it 'the little Roose, with two gardeyns in the Parishe of Seyntt Margaretts in Southwarck, now Seynt Savyr.' The fact is, that the widow left this property in 1553, as in that year she, Thomasyn Symonds, made her will.[1] The 17th Nov. 1574, the trustees (of whom Ambrose Nicolas was one, and there were seventeen others,) let the property so devised to William Griffen for thirty-one years at £7 per ann. This lease was assigned, 11th Dec. 1579, to Robert Withens. 1584, 24th March: Withens assigns his right, in consideration of a certain competent sum of lawful money, to Philip Hinchley, citizen and dyer of London.[2] That the property had been the widow's in 1553 is certain; that it is Henslow's at last is also certain. Thomas Poope, a principal actor in Shakespeare's plays, appears to have had an agreement with the parish for the place, and to have paid a rent of £20 a year. I have seen the entry, in the Vestry Minutes, 1586, '*Morgan* Pope for the *Bear Garden*.' Plays were performed here: Ben Johnson's *Every man in his humour*, Malone thinks in 1597. My Lord Pembroke's men were playing at the Rose in 1600, and so on. Like the Globe, the Rose was burnt down,—

> 'In the last great fire
> The Rose did expire,'—

but when that was, I am not clear. The place was used for prize-fighters say 1628, but there is, Malone says, no trace of the Rose in the map of 1629. No question but Rose Alley yet remaining represents the site; the estate was east of the Alley, and comprised three roods, as the Bear Garden close by, west of Rose Alley, represents the corresponding Bear-house. (May I hope that the Metropolitan Board of Works of 1877 will be very tender in improving these old names off the face of the earth?)

[1] *Close Roll*, 6 Edward VI. part v. in. 13. A deed in trust for herself for life, and to charitable uses after.

[2] This rests upon the testimony of Mr Collier, whose statement—*Life of Alleyn*, p. 189—is not quite correct. 'Thomasyn did not sell the Little Roose to Nicholas, but left it in trust for certain purposes. The Trustees may be named: they were Rauf Johnson, gent.; Willm Payne, gentilman; Willm Hustwaite, pewterer, Ambrose Nicolas, salter; Robt Soole, salter; Thomas Brian, grocer; John Peers, fysshemonger; Willm Box, grocer; Thomas Dynes, fysshemonger; Henry Edwards, shomaker; Thomas Pekens grocer; John Welton, tayllour; Robt Sprignaille, barboursurgeon, and others.

In Norden's map, by Pieter Vanden Keere, 1593, is a representation of 'The play howse.' It is, says Mr. Halliwell, the Rose, and is the earliest representation of a theatre known to exist. All the same, there must have been theatres, properly so called, in Southwark long before.[1] For instance, in *Cal. State Papers*, Feb. 5, 1547, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester to Paget, complaining bitterly of the players, says he intends to have a solemn dirge and mass for the late king. At the same time the players in Southwark say, *they* will have a 'solemne playe to trye who shal have most resorte, they in game, or I in ernest,' and this great Bishop requests the Lord Protector to interfere between him and the players. (No circumstance can shew more forcibly the ups and downs in connection with forms of religion than such a fact as this does. Think of the sequence—Henry VIII—Edward—Mary—Elizabeth.) The players were in frequent conflict with the Church, although Henslow and Alleyn seem to have made things pleasant. I have noted the indignant complaint of Gardiner in 1547. Field, the player, and Dr. Sutton fell out rather seriously, the player standing up manfully for his craft, and telling the preacher plainly that he, the preacher, is disloyal,[2] in preaching from his pulpit against the people who are patronized by the king. This Nathan Field was, curiously enough, son of the Rev. John Field, a celebrated puritanical minister and opponent of the stage.[3] From the stage came attacks upon the Puritans, the Marprelate writers, and others. There is a rich scene in a play[4] performed at the Globe, the two quasi-puritans consoling themselves upon their success in spoiling the wicked ones. The position of the Rose on Norden's map shews clearly how loosely, as regards critical accuracy, early artists did their work. But as for that, see after, when attempt is made to shew the approximate positions of the sites of the Bankside play-houses.

The Rose appears to have been contemplated about 1586, but it seems that it was not opened till early in 1592. It is urged against earlier places of the kind being called by the name, that Paris Garden was not a regular theatre. But then others were not; neither the Theatre nor the Curtain was used exclusively for the Drama. The object was, of course, to make money; and bears and bulls, apes and horses, fighting men and all the rest of it, paid better than the legitimate drama, especially on Sunday.

The Globe. Observe attentively that part of our[5] 2nd map which

[1] Malone will not say that they were not here, at least so early as 1579.
[2] Illustrations of the *Life of Shakespeare*, Part 1 p 115
[3] He wrote a godly exhortation upon the Paris Garden catastrophe, 1583.
[4] Randolph, *Muses' Looking-Glass*. [5] Adapted from Rocque.

shews Globe Alley, 'long and narrow at Deadman's Place, but meanly built, with a passage into Maiden Lane.'[1] In the best maps, notably those of Rocque, the local map in Stow, Pine and Tinney's 1742, Kitchen's 1773, Bowles's 1736, Globe Alley is shewn as a right angle, the base, of some length, running straight east and west, the much shorter perpendicular, north and south. The Deadman's-Place Globe Alley, was approached from Bankside Stairs; the Maid-Lane Globe Alley, from Horse Shoe Alley. The corresponding boundaries, Maid Lane and Deadman's Place, inclose roughly a square of three hundred and seventy-five feet east and west, and seventy feet north and south. A little further off, the spot was nearly completely bounded on all four sides by sewers, that is to say, by open ditches or dykes.[2] Within this square, about the middle of it, was, as I think, the Globe Theatre. I propose to work this out, and, as I hope, once for all.

In the iron safe belonging to the vestry of St Saviour's are very valuable papers, the vestry minutes from 1551: with an interval of corruption and loss of vestry books, they come down to the present time. The registers and token-books are also of great value. These papers, corroborated by others at the Rolls Office, throw light upon the subject. The two facts of most importance are, that Sir Mathew Brand was the owner of the soil upon which the Globe was built, and that he appears to have held little if any other property here, beside Globe Alley. As to the first part,—in a return of divided houses[3] and of new houses, made to the Earl-Marshal, at a time when the authorities were insanely jealous of allowing new buildings, is the following. 1637: 'Globe Alley, Sir Mathew Brand, Knight, of Moulsey, owner.' In a previous return, 1634, a *rough* minute runs thus:—

Play-house & house, S^r^ Mathew Brend's inheritance.

'The Globe playhouse nere Maid lane built by the company of players, with the dwelling house thereto adjoyninge, built w^t^ timber, aboute 20 yeares past, upon an old foundation, worth 14^li^ to 20^li^ per ann., and one house there adjoyning built about the same tyme with timber, in the possession of Wm Millet, gent., worth per ann. 4^li^.' The return corrected is,

10^li^.

'The Globe playhouse nere Maide lane built by the Company of Players with timber about 20 yeares past uppon an old foundacion, worth 20^li^ per ann., beinge the inheritance of S^r^ Mathew Brand, Kn^t^.'

[1] Strype's *Stow*.

[2] Shewn in a plan of sewers of about one hundred and twenty years ago.—*Gwilt's*

[3] Those let in separate rooms or tenements.

Malone says, *Inquiry*, p. 86, 'The Globe probably derived its name from Globe Alley.' I observe upon this, that the Globe was built in 1599, and Globe Alley was not known until ten or twelve years after; the reverse is then no doubt the case, the alley was called after the theatre. In the yearly token[1] books, a list is shewn of almost every street, alley, or place in the parish. About 1614, the place for the first time appears as Globe Alley; before that, it was Brand's Rents; 1600, Mr Brande's Rents; and to 1610 it is still Brande's Rents, and not Globe Alley; but in 1614, it is Globe Alley, Brand's Rents now Bodlie's. 1620, Globe Alley, Brand's Rents now Bodlye's. Some of the token-books are missing, so I cannot supply the precise date of the change. There is a tradition of a Globe Inn here before these dates: but although the vestry papers have frequent notices of inns, I find no Globe among them. Lately Mr Furnivall and I were allowed to see certain old deeds at Barclay's brewery in Park Street. No doubt the brewery has the site and its connections all under cover, but time and money for searches are not without limit. The present Park Street was Deadman's Place; New Park Street was Maid Lane. It is in fact not disputed that Globe Alley and the site of the theatre are now comprised within the brewery. In a deed, Sir Mathew Brand to Memprise, 1626, certain messuages are thus bounded: — 'by the king's highway, called Deadmans Place on the east; by the brook or common sewer dividing the land from the Park of the Lord Bishop of Winchester on the south; by Lombard Garden on the west; *and by the alley or way leading to the Gloabe Playhouse, commonly called Gloabe Alley, on the north.*' Again, Wadsworth to Ralph Thrale, 1732, messuages are conveyed 'fronting a certain alley or passage called *Globe Alley, in antient times leading from Deadman's Place to the Globe Playhouse.*' The token-book, 1621, brings the matter, as I think, closer home; the entries run thus:—

'Sir John Bodly's rents,' then follow some ten names of persons having tokens; after this,

'Gloab Alley,' (in later ink, amending the entry as it were; and after this,)

'Thomas Spurling, et ux,'

'William Frain, et ux.'

'Gloabe.'

[1] People seem, as it were, forced to church; their names and residences were taken down, and tokens were supplied to each, which involved a contribution and taking the Sacrament. These rough books, of which there are many, are in the possession of the St Saviour's vestry.

That is, the word 'Gloabe,' in the right margin. After that twenty-six names, to Thomas Wadsworth; then fifty-one names; and after that, 'Mayd Lane,' &c.

These entries in the token-book, I take it, point out the spot of the Globe Play-house. In all the token-books, I think without exception, the name of any court or alley is placed on the left, and the word alley or court with it, except when placed in the body of the writing, followed by the names of the token-holders in column. The word 'Gloabe,' and not Globe Theatre or Play-house, standing alone, is, as Malone says, 'the universal language of the time.' Estimating the site as closely as I may, and noting first that the play-house is to be got at by going west from Deadman's Place along the alley or way called Globe Alley; and next that the name 'Gloabe' in the margin comes after some twelve residents, I should fix the site of Shakspere's theatre at or close to the open space shewn in Rocque's map, south of the meeting-house, about eighty or one hundred feet along the alley on the right hand side. The meeting-house[1] may be seen in the map, 'Meeting-house Yard,' 'Meeting-house Alley,' opening to Maid Lane on the north, to Globe Alley on the south. Wilson, *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*,[2] says, 'The Meeting-house was situated in Globe Alley,' and 'in former days there stood here a theatre, called the Globe.' Wilkinson (*Londina*) says, 'Upon the disuse of this theatre (the Globe) its site was covered by a meeting-house, occupying a space of two thousand square feet; it was capacious, built of wood, and contained three galleries.'[3] Chalmers, in his *Apology*: 'The Globe stood on the site of John Whatney's windmill, now used for grinding colours.' Mr Howe, late a surveyor, of St Saviour's, of antiquarian repute, believed the site to be close at hand, and he had thought the matter well out. An old friend of mine, Mr Rider, an inhabitant of the locality from a boy, holds to the same: 'The site marked "Meeting-house,"' he says, 'is the site or very nearly so, of the Globe Theatre.' This, only to shew the local belief and tradition. If the fact be so, how strange that Richard Baxter should have found a sort of 'Saints' Rest,' on the same ground where Shakspere and others had played and written, and made England famous. So far what I have written refers to the second play-house, cart before horse fashion; but

[1] Maid Lane Meeting-house, where Richard Baxter was preacher in 1676-7.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 148.

[3] It is curious that Wilkinson in his plate of the old meeting-house and the windmill gives a plan of the play-house, not as he states in his text, where the meeting-house was, but four hundred feet west of it.

as the second Globe was built on the site of the first, we have, in settling that of the second, settled the first too.

Before passing on, let us attempt to fix, in relation one to another, the very sites of the Bankside Playhouses. They are marked in the maps which accompany this paper, and are believed to be, at least, sufficiently close approximations.

Playhouses	*Distance from the Thames in feet, N. and S.*	*From St Mary Overy's Dock, E. and W.*
Paris Garden, The Swan,—the olde playhouse of the Paris Garden Map.	425.	1625.
The Rose, Rose Alley.	260 to 280.	1225.
Hope, "commonly called the Bear Garden."	375.	1330.
The Globe, in the E. and W. Globe Alley.	450, from Horse Shoe Alley Stairs. 400, from Bank End Stairs.	900.

Howe, *Continuation of Stow's Annals*, writes under the year 1613, 'The playhouse or Theatre called the Globe, upon the Bankside, burnt The House was filled with people to behold the play of *Henry VIII.* Next spring the House new builded in fairer manner than before.' 'It was a great marvaile and fair grace of God that the people had so little harm, having but two narrow doors to get out.'[1] 'New builded in fairer manner than before,' says the chronicler. So Shirley,[2] improving on the idea:—

> 'As gold is better that's in fyer try'd,
> So is the Bankside Globe that late was burn'd;
> For where before it had a thatched hide,
> Now to a stately Theatre tis turn'd.'

Some few words, then, about the play-house with the thatched hide—how and when it came to Maid Lane. And for most of this I am indebted to Mr Halliwell. The Globe was constructed of the materials of Burbage's older Theatre, at Shoreditch, which the landlord, seeing the abuses springing from it, intended to take down and use for some better purpose; but the lessees, Burbage and others, taking time by the forelock, conveyed the materials to the Bankside. There was an action at law against the Burbages, Peter Streat, and others, for conveying away this wood and timber unto the Bankside, in the parish of St Mary Overy, and there erecting a new play-house. This was in 1598-9. The sons of James Burbage state in 1633 that their father was the first

[1] Collier, citing Winwood's *Memorials*,—a hint for the present day.
[2] Prologue of the *Doubtful Heir*.

builder of play-houses[1];—and Burbage was himself, in his younger years, a player;—further, that he built the Globe upon leased ground, that is, upon ground leased from Sir Mathew Brand. This older play-house was in use both winter and summer. It must have been a sad place to get at in the winter, surrounded as it was by dykes or sewers; the Horse Shoe Alley and Bank End Stairs were, however, close at hand, and there were many small, convenient bridges. (See p. 134.) We may form a tolerably clear notion of the first Globe in reading the contract between Henslow and Allen, and Peter Street the carpenter, 1599, 1600, for the building of the Fortune Theatre. This play-house was to be very much on the model of the Globe, 'the late erected play-house on the Bank in the parish of St Saviour's,' and particulars are given[2] of a house eighty feet every way without, and fifty feet within; the frame to be three stories in height. It is several times repeated in the contract that the building is to be like the said play-house called the Globe. James I's well known license, writ, or patent of the year 1603 is extant, and authorises Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakspere, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Heminges, Henry Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowlye,[3] and others 'to play comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morall, pastoralles, stage plaies, and such like, at their usual house, the Globe, and elsewhere.' The original partnership or company, builders and owners of the Globe, which was built with borrowed money, seems to have been 'wee ourselves,' that is the Burbages. Soon, however, the property was divided into sixteen parts, between the Burbages, who had eight, and Mrs Condell and Mr Heminges who had eight. In public documents, and in the parish papers, the owners or sharers of the later Playhouse are known as the Company of Players, who are also named as the builders.

Decline and Fall of the Playhouses, Southwark.

Many of the amusements of the Tudor and Stuart times were, as we have seen, brutal enough, and the plays were in the main not refined,

[1] There must be some doubt about this, or there must be a non-natural meaning to the word 'play-house.'

[2] See J. O. Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 81, where he cites Malone, *Historical account of the English Stage*, 1790, pp. 325—329.

[3] Most of the above names are to be found in the parish books. I have seen entries of the names of most of them, and my friend Mr Phillipps tells me he has noted about sixteen names of Shaksperean players.

—'no bawdry nor no ballads, this goes hard,' says Shirley. The players, encouraged then as now by the coarser part of the audience, went sometimes to the end of their tether,—and beyond. They are the servants of the public, the demand creates the supply, and so on in the way of the circle. 'One nyght at the Queens Court ther was a play afor Her Grace, the wyche the plaers plad shuche matter that they whar commandyd to leyff off.'[1] The consequent draw of the worst people to the Bankside, and its resulting state, compel attention, or at least, notice. In 1587 the inhabitants of Southwark complain to the Privy Council, of the plays performed, especially in the Liberty of the Clink. The complaining action of the Vestry in 1596 as to the Bear Garden, and in 1598 as to the play-houses, has been already referred to. The Lords of the Council in 1601 censure the magistrates concerned. 'It is a vain thing,' they say, 'for us to take knowledge of great abuses, and to give orders for redress, if our directions find no better execution than it seemeth to do.' But to me it 'seemeth' that the Lords of the Council are expressing only an *open* indignation. There was however a saving salt, not only among people of mark and character who lived in the thick of the evil, but also in the noble character of the plays performed, chiefly at the Globe. Knowing the tastes of that time, we are less surprised that there should be some coarseness in the best of the plays, than at the wonderful passages and sustained flow of moral greatness so evident in those of the higher writers, Shakspere at their head. As a rule they hold up to odium the meaner vices, such as avarice, cowardice, cant, and cruelty; and no nobler expositions upon certain of the commandments have ever been made than in some of those great plays. When it came to the Order of Council in 1600 for restrainte,[2] two play-houses were selected and allowed about the City; the Globe on the Bankside, to correspond with the Fortune, 'now in hand' near Golden Lane. The selection was no doubt a compromise with the vested interests—the Burbadges and the Players, of the Globe; and Henslowe and Alleyn, the Bear Masters, of the Fortune. These orders had but little real effect. The Lords of the Council seem to have had remarkably little influence; the attempts they made to persuade the magistrates even to limit the houses to the two appointed, were all but fruitless. Local authorities were also very big in words, but their doings mostly

[1] *Machyn Diary*, Camden Society, p. 221.

[2] Halliwell's *Illustrations*, p. 107, and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1631—1633, p. 220.

ended there. Times however were rapidly changing. In 1642 came orders for suppression; followed by the severe and unmistakeable action of 1647, when, by orders of two Justices of the Peace, the stage, galleries, and boxes of a theatre might be pulled down, players might be whipped, and spectators fined five shillings.[1] The players suffered in good company, as Christmas, Easter, and other festivals, together with the Prayer-book, were ordered to be abolished. But while all these play-houses were in their glory, what a busy place the Bankside must have been, and how it must have drawn the best as well as the worst over the water!

In 1613, as Taylor the water-poet says (and this is a lively comment upon the orders in restrainte and in moderation), the players begin to play on the Bankside, and the concourse of people was so great that the small number of watermen could not carry them. With the pardonable fancy of a poet, Taylor talks of 40,000 watermen—

'Who labour at the oar and skull,'

between Windsor and Gravesend, half at least owing to the players of the Bankside Play-houses,—the Globe, the Rose and the Swan.—Now, 1630, he proceeds to say, the players have left, and the watermen decay. It appears that Taylor represented the players in a suit, the object of which was to keep the amusements to the Bankside. The suit was lost, and the watermen accuse him of selling them, so to say, at a supper with the players at the Cardinal's Hat on the Bankside—'Vipers, ignorant knaves, unthankful villaines,' he wrathfully exclaims.[2]

A few words, before ending, on the social condition of the neighbourhood, in so far as the trades practised there, shew it. In the list of baptisms of one year, 1604, the occupations of the parents are named as follows :—

[1] By 1664, the bull and bear-baiting had been revived. On Sept. 29, the Earl of Manchester writes to the Lord Mayor, that he 'had been informed by the master of the games of Bears and Bulls, that the Butchers' Company caused offal of Eastcheap and Newgate markets to be placed in two barrow-houses near the river side for feeding bears. The custom had been interrupted since the bears were killed. The game being now removed to the usual place at the Bankside by order of Council, the master and wardens of the Butchers' Company are to convey the offal for the bears as formerly.'—*Remembrancia*, 1878.

[2] *Taylor's works*, ed. 1630. On the title-page of this edition is a picture of a Thames boat. His works testify to his friendship with players, puritans, publicans, and sinners; with, at the same time, an outspoken scorn of wrongs and shams, real or apparent.

Bailey's man, 1	Glover, 4	Scrivener, 2
Baker, 4	Goldsmith, 1	Schoolmaster, 1
Barber-surgeon, 1	Grinder of stones, 1	Seafaring man, with bonds (?)
Basket-maker, 3	Grocer, 2	
Bellows-maker, 1	Haberdasher 1,	Servingman, 1
Brewer, 2	Hat trimmer, 1	Shoemaker 6,
Brewer's servant, 5	Innkeeper 1,	Silk-thrower, 1
Bricklayer, 2	Ironmonger, 2	Silk-weaver, 2
Butcher, 8	Joyner, 3	Smith, 3
Carpenter, 2	Keeper of the Clink, 1	Sopeboiler, 1
Chandler, 3	Laborer, 2	Tanner, 1
Clockmaker, 1	Leather dresser, 1	Tapeweaver (?)
Clothworker, 2	Lighterman, 2	Taylor, 2
Cooper, 1	Linendraper, 1	Thriddyer, 1
Cutler, 1	Nailor, 1	Victualler, 3
Dyer, 3	Needle-maker, 1	Vintner, 2
Feltmaker, 1	Pewterer 1,	*Watermen*, 70
Fisherman, 1	Player, 1	Weaver, 1
Fruiterer, 1	Porter, 7	Wheelwright, 1
Fustian-weaver, 2	Potter, 3	Yeoman, 1
Gentleman, 2	Sadler, 1	
Glassblower (?)	Sawyer, 3	

elsewhere are noted Poynt-makers, Doublet-makers, Dyers' body-maker, Oar-maker, a Jacksmith, a Saltpeter-man, &c.

One month's christenings another year, shews 8 watermen out of a total of 31.

It must be recollected that only one bridge crossed the river, and that it was narrow and covered with houses; that the public ways were nearly unfit for carriages,[1] and that the use of riding horses involved their standing outside, say for two hours or so, under the charge of care-takers.[2] So the watermen must have had it nearly all their own way. (The fares of 1599[3] in the money of the time were, to Paris Garden across the river, 1*d.*; from Pepper Alley, St Mary Overies, St Oliffe's, and other somewhat distant places, 2*d.* with the tide, 6*d.* against.) The landing places or stairs were all along the Bankside within hail of one another.

[1] A carriage is shewn in Visscher's map, 1616, near to Pepper Alley.

[2] Hence the story of Shakspere's first occupation as a care-taker of horses during the performance, outside the theatre, has at least this foundation, that there was an occupation of the kind.

[3] *Broadsides*, Soc. Antiq., No 49.

At least twenty landing places appear in the maps, from Pepper Alley Stairs by London Bridge, to Bank End, Horse Shoe Alley, and to the Holy Ghost and Falcon Stairs at the western end of the Bank. The absence of the names of players in the above list of occupations, does not imply the absence of the players themselves from the district. Many of these men followed, at least in name, some trade. There were certain disabilities[1] which the players avoided by being recognised as servants of persons of distinction, such as the Queen or the Lord Chamberlain; or by the practice of some handicraft, real or assumed. In the death registers and token-books of St Saviour's, there is no dearth of well-known names of writers and actors.[2] After a most careful, perhaps not an exhaustive, search, although I find this abundance of names in the token-books, I have not seen that of William Shakspere among them. True, many of these books of the most likely time, 1596 to 1608, have disappeared, or fragments of them alone remain,—else so particular are these lists of persons taking the sacrament, omitting no one as it seems, being indeed a list of house to house visitation—that the great man's name must surely have appeared in some of them, and I have no doubt it did. It is most unfortunate that the name should have appeared in forged lists and documents, and have so unaccountably disappeared from the real. Early Shaksperean writers seem to have known or surmised that our poet and actor lived near to the Bear Garden. The St Saviour's papers are many, and may yet tell the secret;—they deserve and will well repay perhaps a year's examination. In the registers the family name appears; Dec. 31, 1607, Edmond Shakespeare, the brother, 'a player,' is buried[3] in the church, with a forenoone knell of the great bell, xx^{s}.—not the burial of a vagabond.

Augustine Phillips appears as a resident in Horse-Shoe Court near the Globe, near the play-house in Paris Garden, in the Close[4] in

[1] Hence the sneer so late as *Junius*, against the friend of Samuel Johnson, David Garrick,—'Now mark me vagabond,—keep to your Pantomimes or be assured you shall hear of it.'—*Junius* (ed. 1814), i. 229.

[2] Mr Phillipps, Mr Furnivall, and I have seen at least thirty, some, many times repeated; among them some sixteen of those whose names figure in the list of Shaksperean Actors in the first edition of the plays.

[3] A rate of charges put forth by the churchwardens of St Saviour's in 1613 is as follows: for a best inferior pall, for the Lady Bell, the Great Bell, and the Lesser Bell; also a charge for burying a corpse with or without a coffin. *Broadsheets*, Soc. Antiq.

[4] Montague Close, formerly the cloisters of St Mary Overie's Priory, at length a refuge or sanctuary for sinners and defaulters, for poor authors and players, or for any who needed a snug and safe corner.

Bradshaw's Rents, paying once or so his token money with Henslowe and Alleyn; in 1596 he is entered as a 'player of interludes.'

Magdalen, daughter of Phillips, histrionis, baptized. An Augustine Phillips, probably the father, is in the death register in 1592, and a child of the same name in 1604. William Kemp, curiously enough often in the token-books, is of Samson's Rents, of Langley's new Rents, then near the old play-house, also near the play-house. Thomas Poope or Pope, a prosperous man, as many of the players were just now, in 1598, 1600, 1602, is in Langley's new Rents near the Paris Garden Play-house. In 1617, John Lowin, John Henslowe, and William Sly, appear together, living near Copt Hall. In 1606, Philip Henslow, Edward Alleyn, and Alexander Cooke, have six sacrament tokens between them. Nicholas Tooley, a friend of Massinger in 1623, in his will forgives debts, leaves £10 for a funeral sermon, and 'hopes to be among the elect of God.' John Shancke is in Rochester Yard, and a Hathaway is here in 1605; another Hathaway is a vestryman in 1673. In 1619, Alleyn attends the funeral of Mr Benfield, who had been an actor; he was one of Alleyn's principal friends, and had been a churchwarden in 1618. Oct. 22, 1592, in the register, Allen's marriage with Joane Woodward, Henslowe's step-daughter, is recorded. Henry Condell is a sydesman of St Saviour's, and leaves in his will property in Bankside, 'messuages, houses, and places.'

Thomas Dowton, 1600: an entry in the books is of 'a supposed Thomas Dowton a player.' Wm. Eglestone and Anne Jacob, married 1602—1603. John Taylor, the water-poet, 'two plasterers at work for me at my house in Southwarke.' Joseph Taylor, the first Hamlet, in 1607 lived in Langley's[1] Rents near the play-house; 1612 in Austen's Rents: his children came fast, twins Dixsye and Joseph in 1614, Jane in 1615, Robert in 1617, and so on. He married, 2nd May, 1610, the widow Ingle, who lived on the east side of the Bull, afterwards Austen's Rents. Many Goughs are in the books, I noted in 1605 and after. Taking a few more of the players at random, I note, about 1600, before and after, William Boone, son of William a player. Elizabeth Brown, daughter of Robert a player. Elizabeth Jube, daughter of Edward a player. Ann Allen, daughter of Richard, a player. Francis Howard, daughter of Thomas, a player. Alexander Cooke, noted before, appears

[1] 1594. As to the name of Langley, prominent on the Bank. 'Francis Langley, one of the alnagers for sealing of cloth, intended to erect a new stage or theatre on the Bankside. Lord Mayor prays it may be prevented.'—*Remembrancia.*

in 1613; 'a man, buried in the church.' Many names, with the migrations of these players here and there all over the Bankside, may be read in *Collier* and in *Chalmers*. There are names that can but be just mentioned, Marlowe;[1] Beaumont and Fletcher, inseparable, living together, one housekeeper caring for both, and wearing at times even their clothes or cloak in common.[2] I find John Fletcher in the token-books, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1605, 1606, at first with two tokens, then with three, an unusual number. Beaumont's name does not appear in the token-books, in any connection with that of John Fletcher who is now living at Addison's Rents between Rose Alley and the Cardinal's Hat,—indeed, I have not seen Beaumont's name in the books at all. John Fletcher dies of the plague in 1625, and is buried in the church—the charge 21*s*. Three entries appear of his burial—'a gentleman,' 'a poet,' and 'a man.' These are from three sources: the Parochial Monthly Accounts,—The Sexton's Book, which appears to have been a quasi-private book of the officers,—and the official Register. On this occasion the plague register is dreadful, the monthly mortality runs thus: at St Saviour's, Jan., 37; Feb., 48; March, 42; April, 63; May, 100; June, 183, — 'and many more unknown.' July, 539; August, 833; many of these buried 'IN THE CHURCH.' Sept., 316; Oct., 93; Nov., 58; Dec., 34.

In the token-books, 1605, 1606, 1607, Lawrence Fletcher[3] is living in Hunt's Rents, Maid Lane, and has two tokens against his name. The entry with respect to him in the burial register is, 'Sep. 12, 1608. Lawrence fletcher, a man, in the church.' The book for 1608 is missing, but Lawrence Fletcher appears no more in any after token-book. 'Kempe, a man' without a Christian name, is buried Nov. 2, 1603.

Some other marriages may be noted. Robert Gough and Elizabeth . . . . .? Feb. 13, 1602. Thomas Pope and ffraunces Gardner, 21 Oct., 1607. Alexander Cooke and Elizabeth Whiting, 29 April, 1637. William Eglestone and Anne Jacob, 20 Feb., 1602.

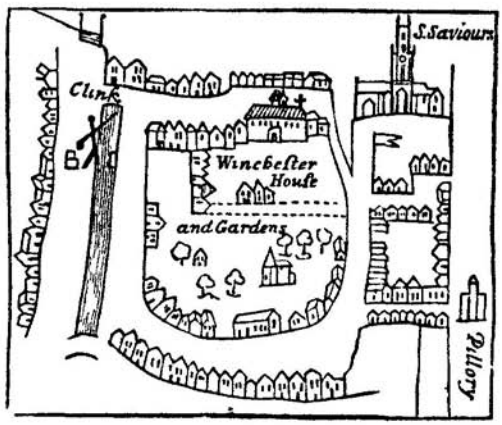
The first cut, on the next page (referred to in note 2, p. viii.), is from *the countreyman's guide to the famous cittey of London*, temp. Ch. I.,

[1] The name is common in Southwark. 1569, Elizabeth Marlow. 1573, 'A house where one Marlowe dwelleth,'—these were tenants of St Thomas's Hospital. One, Ryc Marlow, is schoolmaster at St Olaves in 1571. The widow Marlowe on the Bankside in 1598, and in the token-book 1622, Francis Marlowe et ux, in Maid Lane.

[2] *Aubrey*.

[3] Shakspere's fellow-actor, I suppose.

and shows the exact site of the cucking-stool, there no doubt from very early times. It is clearly that referred to in some MS. sewer presentments of 1640, in the Guildhall Library :—'Present the owners and occupiers of the houses and ground adjoining upon the sewar in the



parish of St Saviour running from the Cucking Stoole neere the Clinke along by the Bishop of Winchester's garden, by the house called Rochester House there' 'Sewar' in those days meant stream, &c.

This cut represents probably one of the 'Sisters of the Banck,' or a 'light Huswife of the Bankside,' in trouble. It heads a rigmarole story of St George's Fields not far from the Bankside, in Mr Halliwell's catalogue of Chap-books, &c., and so nearly resembles the locality, that I

am inclined to believe it is a picture of an actual scene at the place marked in the first cut. A moveable pillory was in use in the High Street, notwithstanding the fixed one in the cut, and I infer from it a moveable cucking-stool in the same cut: an illustration to a broad sheet allows considerable latitude. I ought to say that the cut is reversed, the officer is to the east in the original, here to the west.

COMMENTARY UPON THE MAPS PUBLISHED WITH THIS PAPER.

As 'the Mapp of the Mannor of Old Paris Garden' is referred to and explained in the text, a very few more words will suffice.

The plots of tenements by the river have all of them the names of owners or occupiers; many of these are very indistinct, both in the parchment copy now at the Guildhall Library, and in that inspected at the office of Mr Meymott, the steward of the Manor. The plots, and indeed all the features of the map, are faithfully rendered, but only a few names are given. These plots imply the 'Rents,' which are in all the token-books at St Saviour's, and which are ever changing names with change of owners. The figures 1, 2, 3 are intended to indicate possible sites of Holland's Leaguer, that at No. 1 being the most probable. The general idea is that the Leaguer was at the Manor House; the spot is certainly nearly surrounded by water, *as in the received* picture of the place, but that was a common feature of the lands here south of the Thames. In the parish books Mr Leake the Brewer is mentioned as occupying the Manor House at the time of the existence of Holland's Leaguer. It was evidently, therefore, not the Manor House. No. 4 shows the site of the cross in the highway, which is well shown in Agas. The Falcon, not shown in the Manor Map, is placed in our copy to show more clearly the relative positions of this noted place of resort and the play-houses. The river is N, the Prince's Meadows W, and so on. The western and eastern plans of the Bankside require more comment. Rocque's plans[1] have furnished the basis of the two we give,

[1] The title of the Rocque in the Guildhall Library is—'Plan of actual survey taken by John Rocque, Land-Surveyor, and engraved by John Pine, Bluemantle Pursuivant-at-arms, and chief engraver of Seals, &c., to His Majesty; begun in Marcn, 1737, and

which represent the Bankside and its neighbourhood in 1746—51, with suggested sites of the old theatres. The junction of the two maps exactly at No. 2, site of the Rose, being at the junction of separate plates of Rocque's Map, is unfortunately somewhat confused. 'Rose Alley' is indeed not mentioned, the word 'Bear Garden' being placed by Rocque at the Rose Alley site. The authorities for the correction are Horwood, 1799, the official map of the Clink Liberty, 1827, and the Ordnance Map, 1875. BEAR GARDEN and ROSE ALLEY are no doubt correctly placed in our western plan. Boddy's Bridge is outside the plan near the western boundary of the Manor Map, in the direction of the arrow. It is noted only to indicate the fact that there were many bridges, and of course streams. Some five or six bridges are shown in Agas, the Paris Garden Bridge being clearly indicated at the fence by the cross. The 'Old Play-house' shown in the Manor Map would in this plan be immediately west of the word 'Walk' in 'The Green Walk.' Rocque's Gravel Lane is really Holland Street, and is so named. Holland's Leaguer of Rocque is sufficiently noticed. The Green Walk is almost exactly Blackfriars Road. Lady Clark's Yard implies the Lady Clark, the mother of Mr Austin of the Manor Map. The Falcon Inn and Stairs will serve to bring into relation the Manor Map and this one. Love Lane, Pye Garden, Unicorn Yard, Cardinal Cap Alley, imply the Stewes Bank. My arrows mean that the Stewes Bank extends east and west. The courts and alleys only are shown in Rocque; the names are adopted from the official map of the Clink, from Horwood, and from the Ordnance Map. Deeds at Barclay's Brewery mention a 'Draper's Bridge leading to the Stewes Bank.' No. 1 in a circle is meant as the nearest approximation to the site of the Bear Garden; the precise site is an inference from good and various data. No. 2 is taken to be the site of the Rose; the data are sufficiently discussed in the text. The plan of the Rose estate in the vestry of St. Mildred's Church in London marks the estate exactly, but not the precise site of the Rose Play-house. The estate consisted of three roods, and was all *east* of Rose Alley.

The eastern plan of the Bankside is in like manner almost entirely from Rocque, but necessarily adapted for the purposes of this paper. Horse-shoe Alley is shown as the way to the Globe; words with arrows pointing the way are introduced here, and in like manner in the way

published in October, 1746, by John Pine at the Golden Head against Burlington House, Piccadilly, and John Tinney at the Golden Lion, Fleet Street.' The other, 1751, is in the King's Library, British Museum.

leading from Bank End Stairs through Deadman's Place to the Globe. The circle cutting the white square points out the actual site of the Globe and of the Meeting House, which are sufficiently explained in the text. It will be observed that at pp. xviii. and xix. but 12 names are noted, and then the Globe,—after that 77 names. This taken alone would imply that the Globe should be placed considerably nearer to Deadman's Place. But taking into consideration the absolute uncertainty as to the space each token-holder might be supposed to take up, and the other and traditionary evidence, I am inclined to think the site is placed rightly where the circle is. Of course in the absence of definite proof it may be open to some *slight* question. The double dotted lines nearly surrounding the Globe show the position of streams or sewers and the swampy state of the district. An old enlarged plan prepared by Mr George Gwilt, Surveyor of St Saviour's Parish, from 18th century data, is the authority for introducing the streams here. The word 'Workhouse' is in Rocque; the structure was built here by order of Vestry, 1728, and is noted chiefly as a starting-point for further inquiry as to deeds not yet seen, which may perhaps show something more about the Globe. By an act, 26 Geo. 3, the passage through Globe Alley was to be henceforward 'discontinued.' By another act, 52 Geo. 3, it is further enacted that the commissioners (under the act) may stop up the said alley from Park Street so far as the premises of Barclay and Perkins extend, and that they may take down the buildings. The stream in the rear of the block east of Deadman's Place (in Rocque) is no doubt the stream where the cucking-stool was placed, which led up to the Clink Prison, and was probably between 'Clink Yard' and Deadman's Place. Winchester Yard and Rochester Yard were the sites of the residences of the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester. Alleyn's Alms-houses were at the 'Soap Yard;' and Cure's 'Alms-houses,' north of College Yard, were known then as Cure's College. The site of the Grammar School which Queen Elizabeth and some liberal men of the parish founded in 1562, is shown south of St Saviour's Church. Montague Close may be remarked as a sort of sanctuary, not as a consequence of the Gunpowder Plot letter to Lord Montacute, but because it was a privileged part of the precincts of the Priory of St Mary Overy, as was usual in like places, from early times. Boar's Head Court, site of the inn east of the Borough, once belonged to Sir John Fastolf, whose fame is so tarnished by Cade's people in Shakspere's play and in the Paston Letters.

The calculations at page xx. as to the precise sites of the play-houses

cannot of course be taken to a foot, they were settled approximately on old maps, and the actual calculations were made from the Ordnance maps, independently of that map on which the play-houses are specially figured. A small colony of the Stew character is shown by Rocque near Counter Lane, and he calls it by its plain name.

[1]A Description of England,

a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people of England

and such commodities as are to be found in the same.

comprehended in two[2] bookes, and

written by W. H.

[THAT IS,

WILLIAM HARRISON, B.D, CAMB.,

RECTOR OF RADWINTER, CANON OF WINDSOR.

PART II.

THE 2ND EDITION OF 1587, COLLATED WITH THE 1ST EDITION OF 1577, AS PREFIXT TO HOLINSHED'S *CHRONICLE*.]

[1]—[1] 'An Historicall description of the Iland of Britaine, with '—Heading of the whole Treatise, with Book I. ed. 1587.

[2] three.—*ib.*

The contents of the third booke.

Of cattell kept for profit.

Chap. 1.[1]

THere is no kind of tame cattell vſually to be ſeene in theſe parts of the world, wherof we haue not ſome, and that great ſtore in England; as horſſes, oxen, ſheepe, goats, ſwine, and far ſurmounting the like in other countries, as may be prooued with eaſe. For where are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horſſes more decent and pleaſant in paſe, [kine more commodious for the pale,] ſheepe more profitable for wooll, ſwine more wholeſome of fleſh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with vs in England? But to ſpeke of them peculiarlie, I ſuppoſe that [our kine are ſo abundant in yeeld of milke, wherof we make our butter & cheeſe, as the like anie where elſe, and ſo apt for the plough in diuerſe places as either our horſſes or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they ſeeme to come ſhort of that commoditie which is looked for [1]in

We've plenty of all kinds of tame cattle

Our cows yield milk and

draw the plough,

but seldom bear twins

[1] p 220]

[1] Chap. 8, Book 3, 1577 ed.

other countries, to wit, in that they bring foorth moſt commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines alſo gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath beene valued at twentie ſhillings yearelie: but now as land is inhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground ariſe to be yet deerer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleaſure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwikſhire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studleie, which in ſix yeeres had ſixteene calfes, that is, foure at once in three caluings and twiſe twins, which vnto manie may ſeeme a thing incredible. In like maner] our oxen are ſuch as the like are not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatneſſe of bodie and ſweetneſſe of fleſh: or elſe would not the Romane writers haue preferred them before thoſe of Liguria. [In moſt places our graſiers are now growen to be ſo cunning, that if they doo but ſee an ox or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will giue a gheſſe at his weight, and how manie ſcore or ſtone of fleſh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may liue by the ſale, and what he may haue for the ſkin and tallow; which is a point of ſkill not commonlie practiſed heretofore. Some ſuch graſiers alſo are reported to ride with veluet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their abſence their wiues will not let to ſupplie thoſe turnes with no leſſe ſkill than their huſbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, ſith he through this means can ſeldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like ſort the fleſh of our oxen and kine is ſold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in yoong ware rather by weight, eſpeciallie for the ſteere and heighfer, ſith the finer beefe is the lighteſt, wheras the fleſh of buls and old kine, &c, is of ſadder ſubſtance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the ſcale.] Their hornes alſo are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, [except thoſe which are to be ſeene

The yearly profit of a cow was 20s. but is now much less.

A Studleigh cow had 16 calves in 6 years.

Oxen.

Ours are the best in Europe.

Graziers can now tell a beast's weight by his look.

Graziers with gold chains and clever wives.

Young beef is sold by weight.

Oxen's horns.

among the Pæones], which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our breed generallie by nature, yet it is [1]now and then[1] helped [alſo] by art. For when they be verie yoong, manie grafiers will oftentimes annoint their budding hornes, or [tender] tips[2] with honie, which mollifieth the naturall hardneſſe of that ſubſtance, and thereby maketh them[3] to grow vnto a notable greatneſſe. Certes, it is not ſtrange in England, to ſee oxen whoſe hornes haue the length of a yard or three foot betweene the tips, and they themſelues thereto ſo tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent ſtature is ſcarſe equall[4] vnto them. [Neuertheleſſe it is much to be lamented that our generall breed of cattell is not better looked vnto: for the greateſt occupiers weane leaſt ſtore, bicauſe they can buie them (as they ſaie) far better cheape than to raiſe and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath riſen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithſtanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring foorth more than one calfe a peece, as I heare they doo in other countries.]

[*Athenæus, lib.* 10, *cap.* 8.]

Oxen's long horns, a yard between the tips.

Cows have doubled in price in my time 26*s* 8*d.* to 53*s.* 4*d* (A noble, 6*s.* 8*d.*)

Horſes.

Our horſſes moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of ſuch huge greatneſſe as in other places of the maine, yet if you reſpect the eaſineſſe of their paſe, it is hard to ſaie where their like are to be had. Our land dooth yeeld no aſſes, [and therefore we want the generation alſo of mules and ſomers;] and therefore the moſt part of our cariage is made by theſe, which remaining ſtoned, are either reſerued for the cart, or appointed to beare ſuch burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart [or plough] horſſes[5] [(for we vſe them indifferentlie)] are commonlie ſo ſtrong that fiue [or fix] of them [(at the moſt)] will draw three thouſand weight of the greateſt tale with eaſe for a long iourneie, [although it be not a load of common vſage, which conſiſteth onelie of two thouſand, or fiftie foot of

Ours smallish, but easy-paced.

We breed no asses or mules.

5 or 6 carthorses 'll draw 1½ tons (? 30 cwt.).

[1]—[1] oft [2] typpes of hornes [3] it [4] comparable [5] horsses therefore

timber, fortie buſhels of white ſalt, or ſix and thirtie of baie, or fiue quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I haue elſewhere remembred.] Such as are kept alſo for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes[1] and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, wherby it commeth to paſſe, that when the queenes maieſtie dooth remooue from anie one place to another, there are vſuallie 400 carewares, [which amount to the ſumme of 2400 horſſes,] appointed out of the countries adioining, whereby hir cariage is conueied ſafelie vnto the appointed place. [2]Hereby[2] alſo the ancient vſe of ſomers and ſumpter horſſes is in maner vtterlie relinquiſhed, [which cauſeth the traines of our princes in their progreſſes to ſhew far leſſe than thoſe of the kings of other nations.]

A packhorse ’ll carry 4 cwt

Princes’ and nobles luggage goes in carts.

the Queen’s in 400 six horse traps

Geldings are for the saddle.

Such as ſerue for the ſaddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie deere among vs, eſpeciallie if they be well coloured, iuſtlie limmed, and haue thereto an eaſie ambling paſe. For our countriemen, ſeeking their eaſe in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in theſe qualities, but chieflie in their excellent paſes, which beſides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horſſes of our ſoile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner ſitting on their backes, it is moreouer verie pleaſant and delectable in his eares, in that the noiſe of their well proportioned paſe dooth yeeld comfortable ſound [as he trauelleth by the waie.] Yet is there no greater deceipt vſed anie where than among our horſſekeepers, hoſſecorſers, and hoſtelers, for ſuch is the ſubtill knauerie of a great ſort of them (without exception of anie [of them] be it ſpoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honeſt meaning man ſhall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by ſome falſe tricke or other. [There are certeine notable

The patter of an ambler’s hoofs is pleasant.

Horse-keepers are the biggest rogues alive.

[1] Princesse [2—2] & hereby

markets, wherein great plentie of horſſes and colts is bought and ſold, and wherevnto ſuch as haue need reſort yearelie to buie and make their neceſſarie prouiſion of them, as Rippon, Newport pond, Wolfpit, Harborow, and diuerſe other. But as moſt drouers are verie diligent to bring great ſtore of theſe vnto thoſe places; ſo manie of them are too too lewd in abuſing ſuch as buie them. For they haue a cuſtome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iourneie of the market, to driue them till they ſweat, & for the ſpace of eight or twelue houres, which being doone they turne them all ouer the backs into ſome water, where they ſtand for a ſeaſon, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make ſale of their infected ware, and ſuch as by this meanes doo fall into manie diſeaſes and maladies. Of ſuch outlandiſh horſſes as are dailie brought ouer vnto vs I ſpeake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courſer of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemiſh roile, and Scotiſh nag, bicauſe that further ſpeech of them commeth not within the compaſſe of this treatiſe, and for whoſe breed and maintenance (eſpeciallie of the greateſt ſort) king Henrie the eight erected a noble ſtudderie and for a time had verie good ſucceſſe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of baſtard races, whereby his good purpoſe came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the beſt horſſes in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compaſſe of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherin the king of that nation had vſuallie a ſtudderie of 30000 mares and 300 ſtallions, as *Strabo* dooth remember *Lib.* 16. But to leaue this, let vs ſee what may be ſaid of ſheepe.]

Horse-fairs at Ripon, &c.

Horse-dealers' tricks.

Foreign horses imported.

Henry VIII's noble stud farm.

Sir N. Arnold the best breeder, and writer on breeding.

Our ſheepe are verie excellent, fith for ſweetneſſe of flеſh they paſſe all other. And ſo much are our woolles to be preferred before thoſe of [Mileſia and] other places, that if Iaſon had knowne the value of them

Sheepe.

[1 p. 221]

Jason should have come to Britain, not Colchos.

that are bred, and to be had in Britaine,[1] he would neuer haue gone to Colchis, to looke for anie there. [For as *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* ſaith in his *De ſitu orbis*, it may by ſpinning be made comparable to the ſpiders web.] What fooles then are our countrimen, in that they ſeeke to bereue themſelues of this commoditie, by practiſing dailie how to tranſſer the ſame to other nations, in carieng ouer their rams & ewes to breed &[2] increaſe among them! [The firſt example hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth, who not vnderſtanding the botome of the ſute of ſundrie traitorous merchants, that ſought a preſent gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few ſhipped verie manie: a thing commonlie practiſed in other commodities alſo, whereby the prince and hir land are not ſeldome times defrauded.]

What fools our exporters of sheep are!

How blind we are!

But ſuch is our nature, and ſo blind are we in deed, that we ſee no inconuenience before we feele it: and for a preſent gaine we regard not what damage may inſue to our poſteritie. Hereto ſome other man would ad alſo the deſire that we haue to benefit other countries, and to impech our owne. And it is ſo ſure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the ſea, though it be not woorth three pence, is more eſteemed than a continuall commoditie at home [with vs,] which far exceedeth that value. [In time paſt the vſe of this commoditie conſiſted (for the moſt part) in cloth and woolſteds: but now by meanes of ſtrangers ſuccoured here from domeſticall perſecution, the ſame hath beene imploied vnto ſundrie other vſes, as mockados, baies, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the makers haue reaped no ſmall commoditie.] It is furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithſtanding the ſharpeneſſe of our lawes to the contrarie) dooth yet

We value two-penny foreign trifles beyond home goods.

New woollen manufactures brought in by immigrated foreign workmen.

[1] Englande [2] an *for* and

confirme it: that although our rams & weathers doo go thither from vs neuer ſo well headed according to their kind: yet after they haue remained there a while, they caſt there their heads,[1] and from thencefoorth [they] remaine polled without any hornes at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cheriſhed in England, than ſtandeth[2] well with the commoditie of the commons, or proſperitie of diuerſe townes, whereof ſome are wholie conuerted to their feeding: yet ſuch a profitable ſweetneſſe is[3] their fleece, ſuch neceſſitie in their fleſh, and ſo great a benefit in the manuring of barren ſoile with their doong and piſſe, that their ſuperfluous numbers are the better borne withall. And there is neuer an huſbandman (for now I ſpeake not of our great ſheepe-maſters [of whom ſome one man hath 20000]) but hath more or leſſe of this cattell feeding on his fallowes [and ſhort grounds, which yeeld the finer fleece, as *Virgil* (following *Varro*) well eſpied *Georg.* 3. where he ſaith:

Sheepe without hornes.

Our hornd sheep lose their horns abroad.

But sheep are liked too well here for commons, &c.

Si tibi lanicium curæ, primùm aſpera ſylua,
Lappæque tribulíque abſint, fuge pabula lætæ.

Neuertheleſſe the ſheepe of our countrie are often troubled with the rot (as are our ſwine with the meaſels though neuer ſo generallie) and manie men are now and then great loſers by the ſame: but after the calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and keepe their new ſtocks ſound for ſeauen yeares togither, the former loſſe will eaſilie be recompenſed with double commoditie. *Cardan* writeth that our waters are hurtfull to our ſheepe, howbeit this is but his coniecture: for we know that our ſheepe are infected by going to the water, and take the ſame as a ſure and certeine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their liuers and lights being alredie diſtempered through exceſſiue heat, which inforceth them the rather to ſeeke vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the maine, wherin a man ſhall generallie

Every husband man keeps some sheep.

The rot in sheep causes great loss.

I doubt the rot coming from drinking water.

[1] hornes [2] standing [3] is found in

find more fine and wholeſome water than in England; and therfore it is impoſſible that our ſheepe ſhould decaie by taſting of the ſame. Wherfore the hinderance by rot is rather to be aſcribed to the vnſeaſonablenes & moiſture of the weather in ſummer, alſo their licking in of mildewes, goſſamire, rowtie fogs, & ranke graſſe, full of ſuperfluous iuice: but ſpeciallie (I saie) to ouer moiſt wether, whereby the continuall raine pearſing into their hollow felles, ſoketh foorthwith into their fleſh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being alſo infected, their firſt ſhew of ſickeneſſe is their deſire to drinke, ſo that our waters are not vnto them *Cauſa ægritudinis*, but *Signum morbi*, what ſo euer *Cardan* doo mainteine to the contrarie.] There are (& peraduenture no ſmall babes) which [are growne to be ſo good huſbands, that they] can make account of euerie ten kine to be cleerelie woorth twentie pounds in cõmon and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fiue ſheepe be dailie added to the ſame. But as I wote not how true this ſurmiſe is, [bicauſe it is no part of my trade,] ſo I am ſure hereof, that ſome houſewiues can and doo ad dailie a leſſe proportion of ewes milke vnto [the cheeſe of] ſo manie kine, whereby their cheeſe dooth the longer abide moiſt, and eateth more brickle and mellow than otherwiſe it would.

Sheep-rot comes from exposure to wet,

and from eating rank grass.

The profit on 10 cows and 5 sheep, is 20£ a year

Ewes' milk improves cheese.

Goats.

Goats we haue plentie, [and of ſundrie colours] in the weſt parts of England; eſpeciallie in and towards Wales, and amongſt the rockie hilles; by whome the owners doo reape no ſmall aduantage: ſome alſo are cheriſhed elſewhere in diuerſe[1] ſteeds for the benefit of ſuch as are diſeaſed with ſundrie maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) [2]their milke, cheeſe, and bodies of their yoong kids are[2] iudged verie profitable, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and neere. [Certes I find among the writers, that the milke of a goat is next in eſtimation to that of the woman; for that it helpeth the

Plenty in Wales and rocky hills.

Goats' milk and cheese are good for certain diseases

[1] ſundrye [2—2] it is

ſtomach, remooueth oppilations and ſtoppings of the liuer, and looſeth the bellie. Some place alſo next vnto it the milke of the ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can ſhew no reaſon; onelie this I know, that ewes milke is fulſome, ſweet, and ſuch in taſt, as, except ſuch as are vſed vnto it, no man will gladlie yeeld to liue and feed withall.]

Ewes' milk isn't pleasant drink.

As for ſwine, there is no place that hath greater ſtore, nor more wholeſome in eating, than are theſe here in England, [1]which neuertheleſſe doo neuer anie good till they come to the table.[1] Of theſe ſome we eat greene for porke, and other dried vp into bakon to haue it of more continuance. Lard we make [ſome though verie] little, becauſe it is chargeable: neither haue we ſuch vſe thereof as is to be ſeene in [France and] other countries, ſith we doo either [bake our meat with ſweet ſuet of beefe or mutton, and] baſt all our meat with [ſweet or ſalt] butter, or ſuffer the fatteſt to baſt it ſelfe by leiſure. [In champaine countries they are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to attend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth them togither by his noiſe and crie, and leadeth them foorth to feed abroad in the fields. In ſome places alſo women doo ſcowre and wet their cloths with their doong, as other doo with hemlocks and netles: but ſuch is the ſauor of the cloths touched withall, that I cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than ſuch as are ſcowred with the reffuſe ſope, than the which (in mine opinion) there is none more vnkindlie ſauor.]

Swine.

Green pork. Bacon

Lard, we make little of.

Meat is baked with suet, or basted with butter.

Hogherd.

Hogs' dung for washing clothes.

Refuse soap

Of our [tame] bores we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not vſuallie knowne to ſtrangers (as I take it) otherwiſe would not the ſwart Rutters and French cookes, at the loſſe of Calis (where they [2]found great ſtore of this prouiſion almoſt in euerie houſe) haue attempted with ridiculous ſucceſſe to roſt, bake, broile,

Bores English brawn unknown to foreigners.

[2 p. 222]

1—1 &

& frie the ſame for their maſters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, [not long ſince,] did ſend ouer an hogſhead of brawne readie ſowſed to a catholike gentleman of France, who ſuppoſing it to be fiſh, reſerued it till[1] Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he ſo well liked of the prouiſion it ſelfe, that he wrote ouer [verie earneſtlie & with offer of great recompenſe] for more of the ſame fiſh againſt the yeare inſuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue beene fleſh, he would not haue touched it (I dare ſaie) for a thouſand crownes without the popes diſpenſation. [A freend of mine alſo dwelling ſometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Iewes at his table, did ſet brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earneſtlie, ſuppoſing it to be a kind of fiſh not common in thoſe parties: but when the goodman of the houſe brought in the head in paſtime among them, to ſhew what they had eaten, they roſe from the table, hied them home in haſt, ech of them procuring himſelfe to vomit, ſome by oile, and ſome by other meanes, till (as they ſuppoſed) they had cleanſed their ſtomachs of that prohibited food.] With vs it is accounted a great peece of ſeruice at the table, from Nouember vntill Februarie be ended; but cheeflie in the Chriſtmaſſe time. With the ſame alſo we begin our dinners ech daie after other: and becauſe it is ſomewhat hard of digeſtion, a draught of malueſeie, baſtard, or muſcadell, is vſuallie droonke after it, where either of them are[2] conuenientlie to be had: otherwiſe the meaner ſort content themſelues with their owne drinke, which at that ſeaſon is generallie[3] verie ſtrong, and ſtronger indeed than in all the yeare beſide. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, ſet vp for the purpoſe by the ſpace of a whole yere or two, eſpeciallie in gentlemens houſes (for the huſbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vſe aboue

A Frenchman thought pickled brawn was a capital kind of fish.

A friend of mine in Spain tri kt some Jews into eating brawn as fish.

Brawn the first dish at dinner always,

with a draught of malmsey after it.

[*Brawne of the bore*]

[1] untill [2] may [3] cõmonly

three or foure moneths, or halfe a yeere at the moſt), in which time he is dieted with otes and peaſon, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneaſie coat, till his fat be hardened ſufficientlie for their purpoſe: afterward he is killed, ſcalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made; the reſt is nothing ſo fat, and therefore it beareth the name of ſowſe onelie, and is commonlie reſerued for the ſeruing man and hind, [except it pleaſe the owner to haue anie part therof baked, which are then handled of cuſtome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are firſt drawne with lard, and then ſodden; being ſodden they are ſowſed in claret wine and vineger a certeine ſpace, and afterward baked in paſties, and eaten of manie in ſteed of the wild bore, and trulie it is verie good meat: the peſtles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be drawne with lard if you will, and thereby prooue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawne.] The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the ſhoulders are named ſhilds, onelie the ribs reteine the former denomination, ſo that these aforeſaid[1] peeces deſerue the name of brawne: the bowels of the beaſt are commonlie caſt awaie becauſe of their rankneſſe and ſo were likewiſe[2] his ſtones; till a fooliſh fantaſie got hold of late amongſt ſome delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dreſſe them [alſo] with great coſt for a deintie[3] diſh, and bring them to the boord as a ſeruice [among other of like ſort,] though not without note of their deſire to the prouocation of fleſhlie luſt, which by this [4]their fond curioſitie[4] is not a little reuealed.[5] When the bore is thus cut out, ech peece is wrapped vp, either with bulruſhes, ozier peeles, [6]tape, inkle,[6] or ſuch like, and then ſodden in a lead or caldron togither, till they be ſo tender that a man may thruſt a

How to fat a boar for brawn.

[*Baked hog*]

Sowse for the hinds.

How sowse or brawn pasty is made

Boars' Pestles, or legs.

Collars of brawn.

Shilds.

Boars' stones

a dainty dish for ladies,

to provoke lust.

Brawn is boild till it's tender,

[1] foure [2] also [3] delicate [4—4] one acte
[5] reuealed. But to returne againe vnto our purpose. [6—6] packthreed

bruſed ruſh or ſoft ſtraw cleane through the fat: which being doone, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to coole: afterward putting it into cloſe veſſels, they powre either good ſmall ale or beere mingled with veriuice[1] and ſalt thereto till it be couered, and ſo let it lie (now and then altering and changing the ſowſing drinke leaſt it ſhould wax ſowre) till occaſion ſerue to ſpend it out of the waie. [Some vſe to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and ſeeth them, and ſowſe the whole, as they doo that of the bore; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more eaſie of digeſtion.] But of brawne thus much; and ſo much may ſeeme ſufficient.

and then soakt in pickle of ale and verjuice.

Of wild and tame foules.

Chap. 2.[2]

Of English birds wild and tame,

ORder requireth that I ſpeake ſomewhat of the foules alſo of England, which I may eaſilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas ſuch is my ſmall ſkill in foules, that to ſay the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well diſtinguiſh one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the ſunne, which hath [alreadie] in [the] time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for ſo manie kinds as our Iland dooth bring foorth, [and much more would haue, if thoſe of the higher ſoile might be ſpared but one yeare or two from the greedie engins of couetous foulers, which ſet onlie for the pot & purſe. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Iohns daies, inſomuch that going in progreſſe about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to ſolace himſelf, or exerciſe his falcons. Wherfore being at Briſtow in the Chriſtmas inſuing, he reſtreined all

I know little.

Fowlers destroy many.

[1] vergeous [2] Chap. 8, Book 8, in 1577 ed.

maner of hawking or taking of wildfoule throughout England for a ſeaſon, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie repleniſhed againe. But what ſtand I vpon this impertinent diſcourſe? Of ſuch therefore as are bred in our land,] we haue[1] the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame ſwan, the buſtard, the herron,[2] curlew,[3] ſnite,[4] wildgooſe, [wind or] doterell, brant, larke, plouer [of both ſorts,] lapwing, teele, wigeon, mallard, ſheldrake, ſhoueler, pewet, ſeamew, barnacle, quaile [(who onelie with man are ſubiect to the falling ſickeneſſe), the notte, the oliet or olife, the dunbird,] woodcocke, partrich and feaſant, beſides diuerſe other, whoſe names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taſte of their fleſh, wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as theſe ſerue not at all ſeaſons, ſo in their ſeuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie ſhould ſeeme [5]at anie time furniſht.[5] But of all theſe the production of none is more maruellous, [in my mind,] than that of the barnacle, whoſe place of generation we haue ſought oft times ſo farre as the Orchades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the ſame neerer home, and not onelie vpon the coaſts of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I ſhould ſay how either theſe or ſome ſuch other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred [6]of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie ſerueth, and the circumſtances doo miniſter occaſion)[6] in the Thames mouth, I doo not thinke that manie will beleeue me: yet ſuch a thing [7]hath there beene[7] ſeene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a ſhort tender ſhrub ſtanding [8]neere vnto[8] the ſhore, from whence when [9]their time came,[10] they fell[11] downe, either into the ſalt water and liued,[12] or vpon the drie land and

The names and kinds of English wild birds.

Quails, like men (Othello), have epilepsy.

The wonderful breeding of the barnacle.

At Thames mouth, barnacles (birds) grew from a tree.

[9 p. 223]

[1] haue therfore [2] herron, the [3] curlew, the [4] snite, the
[5—5] to be dayly unfurnyshed [6—6] yeerely [7—7] is there to be
[8—8] uppon [10] commeth [11] fall [12] liue

periſhed,[1] as *Pena* the French herbarian hath alſo noted in the verie end of his herball. [What I for mine owne part haue ſeene here by experience, I haue alreadie ſo touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it ſhould be but time ſpent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the deſcription of Man or Manaw for more of theſe barnacles, as alſo in the eleuenth chapter of the deſcription of Scotland, & I doo not doubt but you ſhall in ſome reſpect be ſatiffied in the generation of theſe foules.] As for egrets, pawpers, and ſuch like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the ſea, as if all the foule of our countrie could not ſuffice to ſatiffie our delicate appetites.

I've myself seen sea-birds growing in shells (Part I, p. xxxii).

See more in the .11 Chapter of the description of Scotland.

Egrets, pawpers, &c., are imported.

English tame birds.

Our tame foule are ſuch (for the moſt part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, geeſe, ducks, peacocks of Inde,[2] pigeons, [now an hurtfull foule by reaſon of their multitudes, and number of houſes dailie erected for their increaſe (which the bowres of the countrie call in ſcorne almes houſes, and dens of theeues,] and ſuch like) wherof there is great plentie in euerie farmers yard. They are kept there alſo to be ſold either for readie monie in the open markets, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good companie amongſt their neighbors without reprehenſion or fines. Neither are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or ſup with a quarter of a hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt with a cocks combe, as they doo in ſome other countries: but if occaſion ſerue, the whole carcaſſes of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and ſuch like doo oft go to wracke, beſide beefe, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euerie feaſt are taken for neceſſarie diſhes amongeſt the communaltie of England.

We've too many pigeons.

We're not so poor as to dine off a cock's comb

We eat whole capons, &c., besides beef

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practiſe brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the

Capons are cocks gelt

[1] perish [2] Inde, blew Pecocks

gelding of turkies or Indiſh peacocks is a newer deuiſe: and certeinlie not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rankeneſſe of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the [ſtrong] taſte of the fleſh in ſundrie wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders grow alſo to be gelded, I ſuppoſe that Gelded Ganders,
[1]ſome will laugh me to ſcorne,[1] neither haue I taſted at anie time of ſuch a foule ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vſed in the countrie, where their geeſe are driuen to the field like heards of cattell by a driven by a goose herd.
gooſeheard, a toie alſo no leſſe to be maruelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, ſo is it ſtrange to me to ſee or heare of geeſe to be led Geese driven like sheep, in herds, by a goose herd with a paper rattle
to the field like ſheepe: yet ſo it is, & their gooſeheard carieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his[2] goſlings togither, the noiſe whereof commeth no ſooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and haſten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſee how they will peepe vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking[3] and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. [With vs where I dwell they In Essex we keep geese more for their feathers than their bodies.
are not kept in this ſort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept ſo much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke ſoiles their doong dooth ſo qualifie the batableneſſe of the ſoile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and ſundrie other diſeaſes, although ſome of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers.] I might here make mention of [other foules produced by the induſtrie of man, as betweene the feſant cocke and doonghill hen, or Cross-bred birds.
betweene the feſant and the ringdooue, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but ſith I haue no more knowledge of theſe, than what I haue gotten by mine eare, I will not meddle with them.

[1]—[1] no man will beleue me [2] the [3] crying

Yet *Cardan*, ſpeaking of the ſecond ſort, dooth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewiſe intreat of] other foules which we repute vncleane, as [rauens,] crowes, pies, choughes, rookes, [kites, iaies, ringtailes, ſtarlings, woodſpikes, woodnawes, rauens,] &c: but ſith they abound in all countries, though peraduenture moſt of all in England (by reaſon of our negligence) I ſhall not need to ſpend anie time in the rehearſall of them. Neither are [1]our crowes and choughs[1] cheriſhed of purpoſe to catch vp the woormes that breed in our ſoiles (as *Polydor* ſuppoſeth), ſith there are no vplandiſh townes but haue (or ſhould haue) nets of their owne in ſtore to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewiſe made for their vtter deſtruction, [as alſo the ſpoile of other rauenous fouls hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whoſe valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuiſe brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the deſtruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them alſo for the roote out of their wild beaſts, ſauing that they ſpared their greateſt beares, eſpeciallie the white, whoſe ſkins are by cuſtome & priuilege reſerued to couer thoſe planchers wherevpon their prieſts doo ſtand at Maſſe, leaſt he ſhould take ſome vnkind cold in ſuch a long peece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he ſhall haue pardon inough for that ſo religious an act, to laſt if he will till doomes day doo approch; and manie thouſands after.] Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that theſe [2]noiſome creatures[2] are nouriſhed amongſt vs to deuoure our wormes, which doo not abound much more in England than elſewhere in other countries of the maine. [It may be that ſome looke for a diſcourſe alſo of our other foules in this place

Carrion birds.

Crows and choughs.

We pay so much a head for killing ravenous birds and vermin [see Lambarde, *Eirenarcha*, &c., 1607, end]

Abroad they pay thus for killing bears,

whose skins are put under priests' feet

We don't keep crows to eat our worms.

[1]—[1] they [2]—[2] rauinous and noysome foules

at my hand, as nightingales, thruſhes, blackebirds, mauiſes, ruddocks, redſtarts or dunocks, larkes, tiuits, kingsfiſhers, buntings, turtles white or graie, linets, bulfinſhes, goldfinſhes, waſhtailes, cheriecrackers, yellowhamers, felfares, &c: but I ſhould then ſpend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I ſpeake of our coſtlie and curious auiaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obſeruation of their natures: but I ceaſe alſo to go anie further in theſe things, hauing (as I thinke) ſaid inough alreadie of theſe that I haue named.]

Our small singing and other birds.

Our costly aviaries [? where Shakspere saw his parrot, eagle, &c.].

Of fiſh [vſuallie] taken vpon *our coaſts.*

Cap. 3.[1]

[I Haue in my deſcription of waters, as occaſion hath ſerued, intreated of the names of ſome of the ſeuerall fiſhes which are commonlie to bee found in our riuers. "Neuertheleſſe as euerie water hath a ſundrie mixture, and therefore is not ſtored with euerie kind, ſo there is almoſt no houſe, euen of the meaneſt bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reſeruation of water vnſtored with ſome of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, eeles, or ſuch like as will liue and breed togither. Certes it is not poſſible for me to deliuer the names of all ſuch kinds of fiſhes [2]as our riuers are found to beare: yet leaſt I ſhould ſeeme iniurious to the reader, in not deliuering ſo manie of them as haue beene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to ſet them downe as they doo come to mind. Beſides the ſalmons therefore, which are hot to be taken from the middeſt of September to the middeſt of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greateſt riuers, as their yoong ſtore are not to be

[1587 insertion to p 19, foot]

Besides the fish in our rivers,

almost every house has a fishpond for tench, eels, &c.

[2 p. 224]

We've salmon (close time, 15 Sept.—15 Mar).

[1] Chap. 10, Book 3, 1577 ed.

touched from mid Aprill vnto Midſummer, we haue
Names and kinds of English fish
the trout, barbell, graile, powt, cheuin, pike, goodgeon, ſmelt, perch, menan, ſhrimpes, creuiſes, lampreies, and ſuch like, whoſe preſeruation is prouided for by v rie ſharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but alſo in plaſhes or lakes and ponds, which otherwiſe would bring ſmall profit to the owners, and doo much harme by continuall maintenance of idle perſons, who would ſpend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all theſe there are none more preiudiciall to their
Pike and Eels destroy much fish.
neighbours that dwell in the ſame water, than the pike and eele, which commonlie deuoure ſuch fiſh or fiſe and ſpawne as they may get and come by. Neuertheleſſe, the pike is freend vnto the tench, as to his leach
(If a pike's cut open, gutted,
& ſurgeon. For when the fiſhmonger hath opened his ſide and laid out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that preſent, he laieth the ſame againe into the
and then sewn up and put in a pond again,
proper place, and ſowing vp the wound, he reſtoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer ceaſe to
tenches 'll lick him till he s well.)
ſucke and licke his greeued place, till they haue reſtored him to health, and made him readie to come againe to the ſtall, when his turne ſhall come about. I might
River fish are sold by the inch.
here make report how the pike, carpe, and ſome other of our riuer fiſhes are ſold by inches of cleane fiſh, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the taiſes, but it is
Different names of the Pike:
needleſſe: alſo how the pike as he ageth, receiueth diuerſe names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a iacke, from a iacke to a
he's a luce (Merry Wives, I i. 16) when he's biggest.
pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and laſt of all to a luce; alſo that a ſalmon is the firſt yeare a grauellin,
Names of the Salmon.
and commonlie ſo big as an herring, the ſecond a ſalmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a ſalmon: but this is in like ſort vnneceſſarie.

I don't believe that Eels breed out of turf,
I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie riuers ſides, if you cut a turffe, and laie it with the graſſe

downewards, vpon the earth, in ſuch ſort as the water may touch it as it paſſeth by, you ſhall haue a brood of eeles, it would ſeeme a wonder; and yet it is beleeued with no leſſe aſſurance of ſome, than that an horſe haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in ſhort time ſtirre and become a liuing creature. But ſith the certeintie of theſe things is rather prooued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it paſſe at this time. Neuertheleſſe this is generallie obſerued in the maintenance of frie ſo well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of ſpawne we vſe to throw in faggots made of willow and ſallow, and now and then of buſhes for want of the other, whereby ſuch ſpawne as falleth into the ſame is preſerued and kept from the pike, perch, eele and other fiſh, of which the carpe alſo will feed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the ſtore and increaſe of proper kind. Some vſe in euerie fift or ſeauenth yeere to laie their great ponds drie for all the ſummer time, to the end they may gather graſſe, and a thin ſwart for the fiſh to feed vpon; and afterwards ſtore them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue ſpawned, they draw out the breeders, leauing not aboue foure or fix behind, euen in the greateſt ponds, by meanes whereof the reſt doo proſper the better: and this obſeruation is moſt vſed in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fiſh) it proſpereth euerie where, I meane ſo well in ponds as riuers, and alſo in motes and pittes, as I doo know by experience, though their bottoms be but claie. More would I write of our freſh fiſh, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto ſuch of the ſalt water as are taken vpon our coaſts.] As our foules [therefore] haue their ſeaſons, ſo likewiſe haue all [our] ſorts of [ſea] fiſh: whereby it commeth to paſſe that none, or at the leaſtwiſe verie few of them are to be had at all times. [Neuertheleſſe, the ſeas that inuiron our coaſts, are of all other moſt plentifull: for

or that horse-hair comes to life in water

At spawning time we throw faggots in the water to protect the spawn

Some ponds are dried every 7th year.

Perch thrive everywhere,

as I know

[Insertion from p 17 ends]

Sea fish

as by reaſon of their depth they are a great ſuccour, ſo our low ſhores miniſter great plentie of food vnto the fiſh that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Ianuarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fiſh, as rochet, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we feed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muſkles, &c. In Aprill and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In Iune and Iulie, with conger. In Auguſt and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths inſuing with the ſame, as alſo thornbacke and reigh of all ſorts; all which are the moſt vſuall, and wherewith our common ſort are beſt of all refreſhed.]

Fish eaten in the different months of the year.

For mine[1] [owne] part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the ſeaſons, nor yet with the fiſh it ſelfe: and therefore if I ſhould take vpon me to deſcribe or ſpeake of either of them abſolutelie, I ſhould enterpriſe more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It ſhall ſuffice therefore to declare what ſorts of fiſhes I haue moſt often ſeene, to the end I may not altogither paſſe ouer this chapter without the reherſall of ſomething, although the whole ſumme of that which I haue to ſaie be nothing indeed, if the [performance of a] full diſcourſe hereof be anie thing [2]hardlie required.[2]

I've seen but few fish, and I'll tell you

their sorts—

Of fiſhes therefore as I find fiue[3] ſorts, the flat, the round, the long,[4] the legged [and ſhelled]: ſo the flat are diuided into the ſmooth, ſcaled and tailed. Of the firſt are the plaice, the but, the turbut, [birt, floke or ſea flounder,] dorreie, dab, &c. Of the ſecond the ſoles, &c.[5] Of the third, our chaits, maidens, kingſons, ſlath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the moſt part either dried and carried into other countries, or ſodden, ſowſed, & eaten here at home, whileſt the leſſer

1 [*Flat fish*]

chaits, kingsons, &c.

[1] my [2]—[2] duly considered [3] foure—Mr Viles's copy; not B. Mus.
[4] long and—Viles; not B. Mus. [5] and so forth—Viles; not B. Mus.

be fried or buttered ſoone after they be taken, as prouiſion not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Under the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps,[1] an vglie fiſh to ſight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dreſſed: the whiting (an old waiter or ſeruitor in the court), the rochet, [ſea breame, pirle, hake, ſea trowt,] gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, ſprat, and ſuch like. And theſe are they whereof I haue beſt knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coaſts. Under this kind alſo are all the great fiſh conteined, as the ſeale, the dolphin, the porpoiſe, the thirlepole, whale, and whatſoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer ſo great and huge. Of the long ſort are congers, eeles, garefiſh, and ſuch other of that forme. Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I ſeene anie more of this ſort than the *Polypus* called in Engliſh the lobſtar,[2] crafiſh [or creuis,] and the crab. As for the little crafiſhes they are not taken in the ſea, but plentifullie in our freſh riuers in banks, and vnder ſtones, where they keepe themſelues in moſt ſecret maner, and oft by likeneſſe of colour with the ſtones among which they lie, deceiue euen the ſkilfull takers of them, except they vſe great diligence. [*Carolus Stephanus* in his maiſon [3]ruſtique, doubted whether theſe lobſtars be fiſh or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as dooth the frog, and theſe alſo not to be eaten, for that they be ſtrong and verie hard of digeſtion. But hereof let other determine further.]

2. [*Round fish.*]
Lumps,
Pirle, Gurnard, &c.
Porpoise, Thirlepoole,
3. [*Long fish*]
4. [*Legged fish*]
Lobster,
crevis, crab.
Freshwater crawfish.
[3 p. 225]

I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes now and then taken alſo vpon our coaſts: but ſith my mind is onelie to touch either all ſuch as are vſuallie gotten, or ſo manie of them onelie as I can well rehearſe vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbeare the further intreatie of them. As touching the ſhellie ſort, we haue plentie of oiſters, [whoſe valure in

5 Shell fish. Oysters.

[1] Lumpes [2] lobstar the

old time for their ſweetneſſe was not vnknowne in Roſne (although *Mutianus* as *Plinie* noteth *lib.* 32, *cap.* 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and theſe we haue in like maner of diuerſe quantities, and no leſſe varietie alſo of our] muſkles and cockles. We haue in like ſort no ſmall ſtore of great whelkes, [ſcalops] and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuerall ſeaſons. And albeit our oiſters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to ſaie, Maie, Iune, Iulie, and Auguſt, [which are void of the letter R]: yet in ſome places they be continuallie eaten,[1] where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſh, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kinds: yet ſo much haue I yeelded to doo, hoping hereafter to ſaie ſomewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatiſe, and ſo make vp a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now ſee is verie ſlenderlie [attempted and] begun.

Muscles, cockles, whelks,

periwinkles.

Oysters are not eaten when there's no R in the month.

Harrison hopes again to re edit and perfect this treatise.

Of fauage beaſts and vermines.

Chap. 4.[2]

There are no wild beasts in England.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noiſome beaſts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & ſuch like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in ſafetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the moſt part abroad in the field without anie herdman or keeper.

This is cheefelie ſpoken of the ſouth and ſouthweſt parts of the Iland. For wheras we that dwell on this

[1] eaten & ỹ is [2] Chap. 7, Book 3, 1577 ed.

ſide of the Twed, may ſafelie boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots doo the like in eſperie point within their kingdome, ſith they haue greeuous woolfes [and cruell foxes, beſide ſome other of like diſpoſition] continuallie conuerſant among them, to the generall hinderance of their huſbandmen, and no ſmall damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happie and fortunate want of theſe beaſts in England is vniuerſallie aſcribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleanſed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welſhmen (who were then peſtered with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of woolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & purſue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doo report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred woolfes, [whoſe carcaſes being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeſhire,] and that by means thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeares, none of thoſe noiſome creatures were left [to be heard of] within Wales and England. Since this time alſo we read not that anie woolfe hath beene ſeene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue beene diuerſe brought ouer from beyond the ſeas for greedineſſe of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gaſing and gaping of our[1] people vpon them, who couet oft to ſee them, being ſtrange beaſts in their eies, and ſildome knowne [as I haue said] in England.

In Scotland are wolves and cruel foxes.

[*Woolfes*]

were all killd in England in Edgar's reign.

[*Tribute of woolfes ſkins*]

200 a year paid by the Welsh.

Since then

wolves have been only brought here for show.

[Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and thoſe with maines of no leſſe force than they of Mauritania were ſometimes reported to be;

Lions us't to be in Scotland.

[1] the

but how and when they were deſtroied as yet I doo not read. They had in like ſort no leſſe plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by purſute either on horſſe-backe or foot in armor; notwithſtanding that manie times they were dangerouſlie aſſailed by them. But both theſe ſauage cretures are now not heard of, or at the leaſt wiſe the later ſcarſelie known in the ſouth parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwiſe the generation of thoſe & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of ſet purpoſe repleniſh the countrie with them for his pleaſure and paſtime in hunting, I can in no wiſe beleeue.]

There were once wild bulls in Scotland.

The Straits of Dover must have come after Noah's Flood.

Foxes.

Of foxes we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo badgers in our ſandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, broome, and plentie of ſhrubs are to ſhrowd them in, when they be from their borrowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we ſildom heare of anie, bicauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to draw and make their borrowes deepe. Certes if I may freelie ſaie what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kinds (I meane foxes and badgers) are rather preſerued by gentlemen to hunt and haue paſtime withall at their owne pleaſures, than otherwiſe ſuffered to liue, as not able to be deſtroied bicauſe of their great numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantitie of them here in England, in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countries, and ſo earneſtlie are the inhabitants bent to root them out, that except it had beene to beare thus with the recreations of their ſuperiors [in this behalfe,] it could not otherwiſe haue beene choſen, but that they ſhould haue beene vtterlie deſtroied by manie yeares agone.

Badgers in England,

but not in cledgy mould.

They're only kept for hunting.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniuer, the weaſell, ſtote, [fulmart,] ſquirrill, fitchew, and ſuch like, [which *Cardan* includeth vnder the word *Muſtela*:] alſo of the otter, and [likewiſe of the] beuer, [whoſe hinder feet and taile onlie are ſuppoſed to be fiſh. Certes the taile of this beaſt is like vnto a thin whetſtone, as the bodie vnto a monſterous rat: the beaſt alſo it ſelfe is of ſuch force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or ſhere thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth alſo the ſtilleſt riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather ſticks wherewith to build their neſts, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they ſo prouide moſt commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the ſame. It is alſo reported that their said tailes are a delicate diſh, and their ſtones of ſuch medicinable force, that (as [1] *Vertomannus* ſaith) foure men ſmelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the noſe through their attractive force, proceeding from a vehement ſauour wherewith they are indued: there is greateſt plentie of them in Perſia, cheefelie about Balaſcham, from whence they and their dried cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without ſome forgerie by ſuch as prouide them. And of all theſe here remembred,] as [2] the firſt ſorts are plentifull in euerie wood and hedgerow: ſo theſe latter, eſpeciallie the otter (for to ſaie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teifie in Wales) is not wanting or to ſeeke in manie [but moſt] ſtreams and riuers [of this Ile]: but it ſhall ſuffice in this ſort to haue named them as I doo; finailie [3] the marterne, [a beaſt of the chaſe,] although for number I worthilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the leſſe.

Other vermin.

Beuers.

Otters.

The Beaver.

Its habits

Beavers' tails, and stones,

[1 p 226]

brought from Persia

Beavers only in Wales.

Marterns.

Other pernicious beaſts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow deere, [whoſe

Deer.

[1] of which as [2] also

colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke,] and ſtore of conies amongſt the burtfull ſort. Which although that of themſelues they are not offenſive at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therfore iuſtlie reprooued of many; as are in like ſort our huge flocks of ſheepe, whereon the greateſt part of our ſoile is emploied almoſt in euerie place, [and yet our mutton, wooll, and felles neuer the better cheape]. [1]The yoong males which our fallow deere doo bring foorth, are commonlie named according to their ſeuerall ages: for the firſt yeere it is a fawne, the ſecond a puckot,* the third a ſerell, the fourth a ſoare, the fift a bucke of the firſt head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fiue yeers old: and from hencefoorth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yeers is not ſo certeine, but that the beſt woodman may now and then be deceiued in that account: for in ſome grounds a bucke of the firſt head will be ſo well headed as another in a high rowtie ſoile will be in the fourth. It is alſo much to be maruelled at, that whereas they doo yeerelie mew and caſt their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they doo grife or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red deere, I find that the yoong male is called in the firſt yeere a calfe, in the ſecond a broket, the third a ſpaie, the fourth a ſtagon or ſtag, the fift a great ſtag, the ſixt an hart, and ſo foorth vnto his death. And with him in degree of venerie are accounted the hare, bore, and woolfe.[1] The fallow deere, as bucks and does, are nouriſhed in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except ſome gentleman or other (for his pleaſure) doo make an incloſure for them. Of theſe alſo the ſtag is

Sheep

Names of Fallow Deer.

[* pricket. Love's Lab. Lost, IV. ii. 12]

Names of Red Deer.

Fallow deer in parks.

Stags.

[1—1] The male of the red Deare was sometime called among the Saxons a staggor, but now a stagge, or upon some consideration an Harte, as the female is an Hinde. And this is one parcel of the Venery whereof we intreated before, and whose proper dwelling is in the large and wooddy forrests.

accounted for the moſt noble game, the fallow deere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent ſtore; and laſt of all the hare, [not the leaſt in eſtimation, becauſe the hunting of that ſeelie beaſt is mother to all the terms, blaſts, and artificiall deuiſes that hunters doo vſe.] All which (notwithſtanding our cuſtome) are paſtimes more meet for ladies and gentlewomen to exerciſe [whatſoeuer *Franciſcus Patritius* ſaith to the contrarie in his inſtitution of a prince] than for men of courage to follow, whoſe hunting ſhould practiſe their armes in taſting of their manhood, and dealing with ſuch beaſts as eſtſoones will turne againe, and offer them the hardeſt rather than their [horſſes] feet, which manie times may carrie [1]them with diſhonour[1] from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times paſt, as it may yet appeere by the hiſtories of their times, [2]eſpeciallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the bore, and the beare, but moſt willinglie lions, becauſe of the honorable eſtimation of that beaſt; inſomuch that at one time he cauſed an od or choſen lion (for force and beautie) to be let foorth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much buſineſſe, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beaſt. Herevnto,[2] beſide that which we read of the vſuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, woolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the firſt[3] of England, who diſdaining (as he termed them[4]) to follow or purſue cowards, cheriſhed of ſet purpoſe ſundrie kinds of wild beaſts, [as bears, libards, ounces, lions] at Woodſtocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard ſtone, [*An.* 1120,] and where he would often fight with [ſome one of] them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raiſe vpon him: [but cheeflie he loued to hunt the lion and the bore, which are both verie

Few Roe doer in England.

Hare-hunting 's fitter for women than men.

Men of old would only hunt wild beasts, as did Alexander,

the Scotch kings,

Henry I.

at Woodstock.

1—1 dyuers 2—2 and thereto 3 second 4 it

dangerous exercifes, eſpeciallie that with the lion, except ſome policie be found wherwith to trouble his eiefight in anie manner of wiſe. For though the bore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his fleſh and ſkin againſt the trees, to ſharpen his teeth, and defile himſelfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the ſport ſomewhat more eaſie, eſpeciallie where two ſtand ſo neere togither, that the one (if need be) may helpe and be a ſuccour to the other. Neither would he ceaſe for all this to follow his paſtime, either on horſſebacke or on foot, as occaſion ſerued, much like the yoonger *Cyrus*. I haue read of wild bores and bulles to haue beene about Blackleie neere Mancheſter, whither the ſaid prince would now and then reſort alſo for his ſolace in that behalfe, as alſo to come by thoſe excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, eſpeciallie the oulles, as I haue ſaid alreadie.]

Boar-hunting is easier than lion-hunting.

Wild boars and bulls were once near Manchester.

King Henrie the fift in his beginning thought it a meere ſcofferie to purſue anie fallow deere with hounds or greihounds, but ſuppoſed himſelfe alwaies to haue doone a ſufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and ſo killed them with his hands in the vpſhot of that exerciſe and end of his recreation. [Certes herein he reſembled Polymneſtor Mileſius, of whome it is written, how he ran ſo ſwiftlie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleaſure, which I can hardlie beleeue: and therefore much leſſe that one Lidas did run ſo lightlie and ſwiftlie after like game, that as he paſſed ouer the ſand, he left not ſo much as the prints of his feet behind him.] And thus did verie manie in like ſort with the hart, (as I doo read) but [this] I thinke[1] was verie long agone, when men were farre higher and ſwifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but [rather grant willinglie that] the hunting of the red deere is a right princelie

Henry V. ran down his deer on foot.

Hunting red deer is a princely pastime.

[1] it

paſtime. In diuerſe forren countries they cauſe their red and fallow deere to draw the plough, as we doo our oxen and horſſes. In ſome places alſo they milke their hinds as we doo here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by *Giraldus Cambrenſis* to haue beene ſeene and vſed in Wales, where he did eat cheeſe made of hinds milke, at ſuch time as Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie preached the croiſad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemans houſe, whoſe wife of purpoſe kept a deirie of the ſame. As for the plowing with vres (which I ſuppoſe to be vnlikelie) [becauſe they are (in mine opinion) vntameable] and alkes a thing commonlie vſed in the eaſt countries; here is no place to ſpeake of it, ſince we[1] want theſe kind of beaſts, neither is it my purpoſe to intreat [at large] of other things than are to be ſeene in England. Wherfore I will omit to ſaie anie more of wild and ſauage beaſts at this time, thinking my ſelfe to haue ſpoken alreadie[2] ſufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

Hinds haue beene milked

in Wales, as Giraldus ſays

Vres and elks.

We haue none.

[2 p. 227]

Of hawkes and rauenous foules.

Chap. 5.[3]

I Can not make (as yet) anie iuſt report how manie ſorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of thoſe that are vſuallie had among vs are diſcloſed with [in] this land, I thinke it more eaſie and leſſe difficult to ſet downe. Firſt of all therefore that we haue the egle, common experience dooth euidentlie confirme, and diuerſe of our rockes whereon they breed, if ſpeach did ſerue, could well declare[4] the ſame. But the moſt excellent aierie of all is not much from Cheſter, at a caſtell called Dinas Bren,

We have the Eagle,

near Chester, at Dinas Bren.

[1] we now [3] Chap. 11, Book 3, 1577 ed. [4] testifie

ſometime builded by *Brennus*, as our writers doo remember.[1] Certes this caſtell is no great thing, but yet a pile [ſometime] verie ſtrong and inacceſſible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are.

An eagle breeds at Dinas Bren every year.

It ſtandeth vpon an hard rocke, in the ſide whereof an eagle breedeth euerie yeare.[2] This [alſo] is notable in the ouerthrow of hir neſt (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither muſt be ſure of two large baſkets, and ſo prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may ſit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwiſe the eagle would kill him, and teare the fleſh from his bones with hir[3] ſharpe talons though his apparell were neuer ſo good.

Common folk call the eagle 'erne.'

[4]The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and erne doo ſhew anie difference of ſexe, I meane betweene the male and female, ſo we haue great ſtore of them. And neere to the places where they breed,[4] the commons complaine of great harme to be doone by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yoong lambe or kid vnto their neaſts, therwith to feed their yoong and come againe for more.

The 2 names are for the same bird.

[5]I was once of the opinion that there was a diuerſitie of kind betweene the eagle and the erne, till I perceiued that our nation vſed the word erne in moſt places for the eagle.[5]

The kinds of English hawks.

We haue alſo the lanner and the lanneret: the terſell and the goſehawke: the muſket and the ſparhawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finallie ſome (though verie few) marlions. And theſe are all the hawkes that I doo heare [as yet] to be bred within this Iland. Howbeit as theſe are not wanting with vs, ſo are they not verie plentifull: wherefore ſuch as delite in hawking doo make their chiefe [purueiance

[1] conjecture [2] yeare. Certes [3] their

[4—4] Next unto y^e^ Egle we haue the Iron or Erne (as the Scottes doe write) who call the Egle by y^e^ name. Certes it is a Rauenous bird & not much inferiour to the Egle in deede. For though they be black of colour, and somewhat lesse of bodie yet such is their greatnesse that they are brought by diuers into sundrie partes of this realme and shewed as Egles only for hope of gaine, which is gotten by the sight of them. Their chiefe breeding is in the Westcountry, where

[5—5] Some call them Gripes.

&] prouiſion for the ſame out of Danſke, Germanie, and the Eaſtcountries, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at exceſſiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are ſold for almoſt right naught, and vſuallie brought to the markets as chickins, pullets, and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we doo the aforeſaid foules) almoſt of euerie man. [It is ſaid that the ſparhawke preieth not vpon the foule in the morning that ſhe taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one ſeelie foule, dooth let it go to make ſome ſhift for it ſelfe. But hereof as I ſtand in ſome doubt, ſo this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the ſparhawke is enimie to yoong children, as is alſo the ape; but of the pecocke ſhe is maruellouſlie afraid, & ſo appalled that all courage & ſtomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the ſight thereof.] But to proceed with the reſt. [Of] other rauenous birds we haue alſo[1] verie great plentie, as the buſſard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & ſuch as often annoie our countrie dames by ſpoiling of their yoong breeds of chickens, duckes, and goſlings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crowes haue learned alſo the waie: and ſo much are our rauens giuen to this kind of ſpoile, that ſome [idle and curious heads] of ſet purpoſe haue manned, reclaimed, and vſed them in ſteed of hawkes, when other could not be had. [Some doo imagine that the rauen ſhould be the vulture, and I was almoſt perſuaded in times paſt to beleeue the ſame: but finding of late a deſcription of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a ſecond kind of eagle, I freelie ſurceaſe to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a ſort the ſhape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, ſo are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their ſides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith alſo their gorge or a part of their breſt vnder their throtes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like

Hawks for hawking are brought from Denmark, &c., and are very dear.

The Sparhawk's habits.

She's afraid of a pencock.

Other ravenous birds,

that carry off young chickens, &c.

Ravens are us'd as hawks.

I once was near believing that the Raven was the Vulture.

[1] also in

parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauen (who is alſo verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie reſemblance. we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygargus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occaſion to intreat further.] I haue ſeene [the carren] crowes ſo cunning alſo [1]by their owne induſtrie of late,[1] that they haue vſed to ſoare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & ſuddenlie comming downe haue caught a ſmall fiſh in their feet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this preſent the aforeſaid riuer is not without ſome of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. [We haue alſo oſpraies which breed with vs in parks and woods, wherby the keepers of the ſame doo reape in breeding time no ſmall commoditie: for ſo ſoone almoſt as the yoong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of ſundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, doo neuer ceaſe to bring fiſh vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is ſuch as is well fed, or not of the worſt ſort. It hath not beene my hap hitherto to ſee anie of theſe foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another reſembling a gooſe wherewith to ſwim; but whether it be ſo or not ſo, I refer the further ſearch and triall thereof vnto some other. This neuertheles is certeine that both aliue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deadlie terrour to ſuch fiſh as come within the wind of it.] There is no cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſcribe the cormorant amongſt hawkes, [of which ſome be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauen,] except I ſhould call him a water hawke. But ſith ſuch dealing is not conuenient, let vs now ſee what may be ſaid of our venem-

We've neither Vulture nor Gripe, in England.

I've seen crows catch fish cleverly in the Thames.

We've Ospreys;

and keepers catch the young,

and eat the fish the old birds bring 'em.

Cormorants are in the Isle of Ely.

[1—1] Of theyr owne selues

ous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

Of venemous beaſts.[1]

Chap. 6.[2]

IF I ſhould go about to make anie long diſcourſe of venemous beaſts or wormes bred in England, I ſhould attempt more than occaſion it ſelfe would [readilie] offer, ſith we haue verie few worms, but no beaſts at all, that are thought by [3]their naturall qualities[3] to be either venemous or hurtfull. Firſt of all therefore we haue the adder [(in our old Saxon toong called an atter)] which [4]ſome men doo not raſhlie take to be the viper. Certes if it be ſo, then is it not the viper author of the death of hir *parents, as ſome hiſtories affirme; [and thereto *Encelius* a late writer in his *De re metallica, lib. 3. cap. 38.* where he maketh mention of a ſhe adder which he ſaw in Sala, whoſe wombe (as he ſaith) was eaten out after a like faſhion, hir yoong ones lieng by hir in the ſunne ſhine, as if they had beene earth worms. Neuertheleſſe as he nameth them *Viperas*, ſo he calleth the male *Echis*, and the female *Echidna*, concluding in the end that *Echis* is the ſame ſerpent which his countrimen to this daie call *Ein* atter, as I haue alſo noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie. For my part I am perſuaded that the ſlaughter of their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies (although I doubt not but that nature hath right well prouided to inhibit their ſuperfluous increaſe by ſome meanes or other) and ſo much the rather am I led herevnto, for that I gather by *Nicander*, that of all venemous worms the viper onelie bringeth out hir yoong aliue, and therefore is called in Latine *Vipera quaſiviuipara*: but of hir

We have very few venemous worms, and no hurtful beasts.

The Adder is, I think, [4 p 228] the same as the Viper

* *Galenus de Theriaca ad Pisonem,*
* *Plin. lib* 10. *cap.* 62.

Encelius calls Vipers, adders.

The Viper is the only viviparous worm.

[1] beastes &c. [2] Chap. 12, Book 3, 1577 ed. [3—3] nature

owne death he dooth not (to my remembrance) ſaie any thing. It is teſtified alſo by other in other words, & to the like ſenſe, that *Echis id eſt vipera ſola ex ſerpentibus non oua ſed animalia parit.*] And it may well be, for I remember that I haue read in *Philoſtratus* [*De vita Appollonij*], how he ſaw a viper licking[1] hir yoong. I did ſee an adder once my ſelfe that laie (as I thought) ſleeping on a moulehill, out of whoſe mouth came eleuen yoong adders of twelue or thirteene inches in length a peece, which plaied to and fro in the graſſe one with another, till ſome of them eſpied me. So ſoone therefore as they ſaw [2]my face,[2] they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them ſhrowded in a diſtinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a ſoft white iellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indeed. [3]The colour of their ſkin is for the moſt part like ruſtie iron or iron graie: but ſuch as be verie old reſemble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they caſt their old ſkins (whereby as it is thought their age reneweth) ſo[5] their ſtinging bringeth death without preſent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceaſing to ſwell, neither the venem to worke till the ſkin of the one breake, and the other aſcend vpward to the hart, where it finiſheth [4]the naturall effect, except the iuice of dragons (in Latine called *Dracunculus minor*) be ſpeedilie miniſtred and dronke in ſtrong ale, or elſe ſome other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaile and ouercome the venem of the ſame.[4] The [7]length of them is moſt commonlie two foot and ſomwhat more, but ſeldome dooth it extend vnto two foot ſix inches, except it be in ſome rare and monſterous one: [5] whereas our ſnakes are much longer,[6] and ſeene ſometimes to ſurmount a yard, or three foot, although

[*Adder or viper.*]

I myself saw 11 young adders come out of their mother s mouth, and run into it again.

See Aristotle, Animalium lib. 5 cap vltimo, & Theophrast. lib. 7 cap. 13.

I killed her and found her young in her.

The sting of an adder brings death,

vnless an antidote be taken.

Adders are 2 ft. long.

[*Snakes.*]

3 foot.

1 lycking of 2—2 me 3—3 Their colour is for y^e^ most part ruddy blew, and 4—4 The effect, 5 Adder 6 bigger

their poiſon be nothing ſo grieuous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder ſtones, [as *Ariſtotle* alſo ſaith of the viper, *Lib.* 8. *cap.* 15, and] in holes of the earth, rotten ſtubs of trees, and amongſt the dead leaues: but in the heat of the ſummer they come abroad, and lie either round on[1] heapes, or at length vpon ſome hillocke, or elſewhere in the graſſe. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and higheſt grounds, [where ſometimes (though ſeldome) a ſpeckled ſtone called *Echites*, in dutch *Ein atter ſtein*, is gotten out of their dried carcaſes, which diuers report to be good againſt their poiſon.] As for our ſnakes, [which in Latine are properlie named *Angues*,] they commonlie are ſeene in moores, fens, [lomie wals,] and low bottoms.

Adders hibernate.

They're only in woodland countries and high grounds.

Sol cap. 40 *Plin lib* 37. *cap* 11

And as we haue great ſtore of todes where adders commonlie are found, ſo doo frogs abound where ſnakes doo keepe their reſidence. We haue alſo the ſloworme, which is blacke and graieſh of colour, and ſomewhat ſhorter than an adder. [I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that ſhe was not ſo called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Neuertheleſſe we haue a blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which ſome alſo doo call (and vpon better ground) by the name of ſlow worms, and they are knowen eaſilie by their more or leſſe varietie of ſtriped colours, drawen long waies from their heads, their whole bodies little exceeding a foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This alſo is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of ſerpents are found of greater quantitie than either our adder or our ſnake: but as theſe are not ordinarie and oft to be ſeene, ſo I meane not to intreat of them among our common annoiances. Neither haue we the ſcorpion, a plague of God ſent not long ſince

[*Todes.*]

[*Frogs.*]

[*Sloworme*]

I saw one killd.

Blindworms are by some calld slowworms.

We've no Scorpions or

[1] in

into Italie, and whoſe poiſon (as *Apollodorus* ſaith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neopolitane ſpider, whoſe poiſon bringeth death, except muſike be at hand. Wherfore I ſuppoſe our countrie to be the more happie (I meane in part) for that it is void of theſe two grieuous annoiances, wherewith other nations are plagued.]

tarantulas.

[*Efts*] [*Swifts*]

We haue alſo[1] efts, both of the land and water, and likewiſe [the noiſome] ſwifts, whereof to ſaie anie more it ſhould be but loſſe of time, ſith they are well knowne; and no region [to my knowledge found to be] void of manie of them. As for flies (ſith it ſhall not be amiſſe a little to touch them alſo) we haue none that can doo hurt or hinderance naturallie vnto anie: for whether they be cut waſted, or whole bodied, they are void of poiſon and all venemous inclination. The cut [or girt] waſted (for ſo I Engliſh the word *Inſecta*) are the hornets, waſpes, bees, and ſuch like, whereof we haue great ſtore, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the firſt doo breed of the corruption of dead horſſes, the ſecond of peares and apples corrupted, and the laſt of kine and oxen: which may be true, eſpeciallie the firſt and latter in ſome parts of the beaſt, and not their whole ſubſtances, as alſo in the ſecond, ſith we haue neuer waſpes, but when our fruit beginneth to wax ripe. In deed *Virgil* and others ſpeake of a generation of bees, by killing or ſmoothering of a bruſed[2] bullocke or calfe, and laieng his bowels or his fleſh wrapped vp in his hide in a cloſe houſe for a certeine ſeaſon; but how true it is hitherto[3] I haue not tried. Yet ſure I am of this, that no one liuing creature corrupteth without the production of another; as we may ſee [by our ſelues, whoſe fleſh dooth alter into lice; and alſo] in ſheepe[4] for exceſſiue numbers of fleſh flies, if they be ſuffered to lie vnburied or vneaten by the dogs and ſwine, who often [and happilie] preuent ſuch needleſſe generations.

[*Cutwasted*] [*Whole bodied.*]

Harrison englishes 'Insecta.' [*Hornets.*] [*Waspes*]

Virgil on bees breeding from a bullock's carcass.

[1] haue in lyke sort [2] brouſed [3] as yet [4] sheepe also

[1]As concerning bees, I thinke it good to remember,[1] that wheras ſome ancient writers affirme it[2] to be a commoditie wanting in our Iland, it is now found to be nothing ſo. In old time peraduenture we had none in deed, but in my daies there is ſuch plentie of them in maner euerie where, that in ſome vplandiſh townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred hiues of them, although the ſaid hiues are not ſo huge as thoſe[3] of the eaſt countrie, but far leſſe, as not able to conteine aboue one buſhell of corne, or fiue pecks at the moſt. [*Plinie* (a man that of ſet purpoſe deliteth to write of woonders) ſpeaking of honie noteth that in the north regions the hiues in his time were of ſuch quantitie, that ſome one combe conteined eight foot in length, & yet (as it ſhould ſeeme) he ſpeketh not of the greateſt. For in Podolia, which is now ſubiect to the king of Poland, their hiues are ſo [4]great, and combes ſo abundant, that huge bores ouerturning and falling into them, are drowned in the honie, before they can recouer & find the meanes to come out.]

Bees

are very plentiful in upland towns

Pliny's story of

beehives 8 ft long

[4 p. 229]

Boars drownd in bee hives

Our honie alſo is taken and reputed to be the beſt, bicauſe it is harder, better wrought, and clenlier veſſelled vp, than that which commeth from beyond the ſea, where they ſtampe and ſtreine their combs, bees, and yoong blowings altogither into the ſtuffe, as I haue beene informed. In vſe alſo of medicine our phyſicians and apothecaries eſchew the forren, [eſpeciallie that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reaſon of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the ſame, as ſome write] and chooſe the home made: [not onelie by reaſon of our ſoile, which hath no leſſe plentie of wild thime growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and makth the beſt ſtuffe; as alſo for that it breedeth, (being gotten in harueſt time)] [5]leſſe cholet, and [5] which is oftentimes (as [6] I haue ſeene by experience) ſo white as ſugar, and

[*Honie*] Our English is better than foreign honey,

[6] and is often as white as sugar.

[1—1] Thus much farder wyll I adde of Bees, [2] them
[3] they [5—5] as breeding lesse cholor [6] and

Beehives are made of straw or wicker,

corned as if it were ſalt. Our hiues are made commonlie of rie ſtraw, and wadled about with bramble quarters: but ſome make [1]the ſame[1] of wicker, and caſt them ouer with claie. Wee cheriſh none in trees, but ſet our hiues ſomewhere on the warmeſt ſide of the houſe, prouiding that they may ſtand drie and without danger [both] of the mouſe [and moth]. This furthermore is to be noted, that wheras in veſſels of oile, that which is neereſt the top is counted[2] the fineſt,[3] and of wine that in the middeſt: ſo of honie the beſt [which is heauieſt and moiſteſt] is alwaies next the bottome, and[4] euermore caſteth and driueth his dregs[5] vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid ſubſtances, whoſe groonds and leeze[6] doo generallie ſettle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bees and Engliſh honie.

and stand in a warm dry place.

The best honey's at the bottom of the hiue.

Whole-bodied Flies.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and such venemous creatures [of the ſame kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries], we heare not of them: yet haue we beetles, horſeflies, turdbugs [or dorres], (called in Latine *Scarabei*) the locuſt or the graſhopper [(which to me doo ſeeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare)] and ſuch like, whereof let other intreat that make an exerciſe in catching of flies, but a far greater ſport in offering them to ſpiders. As did *Domitian*[7] ſometime, and an other prince yet liuing, who delited ſo much to ſee the iollie combats betwixt a ſtout flie and an old ſpider, that diuerſe men haue had great rewards giuen them for their painfull prouiſion of flies made onelie for this purpoſe. Some [paraſites] alſo in the time of [8]the aforeſaid emperour,[8] [(when they were diſpoſed to laugh at his follie, and yet would ſeeme in appearance to gratifie his fantaſticall head with ſome ſhew of dutifull demenour)] could deuiſe to ſet their lord on worke, by letting [9]a fleſh flie priuilie[9]

Beetles, turdbugs, grasshoppers.

A liuing prince likes to see a fly and spider fight.

[1]—[1] them [2] accounted [3] best [4] which [5] dragges
[6] lies [7] Caligula [8]—[8] Caligula [9]—[9] fleshe flies

into his chamber, which he foorthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) and neuer ceaſed till he had caught hir into his fingers: [wherevpon aroſe the prouerbe, *Ne muſca quidem*, vttered firſt by *Vibius Priſcus*, who being aſked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, anſwered, *Ne muſca quidem*, wherby he noted his follie.] There are ſome cockeſcombs here and there in England, [1]learning it abroad as men tranſregionate,[1] which make account alſo of this paſtime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is ſeene betwene them, if either of them be luſtie and couragious in his kind. One alſo hath made a booke of the ſpider and the flie, wherein he dealeth ſo profoundlie, and beyond all meaſure of ſkill, that neither he himſelfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if thoſe iollie fellows in ſteed of the ſtraw that they thruſt into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to ſuch a noble champion) would beſtow the coſt to ſet a fooles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more ſecuritie and leſſe reprehenſion behold theſe notable battels.

Some coxcombs in England like fly and spider fights.

But instead of sticking a straw into a fly's tail,

they should put a fool's cap on their own heads.

[Now as concerning the locuſt, I am led by diuerſe of my countrie, who (as they ſay) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when thoſe nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flie, and affirme verie conſtantlie, that they ſaw none other creature than the graſhopper, during the time of that annoiance, which was ſaid to come to them from the Meotides. In moſt of our tranſlations alſo of the bible, the word *Locuſta* is Engliſhed a graſhopper, and therevnto, *Leuit.* 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwiſe Iohn the Baptiſt would neuer haue liued with them in the wilderneſſe. In Barbarie, Numidia, and ſundrie other places of Affrica, as they haue beene, ſo are they eaten to this daie powdred in barels, and therefore the people of thoſe parts are called *Acedo-*

The Locust is the same as the grasshopper

[*See Diodorus Siculus*]

Salted locusts are still eaten in Africa.

[1]—[1] put in the margin in the 1577 edition.—F.

phagi: neuertheles they ſhorten the life of the eaters, by the production at the laſt of an irkeſome and filthie diſeaſe. In India they are three foot long, in Ethiopia much ſhorter, but in England ſeldome aboue an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada,* he hath ſome likelihood, but not verie great, with the graſhopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vmpier in this caſe. Finallie *Matthiolus,* and ſo manie as deſcribe the locuſt, doo ſet downe none other forme than that of our graſhopper, which maketh me ſo much the more to reſt vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locuſt and graſhopper are one.]

Indian locusts 3 ft long.

Crickets.

Locusts are grasshoppers.

Of [our] Engliſh dogs [and their qualities.]

Chap. 7.[1]

Our dogs are the best in the World

THere is no countrie that maie (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuerſitie of dogs. [And therefore if *Polycrates* of Samia were now aliue, he would not ſend to Epyro for ſuch merchandize: but to his further coſt prouide them out of Britaine, as an ornament to his countrie, and peece of huſbandrie for his common wealth, which he furniſhed of ſet purpoſe with Moloſſian and Lacaonian dogs, as he did the ſame alſo with ſheepe out of Attica and Miletum, gotes from Scyro and Narus, ſwine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places.] Howbeit[2] the learned doctor *Caius* in his [Latine] treatiſe vnto Geſner *De canibus Anglicus,* [3]bringeth them all[3] into three ſorts: that is, the gentle kind ſeruing for game: the homelie kind apt for ſundrie[4] vſes: and the curriſh kind meet for many toies. For my part I can ſay no more of them than he

Dr Caius makes 3 kinds of them.

I game dogs, II house-dogs, III. toy-dogs.

[1] Chap. 13, Book 3, 1577 ed. [2] all which [3—3] doth bring [4] sundrie necessarie

hath doone alredie. Wherefore I will here ſet downe onelie a ſumme of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our maſtiffes ſhall yet more largelie appeare. [As for thoſe of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to report out of *Plinie*, that dogs were ſometime killed in ſacrifice, and ſometime their whelps eaten as a delicate diſh, *Lib.* 29. *cap.* 4. Wherefore if anie man be diſpoſed to read of them, let him reſort to *Plinie*, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 40. who (among other woonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captiuitie, mawgre the reſiſtance of his aduerſaries: alſo to *Cardan*, *lib.* 10. *De animalibus*, *Ariſtotle*, &c: who write maruels of them, but none further from credit than *Cardan*, [1]who is not afraid to compare ſome of them for greatneſſe with oxen, and ſome alſo for ſmalneſſe vnto the little field mouſe. Neither doo I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, *Strabo* excepted, who ſaith that the Galles did ſomtime buy vp all our maiſtiffes, to ſerue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they reſembled the Colophonians, Caſtabalenſes of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom *Plinie* alſo ſpeaketh, but they had them not from vs.]

I only abstract Caius,

adding a bit of my own about mastiffs.

Pliny, on dogs of ancient time.

Cardan too,

[1 p 230]

and Strabo.

The firſt ſort therefore he diuideth either into ſuch as rowſe the beaſt, and continue the chaſe, or ſpringeth the bird, and bewraieth hir flight by purſute. And as theſe are commonlie called ſpaniels, ſo the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight ſorts, of which the formoſt excelleth in perfect ſmelling, the ſecond in quicke eſpieng, the third in ſwiftneſſe and quickeneſſe, the fourth in ſmelling and nimbleneſſe, &c: and the laſt in ſubtiltie and deceitfulneſſe. [Theſe (ſaith *Strabo*) are moſt apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onlie bicause of their ſkill in hunting, but alſo

1 Game-dogs.

α. Spaniels.

β Hounds, 8 sorts.

for that they know their owne and the names of their
The 8 kinds of Hounds. fellowes moſt exactlie. For if the hunter ſee anie one to follow ſkilfullie, and with likelihood of good ſucceſſe, he biddeth the reſt to harke and follow ſuch a dog, and they eftſoones obeie ſo ſoone as they heare his name.] The firſt kind of theſe are alſo commonlie called
1 Harriers (for foxes, deer, &c.). hariers, whoſe game is the fox, the hare, the woolfe, (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat,
2. Terriers. lopſtart, weſell, conie, &c: the second hight a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a
3. Bloodhounds. bloudhound, whoſe office is to follow the fierce, and now and then to purſue a theefe or beaſt by his drie
4 Gasehounds. foot: the fourth [hight] a gaſehound, who hunteth by
5. Greyhounds. the eie: the fift a greihound, cheriſhed for his ſtrength[1] ſwiftnes, [and ſtature, commended by *Bratius* in his *De venatione*, and not vnremembred by *Hercules Stroza* in a like treatiſe, but aboue all other thoſe of Britaine, where he ſaith:

———*& magna ſpectandi mole Britanni,*

alſo by *Nemeſianus, libro Cynegeticõn*, where he ſaith:

Duiſa Britannia mittit
Veloces noſtríque orbis venatibus aptos,

of which ſort alſo ſome be smooth, of ſundrie colours,
6. Liemers. and ſome ſhake haired:] the ſixt a liemer, that excelleth in smelling and ſwift running: the ſeuenth a
7. Tumblers. tumbler: and the eight a theefe, whoſe offices (I meane
8 Thieves (Lurchers?) of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft ſo ſkilfull, that few men would thinke so miſchiefous a wit to remaine in ſuch fillie[2] creaturs. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which [3]are apt[3] for the chaſe and hunting, he commeth next to ſuch as ſerue the falcons in their times, whereof he
Two kinds of dogs for falconry: land-spaniels and water-spaniels. maketh alſo two ſorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp ſuch foule as keepeth [in] the water: and of theſe this is commõnlie moſt

[1] strength and [2] two [3]—[3] serue

vſuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he dooth ſhew at large. Of the firſt he ſaith, that they haue no peculiar names aſſigned to[1] them ſeuerallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt [or ſerue], for which conſideration ſome be named dogs for the feaſant, ſome for the falcon, and ſome for the partrich. Howbeit, the common name for all is ſpaniell [(ſaith he) and therevpon alludeth], as if theſe kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like ſort we haue of water ſpaniels in their kind. The third ſort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the ſpaniell gentle, or comforter,[2] or (as the common terme is) the fiſtinghound, and [thoſe are] called *Melitei*, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were brought hither. These[3] are little and prettie, proper and fine, and ſought out far and neere to ſatisfie the nice delicacie[4] of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes; inſtruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treaſure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exerciſes, and to content their corrupt concupiſcences with vaine diſport, a fillie poore ſhift to ſhun their irkeſome idlenes. Theſe [Sybariticall] puppies, the ſmaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleaſure alſo they prouoke, as meet plaiefellowes for minſing miſtreſſes to beare in their boſoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to ſuccour with ſleepe in bed, and nouriſh with meat at boord, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like yoong Dianaes) in their wagons [and coches]. And good reaſon it ſhould be ſo, for courſeneſſe with fineneſſe hath no fellowſhip, but featneſſe with neatneſſe hath neighbourhead inough. That plauſible prouerbe therefore verefied ſometime vpon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his ſow better than his ſonne, may well be applied

Dogs for falconry.

All spaniels, from Spain, originally.

The Spaniel-gentle or Maltese dog

is the toy of wanton women,

to carry in their bosoms,

and lick their lips in their coaches.

[1] unto [2] conforter [3] These Dogges [4] delicatie

These women like dogs better than children,

to ſome of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are depriued of all poſſibilitie of reaſon, than they doo in children that are capable of wiſedome & iudgement. Yea, they oft feed them of the beſt, where the poore mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the woorſt. But the former abuſe peraduenture reigneth where there hath beene long want of iſſue, elſe where barrenneſſe is the beſt bloſſome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne iſſue are not readie to be had. It is thought of ſome that it is verie wholeſome for a weake ſtomach to beare ſuch a dog in the[1] boſome, as it is for him that hath the palſie to feele the daiſie ſmell [and ſauour] of a fox. But how truelie this is affirmed, let the learned iudge. Onlie it ſhall ſuffice for D[octor] *Caius* to haue ſaid thus much of ſpaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

if they can't get any.

[*Homelie kind of dogs*]
II House-dogs
1 Shepherd's curs
2. Mastiffs.

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either ſhepheards curs, or maſtiffes. The firſt are ſo common, that it needeth me not to ſpeake of them. Their vſe alſo is ſo well knowne in keeping the heard togither (either when they graſe or go before the ſheepheard) that it ſhould be but in vaine to ſpend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind,

[*Tie dogs*]

and go in hand with the maſtiffe, [tie dog,] or band dog, [ſo called bicauſe manie of them are tied vp in chaines and ſtrong bonds, in the daie time, for dooing hurt

Mastiffs are huge and fierce,

abroad,] which is an huge dog, ſtubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little ſwiftneſſe) terrible and fearfull to behold, and [oftentimes] more fierce and fell than anie Archadian[2] [or Corſican]cur. Our Engliſhmen, to the intent that theſe dogs may be more cruell[3] and fierce, aſſiſt nature with ſome art, vſe, and cuſtome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, ſtout, and bold: yet will

and are traind

they increaſe theſe their ſtomachs by teaching them

[1] ones [2] Archadien [3] fell

to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other ſuch like cruell and bloudie beaſts, [(either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the ſame purpoſe)] without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wreſtling with a man (hauing for the ſafegard of his life either a pike ſtaffe, club, ſword,[1] priuie coate) wherby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto ſtrangers. [The Caſpians made ſo much account ſometime of ſuch great dogs, that euerie able man would nouriſh ſundrie of them in *his houſe of ſet purpoſe, to the end they ſhould* deuoure their carcaſes after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the moſt honourable ſepulchers. The common people alſo followed the ſame rate, and ther fore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to deuoure them after their deaths: by means whereof these beaſts became the more eger, and with great [2]difficultie after a while reſtreined from falling vpon the liuing. But whither am I digreſſed? In returning therefore to our owne, I ſaie that] of maſtiffes, ſome barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, ſome doo both barke and bite, but the cruelleſt doo[3] either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take alſo their name, of the word 'maſe' and 'theefe' (or 'maſter theefe' if you will) bicauſe they often [ſtound and] put ſuch perſons to their ſhifts in townes and villages, and are the principall cauſes of their apprehenſion and taking. The force which is in them ſurmounteth all beleefe, and the faſt hold which they take with their teeth exceedeth all credit: for three of them againſt a beare, foure againſt a lion are ſufficient[4] to trie maſtries with them. King Henrie the ſeauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all ſuch curres to be hanged, bicauſe they durſt preſume to fight againſt the lion, who is their king and ſouereigne. The

to bait bears, bulls, and wild beasts,

and to fight armd men.

The Caspians kept mastiffs to eat up their corpses.

[* p. 231].

English mastiffs.

Some barke and bite not.

Some bite and barke not

Mastiff='mase,' or master, and 'thief'

3 mastiffs 'll tackle a bear, 4 a lion.

Henry VII 's absurdity.

[1] sword or [3] doeth [4] sufficient both

Henry VII. had a falcon's head pulld off for fighting with an eagle.

like he did with an excellent falcon, [as ſome ſaie,] bicauſe he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne preſence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, ſaieng that it was not meet for anie ſubiect to offer ſuch wrong vnto his lord and ſuperiour [wherein he had a further meaning]. But if king Henrie the ſeauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue doone to one Engliſh maſtiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe firſt an huge beare, then a pard, and laſt of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one daie, [[1]when the lord Buckhurſt was ambaſſador vnto him, and[1]] whereof if I ſhould write the circumſtances, that is, how he tooke his aduantage being let loſe vnto them, and finallie draue them into ſuch exceeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I ſhould take much paines, and yet reape but ſmall credit: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid thus much thereof. Some of our maſtiffes will rage onelie in the night, ſome are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such alſo as are ſuffered to go loſe about the houſe and yard, are ſo gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on[2] their backs, & plaie with them at their pleaſures. [Diuerſe of them likewiſe are of ſuch gelouſie ouer their maiſter and whoſoeuer of his houſhold, that if a ſtranger doo imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame miſcheefe if their furie be not preuented. Such an one was the dog of *Nichomedes* king ſometime of Bithinia, who ſeeing Configne the queene to imbrace and kiſſe hir huſband as they walked togither in a garden, did teare hir all to peeces, mauger his reſiſtance, and the preſent aid of ſuch as attended on them.] Some of them moreouer[3] will ſuffer a ſtranger to come in and walke about the houſe or yard where him liſteth,

One English maſtiff in France pulld down a bear, a pard and a lion.

Some Maſtiffs are ſo gentle that children may ride on them.

Others 'll not let a ſtranger touch their maſter.

[1]—[1] *In the margin of 1577 ed.*—F.

[2] upon [3] alſo

without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put foorth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flie vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my ſelfe once, which would not ſuffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither thoſe that were of my houſe to be touched in his preſence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue aſſaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or elſe pluck downe their clothes to ſaue them from the ſtripes: which in my opinion is [1]not vnworthie[1] *to be noted. And thus much of our maſtiffes,* [creatures of no leſſe faith and loue towards their maiſters than horſſes; as may appeare euen by the confidence that *Maſiniſſa* repoſed in them, in ſo much that miſtruſting his houſhold ſeruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treaſons and conſpiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor of leſſe force than the Moloſſian race, brought from Epiro into ſome countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the braſen dog that Vulcan made, and gaue to Jupiter, who alſo deliuered the ſame to Europa, ſhe to Procris, and Procris to Cephalus, as *Iulius Pollux* noteth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 5: neither vnequall in carefulneſſe to the maſtiffe of Alexander Phereus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maiſter long time from ſlaughter, till at the laſt he was remooued by policie, and the tyrant killed ſleeping: the ſtorie goeth thus. Thebe the wife of the ſaid Phereus and hir three brethren conſpired the death of hir huſband, who fearing the dog onelie, ſhe found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another houſe hard by, whileſt they ſhould execute their purpoſe. Neuertheleſſe, when they came to the bed where he late ſleeping, they waxed faint harted, till ſhe did put them in choiſe, either that they ſhould diſpatch him at once, or elſe that ſhe hir ſelfe would wake hir

Harrison's anecdotes of his mastiff.

The dog tried to save his children from being floggd.

Masinissa's guard of mastiffs.

Alexander Phereus's mastiff saved his master's life for a time.

[1]—[1] worthy

huſband, and giue him warning of his enimies, or at the leaſt wiſe bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared moſt of all: and therefore quicklie diſpatched him.]

III Toy-dogs.

The laſt ſort of dogs conſiſteth of the curriſh kind meet for manie toies: of which the whappet[1] or prick-eard curre is one. Some men call them warners, bicauſe they are good for nothing elſe but to [barke and] giue warning when anie bodie dooth ſtirre or lie in wait about the houſe in the night ſeaſon. [Certes] it is vnpoſſible to deſcribe theſe curs in anie order, bicauſe they haue no [anie] one kind proper vnto themſelues, but are a confuſed companie mixt of all the reſt. The ſecond ſort of them are called turne ſpits, whoſe office is not vnknowne to anie. And as theſe are onelie reſerued for this purpoſe, ſo in manie places our maſtiffes [(beſide the vſe which tinkers haue of them in carieng their heauie budgets)] are made to draw water in great wheeles out of deepe wels, going much like vnto thoſe which are framed for our turne ſpits, as is to be ſeene at Roiſton, where this feat is often practiſed. [Beſides theſe alſo we haue ſholts or curs dailie brought out of Iſeland, and much made of among vs, bicauſe of their ſawcineſſe and quarrelling. Moreouer they bite verie ſore, and loue candles exceedinglie, as doo the men and women of their countrie: but I may ſaie no more of them, bicauſe they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for paſtimes ſake, that when a great man of thoſe parts came of late into one of our ſhips which went thither for fiſh, to ſee the forme and faſhion of the ſame, his wife apparrelled in fine ſables, abiding on the decke whileſt hir huſband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, eſpied a pound or two of candles hanging at the maſt, and being loth to ſtand there idle alone, ſhe fell to and eat them vp euerie one, ſuppoſing hir ſelfe to haue beene at a iollie banket,

The whappet, or warner (A whippet in Staffordshire is a cur got between a greyhound and any other kind of dog —Ville)

The turnspit.

Mastiffs are made to carry tinkers' trunks, and (as at Royston in Essex) to turn well-wheels.

Iceland sholts,

like Icelanders, eat candles.

The wife of a great man in Iceland came aboard an English ship,

and eat 2lbs of candles as a great delicacy.

[1] wap

and ſhewing verie pleaſant geſture when hir huſband came vp againe vnto hir.]

The laſt kind of toieſh curs are named danſers, and thoſe being of a mongrell ſort alſo, are taught & exerciſed to danſe in meaſure at the muſicall ſound of an inſtrument, as at the iuſt ſtroke of a drum, ſweet accent of the citharne, and pleaſant harmonie of the harpe, ſhewing manie trickes by the geſture of their bodies: as to ſtand bolt vpright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailes in their teeth, to ſaw and beg for meat, [to take a mans cap from his head,] and ſundrie ſuch properties, which they learne of their idle rogiſh maſters, whoſe inſtruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motlie, and coloured ſhort wafted iackets are for the like vagabunds, who ſeeke no better liuing, than that which they may get by fond paſtime and idleneſſe. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of thoſe which are bred betweene a bitch and a woolfe, and [called *Lyciſca:* a thing verie often ſeene in France, ſaith *Franciſcus Patricius* in his common wealth, as procured of ſet purpoſe, and learned, as I thinke, of the Indians, who tie their fault bitches often in woods, that they might be loined by tigers: alſo] betweene[2] a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a maſtiffe. But as we vtterlie want the firſt ſort, except they be brought vnto vs: ſo it happeneth ſometime, that the other two are ingendered and ſeene [at home] amongſt vs. But all[3] the reſt heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglie [and odious] in ſight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betweene the beare and the bandog. For whatſoeuer he catcheth hold of, he taketh it ſo faſt, that a man may ſooner teare and rend his bodie in ſunder, than get open his mouth to ſeparate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither woolfe, beare, nor lion, and therfore may well be compared with thoſe

Dancers.

Toy-dogs taught to dance and play tricks to music.

Old apes in motley and short jacket [1 p. 232]

Cross between a bitch and a wolf,

or fox, a bear and a mastiff.

The savagest dog is the cross between a bear and a bandog or mastiff.

[2] and betweene [3] of all

two dogs which were ſent to Alexander out of India (& procreated as it is thought betweene a maſtiffe and male tiger, as be thoſe alſo of Hircania) or to them that are bred in Archadia,[1] where copulation is oft ſeene betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France [(as I ſaid)] betweene ſhee woolfes and dogs, whereof let this ſuffice; [ſith the further tractation of them dooth not concerne my purpoſe, more than the confutation of *Cardans* talke, *De ſubt. lib.* 10. who ſaith, that after manie generations, dogs doo become woolfes, and contrariwiſe; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie woolfes: but nature hath ſet a difference betweene them, not onelie in outward forme, but alſo in inward diſpoſition of their bones, wherefore it is vnpoſſible that his aſſertion can be found.]

Cardan's gammon about dogs becomming wolves

Of our[2] ſaffron, [and the dreſſing thereof.]

Chap. 8.[3]

English saffron is the best,

AS the ſaffron of England, [which *Platina* reckneth among ſpices] is the moſt excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of *Cilicia*, whereof *Solinus* ſpeaketh, neither to anie that commeth from [*Cilicia*, where it groweth vpon the mount *Taurus*, *Tmolus*, *Italie*,] *Ætolia*, *Sicilia*[4] or *Licia*, in ſweetneſſe, tincture, and continuance; ſo of that which is to be had amongſt vs, the ſame that grows[5] about Saffron Walden [ſomtime called Waldenburg,] in the edge of Eſſex, [firſt of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Glocester ſhire and thoſe weſterlie parts, which ſome thinke to be better than that of Walden,] ſurmounteth all the reſt,[6] and

and of English, the Essex Walden is the best.

(John Norden on saffron)

[1] Archada [2] English [3] Chap. 14, Book 3, 1577 ed.
[4] Sicilia, Cirena [5] groweth
[6] About the north weste partes of the Shire, as about Walden, the Chesterfordes, and the borders of Cambridgshire, the soyle

therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by ſix pence or twelue pence moſt commonlie in the pound. The root of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent cheſtnut,[1] & yet it is not cloued as the lillie, nor flaked as the ſcallion, but hath a ſad ſubſtance *Inter bulboſa*, as *Orchis*, [*hyacinthus orientalis*,] and *Statyrion*. The colour[2] of the rind is not much differing from the innermoſt ſhell of a cheſtnut, although it be not altogither[3] ſo brickle as is the pill of an[4] onion. [So long as the leafe floriſheth, the root is litle & ſmall; but when the graſſe is withered, the head increaſeth and multiplieth, the fillets alſo, or ſmall roots, die, ſo that when the time dooth come to take them vp, they haue no roots at all, but ſo continue vntill September that they doo grow againe: and before the chiue be grounded, the ſmalleſt heads are alſo moſt eſteemed; but whether they be great or ſmall, if ſheepe

The root of the saffron plant.

Its chestnut colour

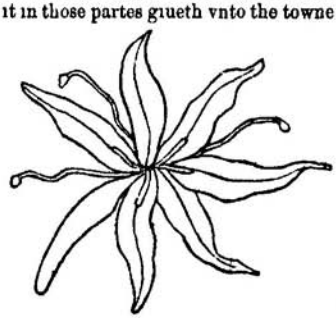
Sheep and oxen like saffron-bulbs.

differeth both in nature and couller from the reste of the Shire, it is more whyte & chalkie, and aptest for graine.

apte soyle for grayne

About the towne of Walden is greate store of a commodetie which is not generall in England, saffron. And the aboundance of it in those partes grueth vnto the towne this adiunct, Saffron Walden.

Saffron.



The forme of the flowre of this hearbe maye be thus discribed, the couller of this is a kinde of watchet or pale blewe; the leaues are nere 2 inches longe: yet will it grow, of nothinge seene, to a perfecte and full flowre in one nighte: The saffron blades are the strings like vnto threedes that hange ouer the flowr, somwhat forked at the ende. It hath a rounde whyte roote of the forme of an onion. It is of a moste fragrant smell. And therfore mencioned among the moste sweete thinges. *Cant.* 4. 13. The dressing, trinning[5], and manuring of it is verie laborious, requiring also greate chardge, but in the end is verie profitable. 1594. John Norden, *Exact Discription of Essex:* Grenville MS. LV. leaf 5. Brit. Mus.

The forme of the flowre

the forme of *the* roote

laborious but profitable

[1] Onion [2] collor also

[3] altogether so blacke as the sayd shell neither altogether

[4] the [5] ? trimming

or neat may come to them on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were haie or ſtuble, ſome alſo will wroot for them in verie eger maner.] The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as graſſe, [1]which come vp alwaies in October after the floures be gathered and gone, [pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our ſiues. Sometimes our cattell will feed vpon the ſame; neuertheleſſe, if it be bitten whileſt it is greene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to keepe it from ſuch annoiance vntill it begin to wither, and then alſo will the cattell ſooneſt taſt thereof: for vntill that time the iuice thereof is bitter. In euerie floure we find commonlie three chiues, and three yellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twiſted floures I ſpeake not; yet is it found, that two floures grow togither, which bring foorth fiue chiues, ſo that alwaies there is an od chiue and od yellow, though three or foure floures ſhould come out of one root.] The whole herbe is named in Greeke *Crocos*, but of ſome (as *Dioſcorides* ſaith) *Caſtor*, *Cynomorphos*, or *Hercules* blood: yet in the Arabian ſpeech, (from whence we borow[2] the name which we giue thervnto) I find that it is called *Zahafaran*, as *Rembert* dooth beare witneſſe. The cauſe wherefore it was called *Crocus* was this (as the poets feigne) ſpeciallie [thoſe] from whome *Galen* hath borowed the hiſtorie, which he noteth in his ninth booke *De medicamentis ſecundum loca*, where he writeth after this maner [(although I take *Crocus* to be the firſt that vſed this commoditie)]. A certeine yong gentleman called *Crocus* went to plaie at coits in the field with *Mercurie*, and being heedleſſe of himſelfe, *Mercuries* coit happened by[3] miſhap to hit him on the head, whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogither, to the great diſcomfort of his freends. Finallie, in the place where he bled,

The saffron leaf is like grass, and comes up in October.

(Croker, a saffron grower)

Each flower has 3 stamens, 3 pistils, 6 leaves.

[*Occasion of the name*]

The fable of crocus

& in the winter times our Cattel delight very much to feede vpon the same [2] take [3] by his

ſaffron was after found to grow, wherevpon the people ſeeing the colour of the chiue as it ſtood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adiudged it to come of[1] the blood of *Crocus;* and therefore they gaue it his name. [And thus farre *Rembert,* who with *Galen,* &c: differ very much from *Ouids Metamorphoſ.* 4. who writeth alſo thereof.] Indeed the chiue, while it remaineth whole [&] vnbruſed, reſembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vſe, it yeeldeth a yellow tincture. But what haue we to doo with fables?

The heads of ſaffron are raiſed in Iulie, either with plough, [2]raiſing, or tined hooke;[2] and being ſcowred from their roſſe[3] [or filth], and ſeuered from ſuch heads as are ingendred of them ſince the laſt ſetting, they are interred againe [4]in Iulie and Auguſt[4] by ranks or rowes, and being couered with moulds, they reſt in the earth, where they caſt forth litle fillets and ſmall roots like vnto a ſcallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and graſſe that groweth vpon the ſame remooued, to the intent that nothing may annoie the floure when [as] his time dooth come to riſe.

The heads of ſaffron are raiſed up in July, and buried ſoon after. They put out rootlets in September *Paring.*

Theſe things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforeſaid moneth [of September], the floure beginneth to appeare of a whitiſh blew, [feſſe or ſkie] colour, and in the end ſhewing it ſelfe in the owne kind, it reſembleth almoſt the *Leucotion* of *Theophraſt,* ſauing that it is longer, and hath in [the] middeſt [5]thereof three[5] chiues verie red and pleaſant to behold. Theſe floures are gathered in the morning before the riſing of the ſunne, which [otherwiſe] would cauſe them to welke or flitter. And the chiues being picked from the floures, theſe are throwne into the [6]doonghill, the other dried vpon little kelles couered with ſtreined canuaſſes vpon[7] a ſoft fire: wherby, and by the weight *Gathering.* Saffron flowers light blue in September, *See Rembert* with 3 red stamens. The stamens [6 p 233] are dried,

[1] to [2—2] or spade [3] Rose [4—4] out of hand
[5—5] thereof either three or four [7] ouer

preſst into cakes, bagd up, and sold

that is laied vpon them, they are dried and preſſed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the benefit of their owners. In good yeeres we gather [foure ſcore or] an hundred pounds of wet ſaffron of an acre, which being dried dooth yeeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and ſith the price of ſaffron is commonlie about twentie ſhillings in monie, [or not ſo little,] it is eaſie to ſee what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the ſetter, [which indeed are great, but yet not ſo great as he ſhall be thereby a looſer, if he be anie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre dooth coſt 13 ſhillings foure pence before the ſaffron be ſet, the clodding ſixteene pence, the taking of euerie load of ſtones from the ſame foure pence, the raiſing of euerie quarter of heads ſix pence, and ſo much for clenſing of them, beſides the rent of ten ſhillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of doong which is woorth ſix pence the load to be laid on the firſt yeere, for the ſetting three and twentie ſhillings and foure pence, for the paring fiue ſhillings, ſix pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie ſet, and paie ten pounds for the ſame, yet ſhall he ſuſteine no damage, if warme weather and open ſeaſon doo happen at the gathering. This alſo is to be noted, that euerie acre aſketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten foot in breadth. And after three yeeres that ground will ſerue well, and without compeſt for barleie by the ſpace of eighteene or twentie yeeres togither, as experience dooth confirme. The heads alſo of euerie acre at the raiſing will ſtore an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies togither. But the beſt ſaffron is gathered at the firſt; at which time foure pounds of wet ſaffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middeſt fiue pounds of the one will make but one of

Its cost is

	13	4	
	1	4	
	1	8	(say)
1	10		
	15		
1	3	4	
	5		
2	5		
£6	11	8	

Every acre yields 20lbs of dry saffron at 20s the lb, or £20

The roots are set in rows, 2 in. apart.

The earliest gatherd saffron is the best.

the other, becauſe the chiue waxeth ſmaller, as ſix at the laſt will doo no more but yeeld one of the dried, by reaſon of the chiue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres alſo the ſame ground may be ſet with ſaffron againe. And in lieu of a concluſion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will proſper beſt in a lighter ſoile; and contrariwiſe: which is one note that our crokers doo carefullie obſerue.]

Raising every third year

The heads are raiſed euerie third yeare about vs, [to wit, after Midſummer, when the roſſe commeth drie from the heads,] and commonlie in the firſt yeere after they be ſet, they yeeld verie little increaſe: yet that which [then] commeth is counted the fineſt [and greateſt chiue, & beſt for medicine,] and called ſaffron *Du hort*. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raiſe againe [about Walden and in Cambridge ſhire.] In this period of time alſo the heads are ſaid to child, that is, to yeeld out of ſome parts of them diuerſe other headlets, whereby it hath beene ſeene, that ſome one head hath beene increaſed [(though with his owne detriment)] to three, or foure, or fiue, or ſix, which augmentation is the onlie cauſe wherby they are ſold ſo good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne [1]foure buſhels or a coome[1] of them to be valued much aboue two ſhillings eight pence, except in ſome od yeeres [that they ariſe to eight or ten ſhillings the quarter, and that is] when ouer great ſtore of winters water hath rotted the moſt of them as they ſtood within the ground, [2]or heat in ſummer parchedand burnt them vp.[2]

The 1st year's growth is little, but good.

The 3rd year's is the biggest

And then the heads 'child,' or put forth headlets

They 're cheap 8d a bushel.

In Norffolke and Suffolke they raiſe but once in ſeuen yeeres: but as their ſaffron is not ſo fine as that of Cambridge ſhire and about Walden, ſo it will not [3]cake, ting,[3] nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this ſtuffe. Some craftie

Norfolk and Suffolk saffron.

[1]—[1] a quarter

[2]—[2] It is thought that at euery raising they encreasē cōmonly a third part.

[3]—[3] tigne

Saffron adulterated with brazil, &c

iackes vſe to mix it with [ſcraped brazell or with] the floure of *Sonchus*, which commeth ſomewhat neere indeed to the hue of our good ſaffron [(if it be late gathered)] but it is ſoone bewraied both by the [depth of the] colour and hardneſſe. Such alſo was the plentie

Saffron was so plentiful about 1556, that some Walden men

of ſaffron about twentie yeeres paſſed, that ſome of the townefmen of Walden [gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and ſent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whileſt the reſt,] not thankfull for the abundance of Gods bleſſing beſtowed vpon them (as wiſhing rather more ſcarſitie thereof becauſe of the keeping vp of the price) in moſt

made ribald jokes against God about it.

contemptuous maner murmured againſt him, ſaieng that he did ſhite ſaffron[1] therewith to chaake the market. But as they ſhewed themſelues no leſſe than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, ſo the Lord conſidered[2] their vnthankfulneſſe, [&] gaue them euer ſince ſuch

Then it got scarcer,

ſcarſitie, as the greateſt murmurers haue now the leaſt ſtore; and moſt of them are either worne out of occupieng, or remaine ſcarſe able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decaied about [Saffron] Walden ſince

but is now paying well.

thſe ſaid time, vntill now of late within theſe[3] two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the ſame, [becauſe of the great commoditie.] But to proceed. When the heads be raiſed and taken vp, they will remaine fixteene or twentie daies out of the earth [or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by ſaint Iames tide, or verie ſhortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before

Saffron heads must not be kept too long out of ground.

Midſummer, or beginning of Iulie, the heads will ſhrinke like a roſted warden: ſo after Auguſt they will wax drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaie.] And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried ſome of them to London with me; and notwithſtanding that they haue remained there vnſet by the ſpace of

[1] saffron at that present [2] considering [3] this

[1]fortie dais and more[1]: yet ſome of them haue brought foorth two or three floures a peece, and ſome floures three[2] or fiue chiues, to the greeat admiration of ſuch as haue gathered the ſame, and not beene acquainted with [3]their nature and [3] countrie where they grew. The crokers or ſaffron men doo vſe an obſeruation a litle before the comming vp of the floure, [and ſometime in the taking vp at Midſummer tide,] by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and ſcarſitie of this commoditie to come. For if they ſee as it were many ſmall hairie veines of ſaffron to be in the middeſt of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to ſaie truth, at the cleauing of ech head, a man ſhall diſcerne the ſaffron by the colour, and ſee where abouts [4]the chiue[4] will iſſue out of the root. Warme [darke] nights, ſweet dews, fat grounds (cheeflie the chalkie) and miſtie mornings are verie good for ſaffron; but froſt and cold doo kill and keepe backe the floure, [or elſe ſhrinke vp the chiue.] And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of Engliſh ſaffron, which is hot in the ſecond and drie in the firſt degree, [and moſt plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yeere wherein ewes twin moſt. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, ſo I am otherwiſe ſure, that there is no more deceit vſed in anie trade than in ſaffron. For in the making they will greaſe the papers on the kell with a little candle greaſe, to make the *woorſt ſaffron* haue *ſo good a colour as the beſt*: afterwards alſo they will ſprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both theſe are bewraied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a ſiluer ſpoone, or by the ſoftneſſe thereof betweene the fore finger and the thumbe; or thirdlie, by [5]the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worſe ſaffron of other countries, the colour will bewraie the forgerie by the ſwartneſſe of the chiue, which otherwiſe would excell it, and therevnto being ſound, remaine criſpe,

Crokers (or growers) can *judge from the* flowet whether they 'll have a good year.

The weather and ſoil that ſuit ſaffron.

No bigger rogues than ſaffron-dealers

Their tricks.

How to find 'em out.

[3 p. 234]

[1—1] 15 daies [2] 4 [3—3] the [4—4] it

brickle, and drie: and finallie, if it be holden neere the face, will ſtrike a certeine biting heat vpon the ſkin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indeed among the ſkilfull crokers.]

The virtues of saffron:

Now if it pleaſe you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note theſe inſuing at the requeſt of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatſoeuer breuitie I liſted. Therefore our ſaffron [(beſide

It flauours dishes and bride-cakes (see vol i p lxxi, Perlin),

the manifold vſe that it hath in the kitchin and paſtrie, alſo in our cakes at bridals, and thankſgiuings of women)] is verie profitably mingled with thoſe medicins which we take for the diſeaſes of the breaſt, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good alſo for the ſtomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the

helps digestion

ſame and maketh good digeſtion · being ſodden alſo in wine, it not onelie keepeth a man from droonkenneſſe,

and child-getting,

but incorageth alſo vnto procreation of iſſue. If you drinke it in ſweet wine, it inlargeth the breath, and is

is good for short wind,

good for thoſe that are troubled with the tiſike and ſhortneſſe of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it ſtaieth ſuch humors as deſcend into the ſame, and taketh awaie the red wheales and pearles that oft grow[1] about them: [it

kills moths,

killeth moths if it be ſowed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in preſſes amongſt tapiſtrie or apparell: alſo] it is verie profitablie laid vnto all inflammations, painefull apoſthumes,[2] and the ſhingles; and dooth no

helps deafness,

ſmall eaſe vnto deafnes,[3] if it be mingled with ſuch medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vſe alſo in ripening[4] of botches and all ſwellings proceeding of raw humors. Or if it ſhall pleaſe you to drinke the root thereof with maluefie, it will marueilouſlie prouoke vrine, diſſolue and expell grauell, and

dissolves gravel.

yeeld no ſmall eaſe to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finallie, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one ſhilling nine

[1] groweth [2] Aposthemes [3] dyuers [4] riping

pence halfepenie, is deadlie poiſon; as *Dioſcorides* dooth affirme: [and droonke in wine (ſaith *Platina*) *lib.* 3. cap. 13. *De honeſta voluptate,* dooth haſt on droonkenneſſe, which is verie true. And I haue knowne ſome, that by eating onelie of bread more than of cuſtome ſtreined with ſaffron, haue become like droonken men, & yet otherwiſe well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this alſo, if a man doo but open and ranſake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants doo when they buie it of the crokers, it will ſtrike ſuch an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they ſhall be gidd.e and ſicke (I meane for two or three houres ſpace), their noſes and eies in like ſort will yeeld ſuch plentie of rheumatike water, that they ſhall be the better for it long after, eſpeciallie their cieſight, which is woonderfullie clarified by this meanes: howbeit ſome merchants not liking of this phyſike, muffle themſelues as women doo when they ride, and put on ſpectacles ſet in leather, which dooth in ſome meaſure (but not for altogither) put by the force thereof.] There groweth ſome ſaffron in manie places of Almaine, and alſo about Vienna in Auſtria, which later is taken for the beſt that ſpringeth in thoſe[1] quarters. In ſteed of this[2] ſome doo vſe the *Carthamus,* called amongſt vs baſtard ſaffron, but neither [3]is this[3] of anie value, nor the other in any wiſe comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this ſuffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in[4] the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about [the] Chiltern hils, & in all the vale of the White horſſe [ſo well as in Walden and Cambridgeſhire, if they were carefull of it. I heare of ſome alſo to be cheriſhed alreadie in Glouceſterſhire, and certeine other places weſtward. But of the fineneſſe and tincture of the chiue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to

Saffron tends to make men drunk, even in bread.

Merchants opening big bags of it,

are made giddy and sick by it

Vienna saffron is the best abroad.

Saffron 'ud grow in the Vale of White Horse, &c.

[1] other [2] thys also [3—3] this is [4] not long before

Englishmen haven't grown saffron enough.

God that my countriemen had beene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue prooued more beneficiall to our

They're so idle,

Iland than our cloth or wooll. But alas! ſo idle are we, and heretofore ſo much giuen to eaſe, by reaſon of the ſmalneſſe of our rents, that few men regard to ſearch out which are their beſt commodities. But if landlords hold on to raiſe the rents of their farms as they begin,

and want screwing up by Landlords' high rents.

they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and ſcratch out their rent from vnder euerie clod that may be turned aſide. The greateſt mart for ſaffron is at Aquila in Abruzo, where they haue an eſpeciall weight for the ſame of ten pounds leſſe in the hundred than that of Florens and Luke: but how it agreeth with ours it ſhall appeere hereafter.]

Of quarries of ſtone for building.

Chap. 9.[1]

We've many stone quarries in England.

QUarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our ſtone to build withall, & of theſe as we haue great plentie in England, ſo are they of diuerſe ſorts, and thoſe verie profitable for ſundrie neceſſarie vſes. In times paſt the vſe of ſtone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houſes, princely palaces, biſhops manours, and holds onlie: but now that ſcrupulous

Stone is now used for building, instead of timber.

obſeruation is altogither infringed, and building with ſtone ſo commonlie taken vp, that amongſt noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are ſuppoſed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and leaſt continuance of all. It farre paſſeth my cunning to ſet downe how manie ſorts of ſtone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each

[1] Chap. 15, Bk. 3, in 1577 ed.

of them by their proper names. Howbeit, ſuch is the curioſitie of our countrimen, that notwithſtanding almightie God hath ſo bleſſed our realme in moſt plentifull maner, with ſuch and ſo manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longeſt continuance, yet we as lothſome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, doo commonlie leaue theſe naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie conſumed and ſpent, to the no ſmall decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that periſh oft for cold.

But tho' God has given us lots of natural stone,

we foolishly leave it to crumble in the ground, and use artificial brick.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in miſliking of our owne commodities at home, and deſiring thoſe of other countries abroad, moſt eſteemed the cane ſtone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in theſe our daies following the ſame veine, doo couet in their works almoſt to vſe none other. Howbeit experience on the one ſide, and our ſkilfull maſons on the other (whoſe iudgement is nothing inferiour to[1] thoſe of other countries) doo affirme, that in the north [and ſouth] parts of England, and certeine other places, there are ſome quarries, which for hardneſſe and beautie are equall to the outlandiſh greet. This maie alſo be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greateſt part of the ſquare[2] ſtone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the veine of white free ſtone, ſlate, and meere ſtone, which is be[3]tweene[4] Pentowen, and the blacke head in Cornewall, for verie fine ſtuffe. Other doo ſpeake much of the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Milberie, and pauing ſtone of Burbecke. For toph[5] ſtone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dreſleie,[6] diuerſe miſlike not of the veine[s] of hard ſtone that are[7] at Oxford, and Burford. One praiſeth the free ſtone at Manchеſter, & Preſtburie in Gloceſter-

Caen stone has been much imported into England,

tho we 've got better here.

Kings' Coll chapel, Cambridge, was built of Northern English stone.

[3 p. 235]

English quarries.

Toph stone.

[1] of [2] squared [4] betwixt [5] Tophe [6] Drisley [7] is

Stone-quarries in England.

ſhire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh well of the hard ſtone in Clee hill in Shropſhire; the fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries inow, [and good inough] in England, ſufficient for vs to build withall, if the peeuiſh contempt of our owne commodities, and delectations to inrich other countries, did not catch ſuch fooliſh hold vpon vs. It[1] is alſo verified (as anie other waie) that all nations haue rather need of England, than England of anie other. And this I thinke may ſuffice for the ſubſtance of our works. Now if you haue regard to their ornature, how manie mines of ſundrie kinds of courſe & fine marble are there[2] to be had in England? But chieflie one in Staffordſhire, an other neere to the Peke, the third at Vauldrie, the fourth at Snothill (longing to the lord Chaindois), the fift at Egleſtone, which is of blacke marble, ſpotted with graie or white ſpots, the fixt not farre from Durham. [Of white marble alſo we haue ſtore, and ſo faire as the Marpeſian of Paris Ile.] But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the moſt excellent? ſith theſe which I haue named alredie are not altogither of the beſt,[3] nor ſcarſelie of anie value in compariſon of thoſe, whoſe places of growth are vtterlie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble ſpotted with greene is none of the vileſt ſort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, [and alſo in Weſtminſter,] where ſome peeces thereof are yet to be ſeene and marked, if anie will looke for them. If marble will not ſerue, then haue we the fineſt alabaſter that maie elſewhere bee had, as about ſaint Dauids of Wales; alſo neere to Beau manour, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leiceſter, & taken to be the beſt, although there are diuerſe other quarries hereof beyond the Trent, [as in Yorkeſhire, &c: and fullie ſo good as that,] whoſe

Ornamental marbles in England.

White.

Black spotted with green

(in the choir of St Paul's)

Alabaster in Wales, and near Leicester.

[1] Thereby it [2] then [3] least

names at this time are out of my remembrance. What ſhould I talke of the plaiſter of Axholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in ſundrie places of Lincolne and Darbiſhires, wherewith they blanch their houſes in ſtead of lime, I ſpeake not), certes it is a[1] fine kind of alabaſter. But ſith it is ſold commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge it to be but vile and courſe. For my part I cannot ſkill of ſtone, yet in my opinion it is not without great vſe for plaiſter of paris, and ſuch is the mine of it, that the ſtones [thereof] lie in flakes one vpon an other like plankes or tables, and vnder the ſame is an [exceeding] hard ſtone verie profitable for building, as hath often times beene prooued. [This is alſo to be marked further of our plaiſter white and graie, that not contented with the ſame, as God by the quarrie dooth ſend and yeeld it foorth, we haue now deuiſed to caſt it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what forme and faſhion we liſt, euen as alabaſter it ſelfe: and with ſuch ſtuffe ſundrie houſes in Yorkſhire are furniſhed of late. But of what continuance this deuiſe is like to proue, the time to come ſhall eaſilie bewraie. In the meane time ſir Rafe Burcher knight hath put the deuiſe in practiſe, and affirmeth that ſix men in ſix moneths ſhall trauell in that trade to ſee greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in ſix yeares could before this tricke was inuented.]

Axholm plaster for whitewash,

at 12*d* a load,

and fit for Plaster of Paris

We now cast it in moulds for windows, pillars, &c,

and at a great profit, says sir Ralph Bourchier.

If neither alabaſter nor marble dooth ſuffice, we haue the touchſtone, called in Latine *Lydius lapis*, [ſhining as glaſſe,] either to match in ſockets with our pillers of alabaſter, or contrariwiſe: [2]or if it pleaſe[2] the workeman to ioine pillers of alabaſter or touch with ſockets of braſſe, pewter, or copper, we want not [alſo] theſe mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuerſitie of ſtuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our ſelues could ſo like of it. But ſuch alas is our nature, that not our own but

We have Touchstone,

and all kinds of good building stuff.

But so fond of

[1] a very [2—2] if it pleaseth

novelty are we, that we change good English cloth, and corn,

other mens do moſt of all delite vs, & for deſire of noueltie, we oft exchange our fineſt cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorſes for children, dogs of wax [or of cheeſe,] two pennie tabers, leaden ſwords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for diſards,[1] hawkeſwhoods, and ſuch like [trumperie,] whereby we reape iuſt mockage and reproch [in other countries] I might remember here our pits for milſtones, that are to be had in diuerſe places of our countrie, as in Angleſeie, [Kent,] alſo at Queene hope of blew greet, of no leſſe value than the Colaine,[2] yea than the French ſtones. our grindſtones for hardy are men. Our whetſtones [are no leſſe laudable than thoſe of Creta & Lacedemonia, albeit we vſe no oile with them, as they did in thoſe parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Narians doo with theirs whereas they that grow in Cilicia muſt haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or elſe they make no edge Theſe alſo are diuided either into the hard greet, as the common that ſhoomakers vſe, or the ſoft greet called hones, to be had among the barbars, and thoſe either blacke or white, and the rub or brickle ſtone which huſbandmen doo occupie in the whetting of their ſithes.]

for foreign gewgaws for fools.

We have Millstones,

Grindstones,

Whetstones.

Barbers' hones,

Mowers rubbers.

4 kinds of slate here

[3]In like maner[3] ſlate of ſundrie colours is[4] euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the ſhalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this wee muſt fetch them ſtill from farre, as did the Hull men their ſtones out of Iſeland, wherewith they paued their towne for want of the like in England or as ſir Thomas Greſham did, when he bought the ſtones in Flanders, wherwith he paued the Burſe. But as he will anſwer [peraduenture,] that he bargained for the whole mould and ſubſtance of his workemanſhip in Flanders: ſo the Hullanders or Hull men will ſaie, how that ſtockefiſh is light loding, and therfore they did balaſſe their veſſels with theſe Iſeland ſtones, to keepe them from turning

Yet we import slate and stones from abroad!

Sir Thos. Gresham bought his, for the Exchange, in Flanders

[1] *doltes* [2] *collein* [3—3] *and* [4] *are*

ouer in their ſo tedious[1] a voiage. [And thus much brieflie of our quarries of ſtone for building, wherein oftentimes the workemen haue found ſtrange things incloſed, I meane liuelie creatures ſhut vp in the hard ſtones, and liuing there without reſpiration or breathing, as frogs, todes, &c· whereof you ſhall read more in the chronologie following· alſo in *Caius Langius*, *William* of *Newburie*, *Agricola*, *Cornelius* of *Amſterdam*, *Bellogius de aquatilibus*, *Allert* the great, *lib.* 19. *cap.* 9. *De rebus metallicis*, and *Goropius* in *Niloſcopio*, *pag.* 237, *&c.* Sometime alſo they find pretious ſtones (though ſeldome) and ſome of them perfectlie ſquared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was ſo perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in the world had conſulted about the performance of that workemanſhip. I know that theſe reports vnto ſome will ſeeme incredible, and therefore I ſtand the longer vpon them, neuertheleſſe omitting to ſpeake particularlie of ſuch things as happen amongſt vs, and rather ſeeking to confirme the ſame by the like in other countries, I will deliuer a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof ſhall ſo much the better appeare. For in the middeſt of a ſtone not long ſince found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was ſeene *Caput paniſii* incloſed therin, very perfectlie formed as the beholders doo remember. How come the grains of gold to be ſo faſt incloſed in the ſtones [2]that are & haue beene found in the Spaniſh Bætis? But this is moſt maruellous, that a moſt delectable and ſweet oile, comparable to the fineſt balme, or oile of ſpike in ſmell, was found naturallie included in a ſtone, which could not otherwiſe be broken but with a ſmiths hammer. *Goropius* dooth tell of a pearch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then committed into hard ſtone, vpon the top of a crag. *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſt* ſpeake of fiſhes digged out of

Living toads, &c., found in stone

A pointed diamond found in Naples marble

In stone haue been found

grains of gold, [2 p 236]

sweet smelling oil,

a liue perch,

and sea fish.

[1] daungerous

the earth, farre from the ſea in Greece, which *Seneca* alſo confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a ſerpent was found faſt incloſed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, ſo that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of ſtone at Auignion, wherein a man had beene buried, which ſo filled the roome, and laie ſo cloſe from aire, that all men woondered how it was poſſible for the ſame to liue and continue ſo long time there. Finallie I my ſelfe haue ſeene ſtones opened, and within them the ſubſtances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far ſhorter) whoſe creſts and wrinkles of bodie appeared alſo therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the ſtones by art and induſtrie of man. Wherefore to affirme; that as well liuing creatures, as pretious ſtones, gold, &c: are now and then found in our quarries, ſhall not hereafter be a thing ſo incredible as manie talking philoſophers, void of all experience, doo affirme, and wilfullie mainteine againſt ſuch as hold the contrarie.]

A liue serpent found

In a stone coffin at Avignon.

I've seen casts of worms inside stones

Of ſundrie minerals.

Chap. 10.[1]

WIth how great benefits this Iland of ours hath beene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confeſſe, and yeeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the ſame. For we are bleſſed euerie waie, & there is no temporall commoditie neceſſarie to be had or craued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in moſt aboundant maner beſtowed vpon vs Engliſhmen, if we could ſee to vſe it, & be thankefull for the ſame. But alas (as I ſaid in the chapter precedent) we loue to inrich them that care not for vs, but for our great com-

God has given us English every necessary,

[1] Chap. 16, Bk. 3, in 1577 ed.

modities: and one trifling toie not woorth the cariage, cõming (as the prouerbe ſaith) in three ſhips from beyond the ſea is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, eaſie to be had at home. They haue alſo the caſt to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they ſee that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be ſo that they haue alſo the like in their owne countries) they will ſuddenlie abaſe the ſame to ſo low a price, that our gaine not being woorthie our trauell, and the ſame commoditie with leſſe coſt readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it cauſeth vs to giue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obteine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cauſe wherefore our commodities are oft ſo little eſteemed [of]. Some of them can ſaie without anie teacher, that they will buie the caſe of a fox of an Engliſhman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax[1] wiſer, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flouriſh againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be ſhorne and dreſſed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo ſtarue and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practiſe vtterlie neglect to be ſkilfull in this ſcience! But to my purpoſe.

but we're such fools that we think one foreign toy worth a good home jewel.

Foreigners 'll buy a fox skin of an Englishman for 4*d*., and make him pay 12*d*. for the tail.

Our cloth is shorn and dressed abroad, while our cloth workers starve.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke ſiluer, antimonie, ſulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We haue alſo the fineſt alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greateſt fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a ſubiect hath beene of late egregiouſlie abuſed, and euen almoſt with barbarous inciuilitie) [& of no leſſe force againſt fire, if it were vſed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vſe ſomtime amongſt the Aſians & Romans, &

English minerals.

Alum,

[*The lord Mountioy*]

to make wainscotings fireproof.

[1] were

wherof Sylla had ſuch triall that when he meant to haue burned a towei of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes ſet it on fire in a long time, bicauſe it was waſhed ouer with alume, as were alſo the gates of the temple of Ieruſalem with like effect, and perceiued when *Titus* commanded fire to be put vnto the ſame. Beſide this we haue alſo]

Cinnabar, the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the ſulphurous

bitumen, glebe called bitumen in old time[1] for morter, and yet burned in lamps where oile is ſcant and geaſon: the

copperas, chryſocolla, coperis, and[2] minerall ſtone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is moſt ſtrange the

and pearl minerall pearle, which as they are for greatneſſe and colour moſt excellent of all other, ſo are they digged out of the maine land, and in ſundrie places far diſtant from the ſhore. [Certes the weſterne part of the land hath in times paſt greatlie abounded with theſe and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are waſhed awaie by the violence of the ſea, which hath deuoured the greateſt part of Cornewall and Deuonſhire on either ſide: and it dooth appeere yet by

Once the Scilly Isles were close to Cornwall good record, that whereas now there is a great diſtance betweene the Syllan Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to ſpeke of ſcarſelie a brooke or draine of one fadam water betweene them, if ſo much, as by thoſe euidences appeereth, and are yet to be ſeene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of thoſe Iles. But to proceed.]

Coal mines Of colemines we haue ſuch plentie in the north and weſterne parts of our Iland, as may ſuffice for all the

We shall have to use coal if wood is not better kept. realme of England: and ſo muſt they doo hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherriſhed than it is at this preſent. And to ſaie the truth, notwithſtanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of

Already coal is used in kitchen and hall. the maine, yet their greateſt trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may

[1] time used [2] y

appeere alreadie in moſt cities and townes that lie about the coaſt, where they haue [but] little other fewell, except it be turffe and haſſocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of theſe into Suſſex and Southhampton ſhire, for want whereof the ſmiths doo worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cauſe, which is but a ſlender excuſe to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Why don t the Sussex and Hampshire smiths use coa instead of charcoal?

Beſide our colemines we have pits in like ſort of white plaſter, and of fat and white [and other coloured] marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitors doo compeſt their ſoile, [and which dooth beneſit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come.] We haue ſaltpeter for our ordinance, and ſalt ſoda for our glaſſe, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerie as I weene hard by Codington, and ſometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is ſo fine to make moulds for goldſmiths and caſters of mettall, that a load of it was woorth fiue ſhillings thirtie yeares agone none ſuch againe they ſaie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for theſe and other his benefits [1]beſtowed vpon vs, wherby he ſheweth himſelfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrariewiſe returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickedneſſe, auarice, meere contempt of his will, [2]pride, exceſſe, atheiſme, and no leſſe than Iewiſh [2] ingratitude.

Pits of Plaster and white Marl

Saltpetre and soda.

Fine earth for crucibles,

worth 5s a load

[1 p 237]

The sins of us Englishmen

Of mettals [to be had in our *land*]

Chap. 11 [3]

[ALl mettals receiue their beginning of quickſiluer and ſulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And ſuch is the purpoſe

The mother and father of all Metals.

2—2 and notable

3 Chap 18, Bk. 3, in 1577 ed

Nature tends to beget Gold

of nature in their generations: that ſhe tendeth alwaies to the procreation of gold, neuertheleſſe ſhe ſildome reacheth vnto that hir end, bicauſe of the vnequall mixture and proportion of theſe two in the ſubſtance ingendered, whereby impediment and corruption is induced, which as it is more or leſſe, dooth ſhew it ſelfe in the mettall that is producted. Firſt of all therefore

Sulphur and Quicksilver, well mixt and stewd,

the ſubſtance of ſulphur and quickſiluer being mixed in due proportion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, orderlie ingroſſed and fixed,

become Gold,

becommeth gold, which *Encelius* dooth call the ſunne and right heire of nature: but if it ſwarue but a little

less well mixt,

(ſaith he) in the commixtion and other circumſtances,

Silver,

then dooth it product ſiluer the daughter, not ſo noble a child as gold hir brother, which among mettall is worthilie called the cheefe. Contrariwiſe, the ſubſtances

badly mixt,

of the aforeſaid parents mixed without proportion, and leſſe digeſted and fixed in the entrailes of the earth, whereby the radicall moiſture becommeth combuſtible and not of force to endure heat and hammer, dooth

Tin, Lead, &c

either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were the firſt mettals knowne in time paſt vnto antiquitie, although that in theſe daies there are diuerſe other, whereof neither they nor our alchumiſts had euer anie knowledge. Of theſe therfore which are reputed

This 3rd sort we have

among the third ſort, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, ſo will I intreat of them, and with ſuch breuitie as may ſerue the turne,

Gold

and yet not altogither omit to ſaie ſomewhat of gold

Siluer.

and ſiluer alſo, bicauſe I find by good experience how] it was not ſaid of old time without great reaſon, that all countries haue need of Britaine, and Britaine it ſelfe of none. For truelie if a man regard ſuch neceſſities as nature onlie requireth, there is no nation vnder the ſunne, that can ſaie ſo much as ours: ſith we doo want none that are conuenient for vs. Wherefore[1] if it be a

[1] *Certes*

benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not void [1]of ſome,[1] neither likewiſe of ſiluer: [whatſoeuer *Cicero* affirmeth to the contrarie, *Lib.* 4. *ad Atticum epi.* 16. in whoſe time they were not found, *Britannici belli exitus* (ſaith he) *expectatur, conſtat enim aditus inſulæ eſſe munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum eſt, neque argenti ſcrupulum eſſe vllum in illa inſula, neque vllam ſpem prædæ niſi ex mancipijs, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut muſicis eruditos expectare.*] And albeit that we haue no ſuch abundance of theſe (as ſome other countries doo yeeld) yet haue my rich countrimen ſtore inough of both in their purſſes, where [in time paſt] they were woont to haue leaſt, becauſe the garniſhing of our churches, tabernacles, images, ſhrines and apparell of the preeſts conſumed the greateſt part, as experience hath confirmed.

We have some gold and silver,

tho' not much

Yet rich folk have plenty in purse

[Of late my countriemen haue found out I wot not what voiage into the weſt Indies, from whence they haue brought ſome gold, whereby our countrie is inriched: but of all that euer aduentured into thoſe parts, none haue ſped better than ſir Francis Drake whoſe ſucceſſe 1582 hath far paſſed euen his owne expectation. One Iohn Frobiſher in like maner attempting to ſeeke out a ſhorter cut by the northerlie regions into the peaceable ſea and kingdome of Cathaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared, and ſo much that ſome letted not to giue out for certeintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden ſhew made him ſo deſirous alſo of like ſucceſſe, that he left off his former voiage, & returned home to bring news of ſuch things as he had ſeene. But when after another voiage it was found to be but droſſe, he gaue ouer both the enterpriſes, and now keepeth home without anie deſire at all to ſeeke into farre countries. In truth, ſuch was the

Gold brought from the West Indies.

Sir Francis Drake in 1582

Frobisher in 1577 discoverd islands ('2 Cent of Verona' I iii 9) seeming to contain much gold,

but it turnd out dross.

[1—1] thereof

plentie of ore there ſeene and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue furniſhed all the world with abundance of that mettall; the iorneie alſo was ſhort and performed in foure or fiue moneths, which was a notable incouragement. But to proceed.]

Tin. Lead.

Tin and lead, [mettals which *Strabo* noteth in his time to be carried vnto *Marſilis* from hence, as *Diodorus* alſo confirmeth,] are verie plentiful with vs, the one in

Tin in Cornwall.

Cornewall, Deuonſhire (& elſe-where in the north), the other in Darbiſhire, Weredale, and ſundrie[1] places of this Iland; whereby my countriemen doo reape no

Lead in Derbyshire.

Pewterers

ſmall commoditie, but eſpeciallie our pewterers, who in time paſt imploied the vſe of pewter onelie vpon diſhes,[2] pots, and a few other trifles for ſeruice [here at home,] whereas now they are growne vnto ſuch exquiſit cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infuſion anie forme or faſhion of cup, diſh, ſalt, bowle, or goblet, which is made by goldſmiths craft, though they be neuer ſo curious, [3]exquiſite, and[3] artificiallie forged.

can copy the finest work, by moulding.

A 'Garnish' of pewter 'Vessel' is

12 platters,

12 dishes,
12 saucers,

[Such furniture of houſhold of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of veſſell, is ſold vſuallie by the garniſh, which dooth conteine twelue platters, twelue diſhes, twelue ſaucers, and thoſe are either of ſiluer faſhion, or elſe with brode or narrow brims, and

at 6d., 7d., or 8d. a pound.

bought by the pound, which is now valued at ſix or ſeuen pence, or peraduenture at eight pence. Of porringers, pots, and other like I ſpeake not, albeit that in the making of all theſe things there is ſuch exquiſite diligence vſed, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reaſon of ſharpe laws prouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in anie other trade. I haue beene alſo

Pewter is made of 20 lbs. brass, 1000 lbs. tin, 3 or 4 lbs. tinglass.

informed that it conſiſteth of a compoſition, which hath thirtie pounds of kettle braſſe to a thouſand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad three or foure pounds of tinglaſſe: but as too much of this dooth make the ſtuffe brickle,

[1] sondry other [2] dishes and [3]—[3] and very

ſo the more the braſſe be, the better is the pewter, and more profitable vnto him that dooth buie and purchaſe the ſame. But to proceed.]

In ſome places beyond the ſea a garniſh of good flat Engliſh pewter [of an ordinarie making] (I ſaie flat, becauſe diſhes and platters in my time begin to be made deepe like baſons, and are indeed more conuenient both for ſawce, [broth,] and keeping the meat warme) is [1]eſteemed almoſt[1] ſo pretious, as the like number of veſſels that are made of fine ſiluer, and in maner no leſſe deſired amongſt the great eſtates, whoſe workmen are nothing ſo ſkilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall ſo good, nor plentie ſo great, as we haue here in England. [The Romans made excellent looking glaſſes of our Engliſh tin, howbeit our workemen were not then ſo exquiſite in that feat as the Brunduſians. wherefore the wrought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie highlie were thoſe glaſſes [2]eſteemed of till ſiluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the tin into ſuch contempt, that in manner euerie diſhwaſher refuſed to looke in other than ſiluer glaſſes for the attiring of hir head. Howbeit the making of ſiluer glaſſes had beene in vſe before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Praxiteles deuiſed them in the yoong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of *Cæſar* into this Iland.]

Abroad, flat English pewter vessels (we make 'em deep now)

Is thought almost equal to silver.

Looking glasses made of tin

[2 p 238]

now of silver, and us'd by every dish-washer

There were mines of lead ſometimes alſo in Wales, which indured ſo long till the people had conſumed all their wood by melting of the ſame (as they did alſo at Comerſtwith ſix miles from Stradfleur) [and I ſuppoſe that in *Plinies* time the abundance of lead (whereof he ſpeaketh) was to be found in thoſe parts, in the ſeauenteenth of his thirtie fourth booke: alſo he affirmeth that it laie in the verie ſwart of the earth, and dailie gotten in ſuch plentie, that the Romans made a re-

Former lead mines in Wales.

The lead lay on the sward.

[1]—[1] almost esteemed

ſtraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much ſhould yearelie be wrought and tranſported ouer the ſea.] And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling neere Comeriſtwith [(as *Leland* ſaith)] had made ſo tame, that it would dailie flie and follow him to his worke and other places where ſoeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome [or vallie,] where the first mine was knowne to be, did laie his purſſe and girdle by him, as men commonlie doo that addreſſe themſelues to applie their buſineſſe earneſtlie, and he himſelfe alſo had vſed from time to time before. The crow likewiſe was verie buſie flittering about him, and ſo much moleſted him,[1] that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be ſhort, in the end the crow haſtilie caught vp his girdle and purſſe, and made awaie withall ſo faſt as hir wings could carrie hir. Heere vpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to loſe peraduenture all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, curſſing and menacing that he ſhould loſe his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the means whereby his life was ſaued, for he had not beene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I ſhould take vpon me to diſcourſe [and ſearch out the cauſe] of the [thus] dealing of this bird at large, I ſhould peraduenture ſet myſelf further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I perſuaded, that the crow was Gods inſtrument herein, wherby the life of this poore labourer was preſerued. It was doone alſo in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a ſhoomaker of Dutch land in his ſhop or ſtoue: who ſeeing the ſame to ſit vpon the pearch [among his ſhoone,] verie beauilie

Anecdote of a miner's crow,

which flew off with its master's purse,

and saved his life.

Anecdote of a Dutch crow that talkt Latin.

[1] him indeede

and drouſie, ſaid vnto the bird: What aileth my iacke, whie art[1] thou ſad and penſiue? The crow hearing his maiſter ſpeake after this ſort vnto him, anſwered (or elſe the diuell within him) out of the pſalter: *Cogitaui dies antiquos & æternos in mente habui.* But whither am I digreſſed, from lead vnto crowes, & from crowes vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and reſume the tractation of ſuch things as I had earſt in hand.

The crow or the devil.

[*Psal 76.*]

We'll get back to our metals.

Iron is found in manie places, as in Suſſex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walſhall, [as alſo in Shropſhire, but cheeflie in the woods betwixt Beluos and Willocke or Wicberie neere] Manchester, and elſewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerſe doo bring foorth ſo fine and good ſtuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the ſea, [beſide the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would ſo accept it, or beſtow a little more coſt in the refining of it] It is alſo of ſuch toughneſſe, that it yeeldeth to the making of clauicord wire in ſome places of the realme. [Neuertheleſſe, it was better cheape with vs when ſtrangers onelie brought it hither. for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vſe it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to ſhut out forreners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expenſe and waſte of wood, as dooth the making of our pots and table veſſell of glaſſe, wherein is much loſſe ſith it is ſo quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) eaſie to be made tougher, if our alchumiſts could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whoſe mixture would induce a metallicall toughneſſe vnto it, whereby it ſhould abide the hammer.]

Iron.

Our iron is very fine and profitable,

and makes clauicord wire

But the manufacture of it and glass consume much wood.

The red man 'ud make glass tough.

Copper is latelie not found, but rather reſtored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue beene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as ſtrangers haue moſt commonly the gouernance of our

Copper has been lately refound.

[1] thou so

Copper mines yield small gain.

mines, ſo they hitherto make ſmall gains of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit dooth verie hardlie counteruaile the charges; whereat wiſe men doo not a litle maruell, conſidering the abundance which that mine dooth[1] ſeeme to offer, and as it were at hand. *Leland* our countrieman noteth ſundrie great likelihoods of [naturall] copper mines to be eaſtwards, as betweene Dudman and Trewardth in the ſea cliffes, beſide[2] other places, whereof diuerſe are noted here and there in ſundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it ſhall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe· [as for that which is gotten out of the marchaſite, I ſpeake not of it, ſith it is not incident to my purpoſe.] In Dorſetſhire alſo a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

A copper mine in Dorsetshire.

Steele. Ours not so good as the Cologne

As for our ſteele, it is not ſo good for edge-tooles as that of Colaine,[3] and yet the one is often ſold for the other, and like tale vſed in both, that is to ſaie, thirtie gads to the ſheffe, and twelue[4] ſheffes to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our ſpoones and ſome ſalts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter [with ſome, albeit in truth it be much subiect to corruption, putrifaction, more heauie and foule to handle than our pewter; yet ſome ignorant perſons affirme it to be a mettall more naturall, and the verie ſame which *Encelius* calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, 'wiſemute,' 'mithan,' & 'counterfeie,' adding, that where it groweth, ſiluer can not be farre off. Neuertheleſſe it is knowne to be a mixture of braſſe, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe), but after another proportion than is vſed in pewter. But alas I am perſuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchumiſts of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof doo ſeeme to come out of their forge. For] the common ſort [indeed

30 gads to a sheaf, 12 sheaves to a burden.

'Alchumie' (Alkamye, Prompt. Parv) for spoons, &c.,

[*Some tell me that it is a mixture of brasse, lead and tinne.*]

is brass and lead with half tin.

[1] do [2] beside sundry [3] Cullen [4] sixe

doo] call it alchumie,[1] [2]an vnwholſome mettall (God wot) and woorthie to be baniſhed and driuen out of the land. And thus I conclude with this diſcourſe, as hauing[2] no more to ſaie of the mettals of my countrie, except I ſhould talke of braſſe, bell mettall, and ſuch as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: [3]and yet I can not but ſaie that there is ſome braſſe found alſo in England, but ſo ſmall is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be eſteemed or accounted of.[3]

Brass and bell metal are imported.

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[4]Of pretious ſtones.

[4 p 239]

Chap. 12.[5]

THe old writers remember few other ſtones of eſtimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates:* wherevnto furthermore they aſcribe ſundrie properties, as vſuallie practiſed here in times paſt, whereof none of our writers doo make anie mention at all. Howbeit whatſoeuer it hath pleaſed a number of ſtrangers [(vpon falſe ſurmiſe)] to write of the vſages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking[6] the powder hereof[7] againſt the time of their beſtowing in marriage: certeine it is that euen to this daie there is ſome plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbiſhire and about Barwike, [whereof rings, ſalts, ſmall cups, and ſundrie trifling toies are made,] although that in manie mens opinions nothing ſo fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants [dailie] from the maine. But as theſe men are drowned

Jet or *Geat*

Laon Chalchondile.

Derbyshire and Berwick jet made into rings, &c.

[1] Alcamine

[2]—[2] but when I know more of the substance and mixture of this metall myselfe, I will not let to write thereof at large, wheras now I must needes conclude bicause I haue

[3]—[3] but what is that to my purpose.

[5] Chap. 19, Bk. 3, in 1577 ed. [6] of the [7] of thys stone.

with the common errour [conceiued] of our nation; ſo I am ſure that in diſcerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like ſtones bred about Luke and all other countries [whereſoeuer. *Marbodeus Gallus* alſo writing of the ſame among other of eſtimation, ſaith thus:

The old Romans preferd British jet to German.

Naſcitur in Lycia lapis & propè gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium fœcunda Britannia mittit;
Lucidus & niger eſt, leuis & leuiſſimus idem,
Vicinas paleas trahit attritu caleſactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, reſtinguitur vnctus oliuo.

The Germane writers confound it with amber as if it were a kind therof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, ſo I read that it taketh name of Gagas a citie and riuer in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as *Dioſcorides* ſaith. *Nicander in Theriaca* calleth it *Engangin* and *Gangitin*, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforeſaid, which he calleth *Ganges*, and where they haue great vſe of it in driuing awaie of ſerpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glaſed the church withall that ſtandeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light ſhould enter therby. The writers alſo diuide this ſtone into fiue kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another ſtraked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerſe colours, among which ſome are like drops of bloud (but thoſe come out of Inde) and the fift ſhining blacke as anie rauens feather.]

Its name is from Gagas in Cilicia.

The 5 kinds of jet.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the firſt ſtones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, ſo our pearles alſo did match with it in renowme: in ſo much that the onelie deſire of them cauſed *Cæſar* to aduenture

[Pearles.]

hither, after he had ſeene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France [and whereof he made a taberd which he offered vp in Rome to Venus, where it hoong long after as a rich and notable oblation and teſtimonie of the riches of our countrie]. Certes they are to be found in theſe our daies, and thereto of diuerſe colours, in no leſſe numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now ſo much deſired bicauſe of their ſmalneſſe, and alſo for other cauſes, but eſpeciallie ſith churchworke, as copes, veſtments, albes, tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and ſuch traſh, are worthilie aboliſhed; vpon which our countrimen ſuperſtitiouſly[1] beſtowed no ſmall quantities [of them]. For I thinke there were few churches or[2] religious houſes, beſides biſhops miters, [bookes] and [other] pontificall veſtures, but were either throughlie fretted, or notablie garniſhed with huge numbers of them. [*Marbodeus* likewiſe ſpeaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

Caesar made a taberd which he did set with Britsh pearle and offered vppe in Rome vnto Venus, where it hung long time as a rich & notable present.]

Pearls are not much valued now, as the trash of copes and altar-clothes is abolisht.

Gignit & infignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus alſo *Lib.* 23, *in ipſo fine* ſpeaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie thoſe of Perſia before them, which to me dooth ſeeme vnequallie doone.] But as the Britiſh geat or orient pearle were in old time eſteemed aboue thoſe of other countries; ſo time hath ſince the conqueſt of the Romans reuealed manie other: inſomuch that at this ſeaſon there are found in England the Aetites [(in Engliſh called the erneſtone, but for erne ſome pronounce eagle)] and the hematite [or bloodſtone], and theſe verie pure and excellent: alſo the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the chriſtall, and thoſe other which we call calaminares and ſpeculares, beſides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to ſight, is yet much ſofter [3]*(as moſt are that are found & bred toward the north)*[3] than thoſe that are brought hither

We've also the ernstone,

bloodstone,

chalcedony,

porphyry,

soft diamond, &c.

[3—3] * *And so are most stones that are founde toward the North.*]

[1] heretofore [2] and

We've white coral,

out of other countries. We haue alſo vpon our coaſt[1] the white corall,[2] [nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the ſea in the albe, neere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof *Dioſcorides* intreateth, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 8. We haue in like ſort ſundrie] other ſtones dailie found in cliffes and rocks [(beſide

loadstone, and other precious stones,

the load ſtone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron)] whereof ſuch as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or elſe doo make but ſmall

which foreign lapidaries pooh-pooh.

account, being ſeduced by outlandiſh lapidaries, whereof the moſt part diſcourage vs from the ſearching[3] and ſeeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more free vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongſt ſuch as haue no ſkill.

Triall of a stone.

I haue heard that the beſt triall of a ſtone is to laie it on the naile of the[4] thombe, and ſo to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the ſtone is thought to be naturall [5]and good:[5] but if it alter, eſpeciallie toward the naile, then is it not ſound, but rather [to be taken for] an artificiall [peece of] practiſe. If this be true it is an experiment woorthie the noting. *Cardan* alſo hath it in his *De ſubtilitate*; if not, I haue read[6] more lies than this, as one [for] example out of *Cato*, who ſaieth, that a cup of iuie[7] will hold no wine at all.[8] I haue made ſome veſſels of the ſame wood, which refuſe no kind of liquor, and therefore I ſuppoſe that there is no ſuch *Antipathia* betweene wine and [our] iuie, as ſome of our reading philoſophers (without all maner of practiſe) will ſeeme to infer amongſt vs: [and yet I denie not but the iuie of Greece or Italie may haue ſuch a propertie; but why ſhould not the iuie then of France ſomewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter ſoile than ours is? For as *Baptiſta porta* ſaith, it holdeth not alſo

Lib 7

The lies old writers tell as that a cup of ivy won't let wine be pourd into it.

I've made vessels of ivy-wood which have held liquor.

[1] coastes [2] corall and [3] fetching [4] our [5]—[5] &c
[6] reade neere [7] Juy [8] all, but

in the French iuie, wherfore I can not beleeue that it hath anie ſuch qualitie at all as *Cato* aſcribeth vnto it.] What ſhould I ſay more of ſtones? Trulie I can not tell, ſith I haue ſaid what I may alreadie, and peraduenture more [1]than I thinke neceſſarie:[1] [and that cauſeth me to paſſe ouer thoſe that are now & then taken out of our oiſters, todes, muſkels, ſnailes and adders, and likewiſe ſuch as are found vpon ſundrie hils in Gloceſterſhire, which haue naturallie ſuch ſundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as paſſe all humane poſſibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer ſo [2]ſkillfull and cunning, alſo thoſe that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much deſired of ſuch as haue the ſtone, & yet of themſelues are no ſtones but rather ſhels or griſtles, which in time conſume to nothing.] This yet will I ad, that if thoſe which are found in muſkles (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in deed, I haue at ſundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of which diuerſe haue holes alreadie entered by nature, some of them not much inferiour to great peaſon in quantitie, and thereto of ſundrie colours, as it happeneth amongſt ſuch as are brought from the eſterlie coaſt to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of fleſh, ſtale ſtinking fiſh and welked muſkels are thought to be good meat; for other fiſh is too[3] deere amongſt vs [when law dooth bind vs to vſe it. See more for the generation of pearls in the deſcription of Scotland, for there you ſhall be further informed out of *Boetius* in that behalfe. They are called orient, becauſe of the cleereneſſe, which reſembleth the colour of the cleere aire before the riſing of the ſun. They are alſo ſought for in the later end of Auguſt, a little before which time the ſweetneſſe of the dew is moſt conuenient for that kind of fiſh, which dooth ingender and conceiue them, whoſe forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north

I say nothing of stones taken out of oysters, toads, snails,

[2] p 240]

perch, carp

I've taken out of muscles, pearls with holes thro' 'em

This in Lent, when stinking fish is thought good meat.

Neuer was our salted and fresh fishe so deare as now sith men must needs haue it *

Why pearls are calld 'orient'

[1]—[1] then I thought. [2] to to * This sidenote not in 1587 ed.

alſo that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their ſubſtances of better valure, as lapidaries doo giue out.]

Of[1] ſalt made in England.

Chap. 13.[2]

As to our salt-wells, I only copy Leland.

THere are in England certein welles where ſalt is made, whereof *Leland* hath written abundantlie in his cõmentaries of Britaine, and whoſe words onlie I will ſet downe in Engliſh as he wrote[3] them, bicauſe he ſeemeth to haue had diligent conſideration of the ſame, without adding anie thing of mine owne to[4] him, except it be where neceſſitie dooth inforce me for the meere aid of the reader, in the vnderſtanding of his mind. Directing therefore his iournie from Worceſter in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he ſaith thus: From Worceſter I road to the Wich by incloſed ſoile, hauing meetlie good corne ground, ſufficient wood and good paſture, about a ſixmiles off.[5] Wich ſtandeth ſomewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two ſmall hils on the left ripe (for ſo he calleth the banke of euerie brooke through out all his Engliſh treatiſes) of a pretie riuer which not far beneath the Wich is called Salope brooke. The beautie of the towne in maner ſtandeth in one ſtreet, yet be there manie lanes in the towne beſides. There is alſo a meane church in the maine ſtreet, and once in the weeke an indifferent round market. The towne of it ſelfe is ſomewhat foule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reaſon of much cariage through the ſtreets, which are verie ill paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduancement alſo hereof is by making of ſalt. And though the commoditie thereof be ſingular great,

He went from Worceſter to the town of Wich, which he describes

(He calls every brook's bank a 'ripe'.)

Wich streets are not paved at all.

[1] Chap. 17, Bk. 3, in 1577 ed. [2] Of common or artificiall
[3] wrate [4] unto [5] of

yet the burgeſſes be poore generallie, bicauſe gentlemen haue[1] for the moſt part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whileſt the poore burgeſſes yeeld vnto all the labour. There are at this preſent time three hundred ſalters, and three ſalt ſprings in the towne of Wich, whereof the principall is within a butſhoot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this ſpring is double ſo profitable in yeelding of ſalt liquor, as both the other. Some ſaie (or rather fable) that this ſalt ſpring did faile in the time of Richard de la Wich, biſhop of Chicheſter, and that afterwards by his interceſſion it was reſtored to the profit of the old courſe (ſuch is the ſuperſtition of the people); in remembrance whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale which the Wich men and ſalters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their countriman, they vſed of late times on his daie (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this ſalt ſpring or well about [2]with tapiſtrie,[2] and to haue ſundrie games, drinkings, and fooliſh reuels at it. But to proceed. There be a great number of ſalt cotes about this well, wherein the ſalt water is ſodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white ſalt. The other two ſalt ſprings be on the left ſide of the riuer, a pretie waie lower than the firſt, and (as I found) at the verie end of the towne. At theſe alſo be diuerſe fornaces to make ſalt, but the profit and plentie of theſe two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riſeth[3] by the greateſt. I aſked of a ſalter how manie fornaces they had at all the three ſprings, and he numbred them to eighteene ſcore, that is, three hundred and ſixtie, ſaieng how euerie one of them paied yearelie ſix ſhillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and therevpon they giue a fee farme (or *Vectigal*) of one hundred pounds yearelie. Certes the penſion is as it was, but the number of fornaces is

Gentlemen, not workers, gut all the profit from the salt.

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the bush but another catcheth the birds, as we may see in batfowling

Legend about the chief salt spring at Wich

Round it are huts in which the salt is boild in vats.

The 2 other smaller salt-springs

360 furnaces at the 3 springs, in Leland's time,

each paying 6s. 8d. tax.

[1] haue generallye [2]—[2] which tapissery [3] yryseth

Now, are 400 salt-furnaces.

now increaſed to foure hundred. There was of late ſearch made for another ſalt ſpring there abouts, by the

Mr Newport's new salt-pit

meanes of one Newport, a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appeereth, as dooth alſo the wood and timber which was ſet about it, to keepe vp the earth from falling into the ſame. But

is no longer work't

this pit was not ſince occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the ſalt ſpring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. Me thinke that if wood and ſale of ſalt would ſerue, they might dig and find more ſalt ſprings about the Wich than three, but there is ſomewhat elſe in the wind For I

Priuileges doo sometimes harme

heard that of late yeares a ſalt ſpring was found in an other quarter of Worceſterſhire, but it grew to be without anie vſe, ſith the Wich men haue ſuch a priuilege, that they alone in thoſe quarters ſhall haue the making of ſalt. The pits be ſo ſet about with gutters, that the ſalt water is eaſilie turned to euerie

At Nantwich the salt troughs run across the river.

mans houſe, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of ſuch as dwell on the other ſide of the ſame. They ſeeth alſo their ſalt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the ſalt ſome in caſes of wicker, through which the water draineth, and the ſalt remaineth. There be alſo two or three but

Springs at Droitwich.

verie little ſalt ſprings at Dertwitch, in a low bottome, where ſalt is ſometime made.

Of late alſo a mile from Cumbremere abbaie a peece of an hill did ſinke, and in the ſame pit roſe a ſpring of ſalt water, where the abbat began[1] to make ſalt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & couent that there ſhould be none made there, whereby the pit was ſuffered to go to loſſe. And although it yeelded ſalt water ſtill of it ſelfe, yet it was

The Wich men work only 6 months a year, in order

ſpoiled at the laſt and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vſe the cōmoditie of their ſalt ſprings in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by ſix moneths

[1] begunne

in the yeare, that is, from Midſummer to Chriſtmas, as (I geſſe) to mainteine the price of ſalt, or for ſauing of wood, which I think to be their principall reaſon. For making of ſalt is a great and notable deſtruction of wood, and ſhall be greater hereafter, except ſome prouiſion be made for the better increaſe of firing. The lacke of wood alſo is alreadie perceiued in places neere the Wich, for whereas they vſed to buie and take their wood neere vnto their [1]occupiengs, thoſe woonted ſprings are now decaied, and they be inforced to ſeeke their wood ſo far as Worceſter towne, and all the parts about Breniſgraue, Alchurch, and Alceſter. I aſked a ſalter how much wood he ſuppoſed yearelie to be ſpent at theſe fornaces? and he anſwered that by eſtimation there was conſumed about ſix thouſand load, and it was round pole wood for the moſt, which is eaſie to be cleft, and handſomelie riuen in peeces. The people that are about the fornaces are verie ill coloured, and the iuſt rate of euerie fornace is to make foure loads of ſalt yearelie, and to euerie load goeth fiue or ſix quarters, as they make their accounts. If the fornace men make more in one fornace than foure loads, it is (as it is ſaid) imploied to their owne auaile. And thus much hath *Leland* left in memorie of our white ſalt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making alſo of baie ſalt in ſome part of our countrie. But ſith that [2]booke [is][2] deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie ſalt can not be framed in anie order, becauſe my memorie will not ſerue to ſhew the true maner and the place. It ſhall ſuffice therfore to haue giuen ſuch notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aſwell the baie as white are wrought and made in England, and more white alſo vpon the weſt coaſt toward Scotland, [in Eſſex and elſe where,] out of the ſalt water betweene Wire and Cokermouth, [which commonlie is of like price with our wheat.]

to keep up the price.

Salt making uses up much wood.

[1] p. 241]

Wood is brought from Worcester, Bromsgrove, &c

6000 load of wood used yearly.

Every furnace yields 4 loads of salt yearly.

Thus much from Leland as to our white salt

His book on bay salt I have returned to its owner

But bay salt is made in England

[2]—[2] is boke

Finallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall ſalt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with ſuch mettals as are growing here in England.[1]

Of our accompt of time & [hir] parts.[2]

Chap. 14.[3]

AS *Libra* is *As* or *Aſsis* to[4] the Romans for their weight, and the foot in ſtandard meaſure: ſo in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie[5] [conſiſting of foure and twentie houres,] to be *the greateſt of the leaſt, and leaſt of the greateſt*, whereby we keepe our reckoning: [for of the houre (to ſaie the truth) the moſt ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrues had anie vſe; ſith they reckoned by watches: and whereof alſo *Cenſorinus cap.* 19. ſheweth a reaſon wherefore they were neglected.] For my part I doo not ſee anie great difference vſed in the obſeruation of time & hir parts, betweene our owne & any other forren nation, wherfore I ſhall not need to ſtand long on[6] this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein ſhall appeere vnto all men, I will ſet downe ſome ſhort rehearſall thereof, and that in ſo briefe manner as vnto me is poſſible. As for our aſtronomicall practiſes, I meane not to meddle with them, ſith their courſe is vniformelie obſerued ouer all. Our common order therefore is to begin at the minut, [which conteineth $\frac{1}{60}$[7] part of an houre,] as at the ſmalleſt part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithſtanding that in moſt places they deſcend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from whence they proceed vnto the houre, [8]to wit, the foure and twentith[8] part of

We reckon by dayes of 24 houres.

The old Greeks, &c. reckond by watches

We ſtart with the minute,

then go to the hour.

[1] Chap. on metals follows in 1577 ed., but has gone before in this 1587 ed. See chap. 11, p. 69, above.

[2] partes thereof [3] Chap. 21, Bk. 3, in 1577 ed. [4] unto

[5] houre [6] upon [7] $\frac{1}{6}$ *orig.* [8]—[8] which is the 24

that which we call the common and naturall daie, which[1] dooth begin at midnight, [and is obſerued continuallie by clockes, dialles, and aſtronomicall inſtruments of all ſorts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is ſo great here in England, as no place elſe (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not ſpeake of the coſt beſtowed vpon them in perle and ſtone, neither of the valure of mettall, whereof they haue beene made, as gold, ſiluer, &c: and almoſt no abbeie or religious houſe without ſome of them. This oneſie ſhall ſuffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in theſe things, ſo in our time pompe and exceſſe ſpendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread.] Of vnequall [or temporall] houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to ſhew their quantities,[2] differences, [and diuiſions, into the greater and the leſſer, (whereof the later conteineth one vnequall houre, or the riſing of halfe a ſigne, the other of a whole ſigne, which is in two houres ſpace, wherof Marke ſeemeth to ſpeake cap. 15 c 25, as the reſt of the euangeliſts (yea and he alſo ibid. verſ. 33) doo of the other, Matth. 27 e 45, Luke 23 e 44, John 19 b 14)] it ſhould be but in vaine. In like ſort, whereas the [elder A]egyptians, Italians, Bohemians, [latter Atheniens,] and Iews begin their daie at the ſun ſet ouer night; the Perſians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Noribergians, at the ſun riſing (ech of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) alſo the elder Atheniens,[3] Arabians, Dutchmen, [Umbers, Heturians,] and Aſtronomers at high noone, [and ſo reckon from noone to noone:] we after [*Hipparchus* and the latter Aegyptians, or to ſpeake more properlie, imitating] the Roman maner vſed in the church there of long time, chooſe the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto middaie

Our day begins at midnight

We've great variety of clocks, dials, &c

Some mounted with pearls and jewels.

Unequal hours and days, I shan't deal with.

The old Egyptians, &c., began their day at sunset, the Persians, &c, at sunrise,

the Arabians, &c, at noon.

We begin ours at midnight.

[1] and [2] quantities & [3] Athenienses

inſuing, and other twelue againe vnto the aforeſaid point, [according to theſe verſes;

Manè diem Græca gens incipit aſtra ſequentes
In medio lucis Iudæis veſpere ſancta,
Inchoat eccleſia media ſua tempora nocte.]

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make ſo farre accompt, as that we reckon it[1] daie when the ſun is vp, and night when [2]the ſun[2] leaueth our horizon. Otherwiſe alſo we diuide it into two parts, that is to ſaie, fore noone and after noone, not regarding the ruddie, ſhining, burning and warming ſeaſons (of three vnequall houres a peece, which others ſeeme to [3]diuide into ſpring time, ſummer, autumne, and winter, in like curious manner)[3] and whereof I read theſe verſes:

Day
Night

Forenoon
Afternoon

Seasons

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,
Hæc rubet, hæc ſplendet, hæc cal̃et, illa tepet.

Indeed our phyſicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no leſſe learning no doubt than the beſt of forren countries, if we could ſo conceiue of them. And herein they concurre [alſo] with thoſe of other nations, who for diſtinction in regiment of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night in ſuch wiſe as theſe verſes doo import, and are indeed a generall rule which ech of them doth follow:

Doctors' diuision of the artificial day and night.

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres ſanguinis imas,
Vis choleræ medias lucis ſex vendicat horas.
Dũtque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas ſex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Or thus, as *Tanſteter* hath giuen them foorth in his prelections:

A nona noctis donec ſit tertia lucis,
Eſt dominus ſanguis, ſex inde ſequentibus[4] *horis*
Eſt dominans cholera, dum lucis nona ſit hora

[1] it to be [2—2] it [3—3] obſerue [4] sequẽtib.

Poſt niger humid ineſt donec ſit tertia noctis,
Poſthæc phlegma venit, donec ſit nona quietis.

In Engliſh thus in effect:

Three houres yer ſun doo riſe,
and ſo manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the ſwaie,
Euen ſo to nine at night,
ſwart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;
ſix houres ech one I ſaie.

[1 p 242] *Night* The parts of it.

[1]In like ſort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wheras the Latins diuide the ſame into 7 parts, as *Veſper* [or *Veſperugo*, as *Plautus* calleth it, as *Virgil* vſeth the word *Heſper*] the euening, which is immediatlie after the ſetting of the ſun. *Crepuſculum* the twilight [(which ſome call *Prima fax*, becauſe men begin then to light candles)] when it is betweene daie and night, light and darkeneſſe, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium*[2] the ſtill of the night, when ech one is laid to reſt. *Intempeſtum*, the dull or dead of the night, [which is midnight,] when men be in their firſt or dead ſleepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. [*Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing.] *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum*[3] *ſiue aurora*, the ruddie, orenge, golden or ſhining colour, ſeene immediatlie before the riſing of the ſun, [and is oppoſite to the euening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight.]

The Latin 7 parts. [*Veſper*] [*Crepuſculum*] [*Concubium*] [*Intempeſtum.*] [*Gallicinium*] [*Conticinium*] [*Matutinum*] [*Diluculum*]

Watches The 4 night-watches.

Other there are which doo reckon by watches, diuiding the night [after ſun ſetting] into foure equall parts. Of which the firſt beginneth at euening called the firſt watch, and continueth by three vnequall houres, and ſo foorth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat

[2] Conticinium [3] Diliculum

The 4th night-watch.

the fourth watch entreth, which is called the morning watch, bicauſe it [1]concurreth partlie[1] [with the darke night, and partlie] with the morning and breach of the daie before the riſing of the ſun.

Houre

As for the originall of the word houre, it is verie ancient; but yet not ſo old as that of the watch, [wherof we ſhall read abundantlie in the ſcriptures,] which was deuiſed firſt among ſouldiors for their better ſafegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof is almoſt vſed among our ſeafaring men, which they call clearing of the glaſſe, and performed from time to time with great heed and ſome ſolemnitie. Herevnto[2] the word *Hora* among the Grecians ſignified ſo well the foure quarters of the yeere, as the foure and twentith part of the daie, [and limits of anie forme.] But what ſtand I vpon theſe things to let my purpoſe ſtaie? To proceed therefore.

Our seamen's 'clearing of the glass.'

Weeke.

Of naturall daies is the weeke compacted, which conſiſteth of ſeauen of them, [the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar ſort either king or worling, bicauſe it is either the faireſt or fouleſt of the ſeauen: albeit that I cannot gheſſe of anie reaſon whie they ſhould ſo imagine.] The firſt [of theſe] entreth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that we reſt vpon the ſundaie, which is the ſeauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Iews begin their weeke vpon our ſaturdaie at the ſetting of the ſun: and the Turks [in theſe daies] with the ſaturdaie, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as the Iews make our laſt daie the firſt of their weeke, ſo the Turks make the Iewiſh ſabaoth the beginning of their *Hebdoma:* bicauſe Mahomet their prophet (as they ſaie) was borne and dead vpon the fridaie, and ſo he was indeed, except their *Alcharon* deceiue them.[3] The Iews doo reckon their daies by their diſtance from their ſabaoth, ſo that the firſt daie of their weeke is the firſt

Common folk call Friday 'king or worling' of the week.

Jews and Turks begin their week on our Saturday.

[1]—[1] partlie concurreth [2] Certesse [3] me

daie of the ſabaoth, and ſo foorth vnto the ſixt. The Latins [and Aegyptians] accompted their daies after the ſeauen planets, chooſing the ſame for the denominator of the daie, that entreth his regiment with the firſt vnequall houre of the ſame after the ſun be riſen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie reteined with vs, ſo the vſe of the ſame is not yet altogither aboliſhed, as may appeere by our ſunday, mondaie, and ſaturdaie. The reſt were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut ſometime their prince, called the ſecond day of the week Theutſdach, the third Woden, Othin, [1]Othon, or Edon, or[1] Wodenſdach. Alſo[2] of Thor they named the fourth daie Thorſdach, and of Frea wife to Woden the fift was called[3] Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amiſſe as I thinke) that ſuppoſe them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden, Mercurie, by Frea [(or Frigga as *Saxo* calleth hir)] Venus, and finallie by Theut, Mars: which if it be ſo, then it is an eaſie matter to find out the german Mars, Venus, Mercurie, and Iupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that Frea [albeit that *Saxo* giueth hir ſcant a good report, for that ſhe loued one of hir huſbands men better than himſelfe,] had ſeauen ſonnes by Woden;[4] the firſt, father to Wecca, of whome deſcended thoſe that were afterwards kings of Kent. Fethelgeta was the ſecond, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the weſt Saxons. Beldagius the fourth, parent to the kings of Brernicia or Northumberland. Weogodach the fift, author of the kings of Deira. Caſer the ſixt race[5] of the eaſt Angle race, & Naſcad originall burgeant of the kings of Eſſex. As for the kings of Suſſex, although they were of the ſame people, yet were they not of the ſame ſtreine, as our old monuments doo expreſſe. But to proceed.

Romans and Egyptians call'd their days after the 7 planets,

as our Sunday, &c

The Saxons calld their days after their gods:

whence our Tuesday, Thursday, Friday.

The goddes Frea was no better than she should be

Her 7 sons by Woden.

[1]—[1] or Othen [2] Lykewise [3] named
[4] Woden, as Woden [5] rote

[As certeine of our daies ſuffered this alteration by the Saxons, ſo in our churches we reteined for a long time the number of daies or of * feries from the ſabaoth, after the manner of the Iewes, I meane vntill the ſeruice after the Romane vſe was aboliſhed, which cuſtome was firſt receiued (as ſome thinke) by pope Syluеſter, though other ſaie by Conſtantine; albeit another ſort doo affirme, that Syluеſter cauſed the ſundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the reſt.

[*Feriæ.*]

In like maner] of weekes our moneths are made, which are ſo called of the moone, each one conteining eight and twentie daies, or foure weekes, without anie further curioſitie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the moone, as the Iewes, Grecians, or Romans did at the firſt; or as the Turks, Arabians and Perſians doo now: neither anie parcell thereof by the ſaid planet, as in [ſome part of] the weſt Indies, where they haue neither weeke, moneth, nor yeere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thouſands of moones. Wherefore if we ſaie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure weeks onelie, [and not of hir vſuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts.] Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuertheleſſe in plees and ſutes is nothing at all allowed of, ſith the moone maketh hir full reuolution in eight and twentie daies [or foure weeks,] that is, vnto the place where ſhe left the ſun: notwithſtanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found [verie often in that ſigne] [1]wherin ſhe before had left[1] him. [*Plutarch* writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or leſſe number of theſe moneths for whole yeares: and that of theſe ſome accompted but three, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans ſix, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which cauſeth

[*Moneth.*]

Our month is 28 days only,

not 29 days, 31 minutes [*Triuethus in Antartico.*]

[1]—[1] where shee departed from

them to make ſuch a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forſomuch as we are not troubled with anie ſuch diſordèr, it ſhall ſuffice that I haue generallie ſaid of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender.] The Roman calendar

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the courſe of the moone, and their enterances were vncerteine, as were alſo the changes of that planet: [whereby it came to paſſe, that the daie of the change was the firſt of the moneth, howſoeuer it fell out.] But after Iulius Ceſar had once corrected the ſame, the ſeuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, [1] but alſo the old order in the diuiſion of their parts continued ſtill vnaltered: ſo that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides, and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vſe of the ſame bee but ſmall, and their order reteined onelie in our calenders, for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch times, as the hiſtoriographers and old authors doo remember. The reckoning alſo of each of theſe goeth (as you ſee) after a prepoſterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwiſe, as by peruſall of the ſame you ſhall more eaſilie perceiue. The month was [1 p 243] divided into Calends, Ides, and Nones.

The daies alſo of the change of the moneth of the moone, are called *Calendæ*, which in time of paganiſme were conſecrated to Iuno, and ſacrifice made to that goddeſſe on the ſame. On theſe daies alſo, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewiſe the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as [2] were alſo diuerſe other,[2] [and thoſe either by reaſon of ſome notable ouerthrow or miſhap that befell vnto the Romans vpon thoſe daies, or in reſpect of ſome ſuperſtitious imagination conceiued of euill ſucceſſe likelie to fall out vpon the ſame. Of ſome they were Calends. Black days.

[2]–[2] ſome bookes doe yet remember.

The abeurd Roman ſyſtem came from Egypt.

called *Dies Aegyptiaci.* Wherby it appeareth that this peeuiſh eſtimation of theſe daies came from that nation. And as we doo note our holie and feſtiuall daies with red letters in our calenders, ſo did the Romans their principall feaſts & circle of the moone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or conſularie tables. This alſo is more to be added, that if anie good ſucceſſe happened afterward vpon ſuch day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would ſolemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioiſed.]

The derivation of 'Calend'.

The word *Calendæ* (in Greeke *Neomenia*) is deriued of[1] *Calo*, to call: for vpon the firſt day of euerie moneth, the prieſt vſed to call the people of the citie and countrie togither [in Calabria, for ſo the place was called where they met,] and ſhew them by a cuſtome how manie daies were from the ſaid calends to the nones, & what feaſts were to be celebrated betweene that and the next change. [Their order is retrograde, becauſe that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the moone paſt the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the next change, as ſeuenteene daies, ſixteene daies, fourteene daies, &c: as the Greekes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vſe of calends. The verie daie therefore of the change is called *Calendæ*, dedicated to Iuno, who thereof was alſo called *Calendaris.* At the firſt alſo the faſts or feaſt daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the prieſts (as I ſaid) vpon this daie, till *Flauius Scriba* cauſed them to be written & publiſhed in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the ſenat, for the eaſe and benefit of the people, as he pretended.]

After the half-month, the Romans reckond by the number of days to the next change

Nones.

The nones commonlie are not aboue foure or ſix in euerie moneth: and ſo long as the nones laſted, ſo long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called

[1] of the worde

Nonæ quaſi Nundinæ. In them alſo were neither holiedaies more than [is] at this preſent (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no[1] ſacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his buſineſſe, and kept his market, reckoning the firſt day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or ſixt daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nonæ*, of the word *Non, quia in ijſdem dij non coluntur.* For[2] as *Ouid* ſaith, *Nonarum tutela deo caret,* [or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other becauſe *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I ſuppoſe rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddeſſe far yoonger than the name of *Nonæ*) tooke hir name of the nones, whereon it was a cuſtome among the Romans, *Luſtrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere,* as they did with their maid children vpon the eight:] but howſoeuer this[3] be, ſure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherin the people bought, ſold, [exchanged or bartered,] and did nothing elſe.

Derivation of 'None'.

The Nones were the Roman market-days.

The ides are ſo named of the Hethruſcan word, *Iduare,* to diuide: and before that Ceſar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middeſt. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, therby to make it agree to[4] the yeere of the ſunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, bicauſe he would not alter the celebration of their vſuall feaſts, [whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides,)] then came they ſhort of the middeſt, ſometime by two or three daies. In theſe therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leiſure to packe vp and conueie their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

Ides used to divide the month in half, till Cæsar made 'em

fall short of the half,

and gave merchants leisure to pack their goods, &c.

After the ides doo the calends follow, but in a decreaſing order [(as I noted)] as the moone dooth in

[1] nor [2] or [3] it [4] wyth

light when ſhe is paſt the full. But herein lieth all the myſterie, if you can ſay ſo manie daies before the next change or new moone, as the number there expreſſed dooth betoken, as for 16 calends ſo manie daies before the next coniunction, &c: [(as is aboue remembred.)]

The number of Calends in each month.

Of theſe calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find theſe verſes inſuing:

Ianus & Auguſtus denas nouémque December,
Iunius, Aprilis, September, & ipſe Nouember
Ter ſenas retinent, Februs bis octo calendas,
Iulius, October, Mars, Maius [1]*epta decémque.*[1]

In Engliſh thus.

December, Iune,[2] and Auguſt month
full nineteene calends haue,
[3]Septemb, Aprill, Nouemb, and Iune[3]
twiſe nine [they doo] deſire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue,
October, Maie, and Iulie hot,
but ſeuenteene doo require.

The Nones and Ides in each month.

In like maner [4]doo the[4] nones and ides.

Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.

To Iulie, Mars,[5] October, Maie,
ſix nones I light,
The reſt but foure, [6]and as for[6] ides
they [7]keepe ſtill[7] eight.

The number of days in each month.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

Iunius, Aprilis, Septémque, Nouémque, tricenos,
Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos,
At ſi biſsextus fuerit ſuperadditur vnus.

Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,

[1]—[1] Epadecemque [2] Ian
[3]—[3] September, Iune, Nouember, and Aprill [4]—[4] of
[5] March [6]—[6] as for your [7]—[7] aske but

Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the reſt thirtie and one,
but in the leape you muſt ad one.

Our yeare is counted[1] after the courſe of the ſunne, and although the church hath ſome vſe of that of the moone for[2] obſeruation of certeine mooueable feaſts, yet it is reducible[3] to that of the ſunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chieflie had in vſe. Herein onelie I find a ſcruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for [moſt of] our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calenders[4] the firſt of Ianuarie, [ſo that with vs Chriſt is borne before he be conceiued] Our ſundrie officers alſo haue ſundrie entrances into their charges of cuſtome, which breedeth great confuſion, whereas if all theſe might be referred to one originall (and that to be the firſt of Ianuarie) I doo not thinke but [that] there would be more[5] certeintie, and leſſe trouble for our hiſtoriographers, [6]notaries, & other officers[6] in their account of the yere. [In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the moone that fell neereſt to the enterance of the ſunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter ſolſtice, or his going into the goat, the Iewes in ciuill caſe at the latter equinoctiall, and in eccleſiaſticall with the firſt. They of Calecute begin their yeare ſomewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, ſith they firſt conſult with their wiſards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be moſt happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as *Oſorius* dooth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue ſolemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of tree with a pencill, in ſtead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere alſo in September: but ſith we ſeeke herein but for the

years

Our year begins, in Records on March 25, in Calendars on Jan 1.

Jan 1 ought to begin the year [3 p 244]

The custom of Athenians,

Latins,

Jews,

Hindoos,

old Greeks

[1] accounted [2] for the [3] reducted
[4] calenders of [5—6] and offices

cuſtome of our countrie onelie, it ſhall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or firſt of Ianuarie, and from the middeſt of the night which is *Limes* betweene that and the laſt of December, whereof this maie ſuffice. I might ſpeake of the Cynike yeare alſo in this place (for the eaſe of our Engliſh readers) ſometime in vſe amongſt the Egyptians, which conteineth 1460 common yeares, whoſe beginning is alwaies reckoned from the riſing of the leſſer dog. The firſt vſe thereof entered the ſelfe yeare wherin the Olimpiads were reſtored. And forſomuch as this nation hath no vſe of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, becauſe there are 365 leape yeers in the period, ſo that 1460 Iulian yeers doo conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be leſſe than ours.] Furthermore, wheras our intercalation for the leape yere is ſomewhat too much by certeine minuts, which in [1]115 yeares[1] amount vnto [about] an whole day, if one intercalation in ſo manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wiſh that the ſame yeare wherein the ſaid intercalation [trulie found out] ſhould be ouerpaſſed, might be [obſerued and] called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and ſouereigne princeſſe [now reigning amongſt vs.]

The 'Cynike yeare' of Egypt,

1460 of our years

Leap year. One day should be left out every 115 years.

[I might here ſaie ſomewhat alſo of the prime and hir alteration, which is riſen higher by fiue daies in our common calender than it was placed by *Iulius Cæſar*: and in ſeauen thouſand yeares ſome writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world ſhould laſt ſo long. But for ſomuch as in ſome calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euerie change, it ſhall ſuffice to ſaie no more therof. The pope alſo hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the ſame that it was, or ſhould haue

Alteration of the Prime.

[1]—[1] 309 yeares do

beene at the councell of Nice. Howbeit as he hath abolished the vse of the golden number, so hath he continued the epact, applieng it vnto such generall vse, as dooth now serue both the turnes, whose reformation had also yer this time beene admitted into England, if it had not proceeded from him, against whom and all whose ordinances we haue so faithfullie sworne and set our hands.]

The Pope's reform of the Calendar rejected in England

Certes the next omission is to be performed if all princes would agree thereto in the leape yeare that shall be about the yeare of grace 1668:[1] if it shall please God that the world may last so long, [and then may our calender also stand without anie alteration as it dooth alreadie. By this also it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be supplied from the creation, wherein the first equinoctiall is seene higher toward the beginning of March than *Cæsars* calender now extant dooth yeeld vnto by seauen daies. For as in *Cæsars* time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as *Stadius* also noteth) either vpon or about the sixteenth or seauenteenth of March, albeit the manifest apperance thereof was not found vntill the fiue and twentith of that moneth in their dials or by eie-sight: so at the beginning of the world the said entrance of the sunne into the ram, must needs fall out to be about the twentith or one & twentith of Aprill, as the calender now standeth, if I faile not in my numbers.] Aboue the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie seuerall names with them, except you will affirme the word age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and signifieth in English so much as *Seculum* or *Ævum* dooth in Latine; [2]neither is it needfull to remember that some of my countrimen doo reckon their times not by years but by summers and winters, which is verie common among vs.[2] [3]Wherefore to shut vp this chapiter[3] withall, you shall haue a table of the names of the daies of the weeke, after the

The next omission of leap-year day should be in 1668

Change of date of the first equinoctial.

An 'Age' is 100 years

[1] 1700 [2—2] whereof this may suffice. [3—3] But to conclude

Names of the Days of the Week in

old Saxon and Scotiſh maner, which I haue borowed from amongſt our ancient writers, [as I haue peruſed their volumes.]

The preſent names.

English,		
	Monday.	Fridaie.
	Tueſday.	Saturdaie.
	Wedneſday.	Sunday, [or the
	Thurſday.	Lords daie.]

The old Saxon names.

Saxon,		
	Monendeg.	Frigeſdeg.[1]
	Tueſdeg.	Saterdeg.
	Wodneſdeg	Sunnan-
	Thunreſdeg.	deg.

The Scotiſh vſage.

and Scotch.		
	Diu Luna.	Diu Friach.
	Diu Mart.	Diu Satur.
	Diu Yath.	Diu Se-
	Diu Ethamon.	roll.

[2]Of our[2] principall faires [3]and *markets.*[3]

[Chap. 15.[4]]

[I Haue heretofore ſaid ſufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promiſe there made, I ſet downe here ſo manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obſeruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe.

[1] Firgesdeg [2—2] ¶ Here followeth the [3—3] kept in Englande

[4] In ed. 1577, fol. 119, come, "The manner of measuring the length and bredth of things after the English usage" (cap. 22), of English weights (cap. 23), of liquide measures (cap. 24), of drie measures (cap. 25), "their rurall measures conferred with ours," fol. 123. All which are not in the 3rd Bk of this 1586-7 ed. (Harrison probably turnd these into his separate MS. treatise on weights and measures.) The section headed "¶ I have thought good to deliuer the names of the Archbyshops and Byshops of London, as they succeded since the Brytons were first conuerted into the faith," has been printed in Part 1, p. 66.—F.

[Certes it is impoſſible for me to come by all, ſith there is almoſt no towne in England, but hath one or more ſuch marts holden yearelie in the ſame, although ſome of them (I muſt needs confeſſe) be ſcarce comparable to Lowſe faire, and little elſe bought or ſold in them more than good drinke, pies, and ſome pedlerie traſh: wherefore it were no loſſe if diuerſe of them were aboliſhed. Neither doo I ſee wherevnto this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, ſo much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) muſt needs repaire vnto them, whereby they often ſpend not onelie the weeke daies, but alſo the Lords ſabbaoth in great vanitie and riot. But ſuch hath beene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now aboliſhed, and a further inſight into things growne into the minds of magiſtrates, theſe old errors may be conſidered of, and ſo farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be diſhonored, nor the common wealth of our countrie anie thing diminiſhed. In the meane time, take this table here inſuing in ſtead of a calender of the greateſt, ſith that I cannot, or at the leaſt wiſe care not to come by the names of the leſſe, whoſe knowledge cannot be ſo profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft preiudiciall to ſuch as dwell neere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that reſort vnto the ſame.]

Many small fairs like Lowse fair, for drink, pies, and pedlery.

Such fairs corrupt youth.

[1 p 245] The magistrates should reform them

I give a list of the greatest fairs.

Faires in Ianuarie.

January.

THe ſixt day being Twelfe day at Saliſburie, the ſiue and twentith being ſaint Paules day, at Briſtow, at Graueſend, at Churchingford, at Northalerton in Yorkeſhire, where is kept a faire euerie wedneſday, from Chriſtmaſſe vntill Iune.

Fortnightly fairs at Northallerton from Christmas to June

Faires in Februarie.

February.

THe firſt day at Bromleie. The ſecond at Lin, at Bath, at Maidſtone, at Bickleſwoorth, at Bud-

woorth. The fourteenth at Feuerſham. On Aſhwedneſday at Lichfield, at Tamwoorth, at Roiſton, at Exceſter, at Abington, at Ciceſter.[1] The foure and twentith at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkeſburie.

24 Henley on Thames.

March

Faires in March.

ON [2]the twelth[2] day, at Stamford, [Sappeſford,] and at Sudburie. The thirteenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The fift ſunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Saliſburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wiſbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmeſunday eeuen, at Pumfret. On palmeſunday, at Worceſter. The twentith day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northamton, at Malden, at great Chart, at Newcaſtell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. [And at Saffron Walden on midlentſunday.]

5th Sunday in Lent, at Salisbury

Palmsunday, at Worcester

April

Faires in Aprill.

THe fift day at Wallingford. The ſeuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleſwoorth, at Belinſwoorth. On monday after, at Eueſham in Worceſterſhire. On tueſday in Eaſter weeke at Northfleet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third ſunday after Eaſter, at Louth. The two and twentith at Stabford. On ſaint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipſwich, at Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at ſaint Pombes in Cornewall. On ſaint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Eſſex. The ſix and twentith at Tenderden in Kent.

3rd Sunday after Easter, at Louth

25 St Mark's Day at Dunmow in Essex,

May

Faires in Maie.

ON Maie daie at Rippon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Oſeſtrie in Wales, at Lexfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leiceſter, at Chenſford, at Maidſtone, at Brickehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton,

1 Reading.

[1] Ciceter [2]—[2] S. Georges

[at Stokeneie land.] The third at Bramyard, at Henningham, at Elſtow, [Waltham, Holicroſſe, and Hedningham caſtell.] The ſeuenth at Beuerleie, at Newton, at Oxford. On Aſcenſion day at Newcaſtell, at Yerne, at Brimechame, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhopſtratford, at Wicham, at Middlewich, at Stopford, at Chappell frith. On Whitſuneeuen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitſunday, at Richell, at Gribbie, and euerie wedneſday fortnight at Kingſton vpon Thames, at Rateſdale, at Kirbiſtephin in Weſtmerland. On monday in Whitſunweeke, at Darington, at Exceſter, at Bradford, at Rigate, at Burton, at Salforth, at Whitechurch, at Cockermouth, at Applebie, at Bickleſworth, [at Stokeclare.] On tueſday in Whitſunweeke, at Lewſe, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Ormeſkirke, at Perith,[1] [at long Milford] On wedneſday in Whitſunweeke, at Sandbarre, [at Raiſton.] On Trinitie ſunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell. On thurſday after Trinitie ſunday, at Preſcote, at Stapford, at ſaint Annes, at Newburie, at Couentrie, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhop ſtorford,[2] at Roſſe. The ninth at Locheſter, at Dunſtable. The twentie ſeuenth day, at Lenham. The twentie ninth at Crambrooke. [On monday in Rogation weeke at Rech, and ſunday after Aſcenſion day, at Thaxſted.]

May 7, Oxford.

Whitsunday, at Richell

Fortnightly at Kingston on Thames.

Trinity Sunday, at Kendal.

Faires in Iune.

Iune.

THe ninth day at Maidſtone. The xj, at Okingham, at Newbourgh, [at Bardfield,] at Maxfield, & [3] Holt. [The ſeuenteenth at Hadſtocke.] The twentie three at Shrewſburie, at ſaint Albans. The twentie fourth day, at Horſham, at Bedell, at Strackſtocke, at ſaint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colcheſter, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell [beſide Cambridge,] at Woollerhampton, at Crambrooke, at Gloceſter, at Lincolne, at Peterborow, at Windſor, at Harſtone, at Lancaſter, at Weſtcheſter, at Halifax, at Aſhborne. The twentie

24 Barnwell near Cambridge

Windsor.

[1] Herith [2] Stotforde [3] at

ſeuenth, at Folkeſtone. The twentie eight, at Hetcorne, at ſaint Pombes. The twentie ninth, at Woodhurſt, at Marleborough, at Holleſworth, at Woollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Lempſter, at Sudburie, at Gargraingc, at Bromleie.

July

Faires in Iulie.

THe ſecond at Congreton, at Aſhton vnder line. [The ſunday after the third of Iulie, at Raiſton] The eleuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fifteenth, at Pichbacke. The ſeuenteenth, at Winchcombe. The

20 Uxbridge. twentith, at Uxbridge, at Cateſbie, at Bolton. The twentie two, at Marleborow, at Wincheſter, at Colcheſter, at Tetburie, [at Cooling, at Yealdon,] at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheſhire, at Cheſwike, at Battelfield, at Bicklewoorth. The

25 Dover twentie fift, at Briſtow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipſwich, at Northampton, at Dudleie in

St Iames near London Staffordſhire, at ſaint Iames beſide London, at Reading, [at Ereth in the Ile, at Walden, at Thremhall, at Baldocke,] at Louth, at Malmeſburie, at Bromeleie, at Chicheſter, at Liuerpoole, at Altergam, at Rauenglaſſe in the north. [The twentie ſixt, at Tiptrie.] The

27 Canterbury twentie ſeuenth at Canturburie, at Horſham, at Richmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell frith.

August

Faires in Auguſt.

THe firſt day at Exceſter, at Feuerſham, at Dunſtable, at ſaint Edes, at Bedford, at Northam

1. York. church, at Wiſbich, at Yorke, at Rumneie, at Newton, at Yeland. [The fourth at Linton.] The tenth at Waltham, [at Thaxſted,] at Blackemoore, at Hungerford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croileie, at Seddell, at new

15 Cambridge. Brainford. The xv, [at Cambridge,] at Dunmow, at Caerleill, at Preſton [in Andall,] at Wakefield [on] the two ladie daies, [and vpon the ſunday after the fifteenth day of Auguſt, at Hauerhull.] On Bartholomew day,

at London, at Beggers buſh beſide Rie, at Teukeſburie, at Sudburie, at Rie, at Nantwich, at Pagets, at Bromleie, at Norwich, at Northalerton, at Douer. On[1] the ſunday [2]after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentie ſeuenth, and at Aſhford. 24 Bartholomew's day, at London. [2 p 246]

Faires in September.

September.

THe firſt day at S. Giles at the Buſh. [3]The eight[3] day [at Woolſpit,] at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recoluer, at Giſbourgh both the ladie daies, at Partneie. The three ladie daies at Blackeburne, at Giſborne in Yorkeſhire, at Chalton, at Utceſter. On Holiroode day, at Richmond in Yorkeſhire, at Rippond a horſe faire, at Penhad, at Berſleie, at Waltam abbeie, at Wotton vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Cheſterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On ſaint Mathies day, at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at ſaint Edmundſburie, at Malton, at ſaint Iues, at Shreweſburie, at Laneham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetrie, [at Baldocke,] at Katharine hill beſide Gilford, at Douer, at Eaſtrie. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, [at Malton a noble horſſe faire,] at Lancaſter, at Blackeborne, at Weſtcheſter, at Cokermouth, at Aſhborne, at Hadleie, at Malden an[4] horſſe faire, at Waie hill, at Newburie, [and] at Leiceſter. 8. Southwark 14 Holy-Rood day, a horse fair at Ripon 21 Bedford, Croydon, Sittingbourne, St Katharine's Hill, Guildford.

Faires in October.

October.

THe fourth day at Michell. The ſixt day at ſaint Faiths beſide Norwich, at Maidſtone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford,[5] at Biſhop Storford.[6] On S. Edwards day, at Roiſton, at Grauеſend, at Windſor, at Marſhfield. [The ninth day,] at Colcheſter. On ſaint Lukes eeuen,[7] at Elie, at Wrickle, at Upane, at Thirſt, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at 13 Windsor. 17. (St. Luke's Day, 18), Ely, Bridgnorth, Charing.

[1] at [2—3] On our Lady [4] at [5] Haruorde [6] Stotforde [7] daye

Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friſwides in Oxford, at Tiſdale, at Middlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twentie one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Ciceſter, at Stokeſleie. The twentie third, at Preſton, at Bikelſworth, at Ritchdale, at Whitechurch. [The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford.] On all ſaints eeuen, at Wakefield, [and] at Rithen.

Oct 21, at Saffron Walden

November.

Faires in Nouember.

2. Epping.

THe ſecond at Blechinglie, at Kingſton, at Maxfield, [at Epping.] The ſixt day, at Newport pond, at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Lefford, [and Wetſhod faire at Hertford.] The tenth, at Leuton. The eleuenth, at Marleborough, at Douer. The thirtenth, at ſaint Edmundſburie, at Gilford. The ſeuenteenth day, at Low, at Hide. The nineteenth, at Horſham. On ſaint Edmunds day, at Hith, at Ingerſtone. The twentie third day, at Sandwich. On ſaint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rocheſter, at Peterfield, at Maidenhed, at Bewdleie, at Warington in Lancaſhire, at Bedford in Yorkeſhire, at Oſeſtrie in Wales, [and at Powles Belcham.]

13 Guildford.

21 Maidenhead.

December.

Faires in December.

6. Exeter.

ON [1]the fift day,[1] at Pluckeleie. On [2]the ſixt,[2] [at Caſed, at Hedningham,] at Spalding, at Exceſter, at[3] Smocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Cheſſhire. The ſeuenth day at Sandhurſt. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancaſhire, at Malpas in Cheſhire. The twentie ninth[4] at Canturburie, and at Saliſburie.

8. Clitheroe.

29. Canterbury.

[1]—[1] Saint Nicholas euen
[2]—[2] Saint Nicholas day
[3] and
[4] 29 day

[1]Of our innes and thorowfaires.[1]

[Chap. 16.]

[THoſe townes that we call thorowfaires haue great and ſumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of ſuch trauellers and ſtrangers as paſſe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of ſome other countries, in which the hoſt or goodman of the houſe dooth chalenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his gheſts, but cleane otherwiſe, ſith euerie man may vſe his inne as his owne houſe in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other ſeruice himſelfe ſhall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are alſo verie well furniſhed with naperie, bedding, and tapiſterie, eſpeciallie with naperie: for beſide the linnen vſed at the tables, which is commonlie waſhed dailie, is ſuch and ſo much as belongeth vnto the eſtate and calling of the gheſt. Ech commer is ſure to lie in cleane ſheets, wherein no man hath beene lodged ſince they came from the landreſſe, or out of the water wherein they were laſt waſhed. If the traueller haue an horſſe, his bed dooth coſt him nothing, but if he go on foot he is ſure to paie a penie for the ſame: but whether he be horſſeman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne houſe ſo long as lodgeth there. If he looſe oughts whileſt he abideth in the inne, the hoſt is bound by a generall cuſtome to reſtore the damage, ſo that there is no greater ſecuritie anie where for trauellers than in the greteſt ins of England. Their horſſes in like ſort are walked, dreſſed, and looked vnto by certeine hoſtelers or hired ſeruants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the houſe, who in hope of extraordinarie reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward appeerance in this

Our chief towns have sumptuous inns. (See vol. I, p. lxx.)

And a man may here take his ease in his inn (Falstaff.)

Our inns are well furnisht,

their table linen is washt daily.

Every guest has Clean sheets

You don't pay for putting up your horse.

The host is answerable for his guests' goods.

Guests' horses are attended to by ostlers.

[1—1] ¶ How a man may iourney from any notable towne in England, to the Citie of London, or from London to any notable towne in the Realme

[their function and calling. Herein neuertheleſſe are manie of them blameworthie, in that they doo not onelie deceiue the beaſt oftentimes of his allowance by ſundrie meanes, except their owners looke well to them; but alſo make ſuch packs with ſlipper merchants which hunt after preie (for what place is ſure from euill & wicked perſons) that manie an honeſt man is ſpoiled of his goods as he trauelleth to and fro, in which feat alſo the counſell of the tapſters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not ſeldome behind or wanting. Certes I beleeue not that chapman or traueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of ſome of them; for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horſſe, the hoſtler forthwith is verie buſie to take downe his budget or capcaſe in the yard from his sadle bow, which he peiſeth ſlilie in his hand to feele the weight thereof: or if he miſſe of this pitch, when the gheſt hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberleine that looketh to the making of the beds, will be ſure to remooue it from the place where the owner hath ſet it, as if it were to ſet it more conuenientlie ſome where elſe, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other ſhort wares, & therof giueth warning to ſuch od gheſts as haut the houſe and are of his confederacie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honeſt yeoman as he iournieth by the waie. The tapſter in like ſort for his part dooth marke his behauiour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the ſhot, to the like end: ſo that it ſhall be an hard matter to eſcape all their ſubtile practiſes. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their comming to the goodman of the houſe: but thereby they oft bewraie themſelues. For albeit their monie be ſafe for the time that it is in his hands (for you ſhall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the hoſt can make no warrantiſe of the ſame, ſith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne houſe: and there

Ostlers often cheat the horses of their food,

and are, with tapsters, in league with robbers. (See i. 283)

Either the ostler

or chamberlain will try the weight of the traveller's packet, and tell the highwaymen of it.

The tapster does his part

And if you give your packet to the landlord,

[1 p. 247]

you're safe to be

[cannot be a ſurer token vnto ſuch as prie and watch for thoſe booties, than to ſee anie gheſt deliuer his capcaſe in ſuch maner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, beere, and ſundrie kinds of wine, and ſuch is the capacitie of ſome of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred perſons, and their horſſes at eaſe, & therto with a verie ſhort warning make ſuch prouiſion for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may ſeeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worſe ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the beſt that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumſtances be dulie conſidered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpoſe. I will here set downe a table of the beſt thorowfaires and townes of greateſt trauell of England, in ſome of which there are twelue or ſixteene ſuch innes at the leaſt, as I before did ſpeake of. And it is a world to ſee how ech owner of them contendeth with other for goodneſſe of interteinement of their gheſts, as about fineſſe & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, ſeruice at the table, coſtlineſſe of plate, ſtrength of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vſing of horſſes. Finallie there is not ſo much omitted among them as the gorgeouſnes of their verie ſignes at their doores, wherein ſome doo conſume thirtie or fortie pounds, a meere vanitie in mine opinion, but ſo vaine will they needs be, and that not onelie to giue ſome outward token of the inne keepers welth, but alſo to procure good gheſts to the frequenting of their houſes in hope there to be well vſed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I ſhall not need to ſpeake.]

robbd after you've left his house

Plenty of beer, at our inns,

and in some, lodging for 300 men and their horses.

London inns are the worst in England.

I'll give a list of the chief high-road towns.

Costly Sign-boards.

The waie from Walſingham to London.

FRom Walſingham to Picknam 12. mile[s]
From Picknam to Brandonferie 10. mile[s]

Frome Brandonfarie to Newmarket	10. mile[s]
From Newmarket to Brabram[1]	10. mile[s]
From Brabram to Barkewaie	20. mile[s]
From Barkewaie to Puchrich	7. mile[s]
From Puchrich to Ware	5. mile[s]
From Ware to Waltham	8. mile[s]
From Waltham to London	12. mile[s]

The waie from Barwike to Yorke,
and ſo to London.

From Barwike to Belford	12. miles[2]
From Belford to Anwike	12. miles
From Anwike to Morpit	12. miles
From Morpit to Newcaſtell	12. miles
From Newcaſtell to Durham	12. miles
From Durham to Darington	13. miles
From Darington to Northalerton	14. miles
From Northalerton to Toplife	7. miles
From Toplife to Yorke	16. miles
From Yorke to Tadcaſter	8. miles
From Tadcaſter to Wantbridge	12. miles
From Wantbridge to Dancaſter	8. miles
From Dancaſter to Tutford	18. miles
From Tutford to Newarke	10. miles
From Newarke to Grantham	10. miles
From Grantham to Stanford	16. miles
From Stanford to Stilton	12. miles
From Stilton to Huntington	9. miles
From Hunting[ton] to Roiſton	15. miles
From Roiſton to Ware	12. miles
From Ware to Waltham	8. miles
From Waltham to London	12. miles

[1] Babram

[2] The 1577 edition has *mile* instead of *miles* throughout this chapter.—F.

The waie from Carnaruan to Cheſter, and ſo to London.

FRom Carnaruan to Conwaie	24. miles
From Conwaie to Denbigh	12. miles
From Denbigh to Flint	12. miles
From Flint to Cheſter	10. miles
From Cheſter to Wich	14. miles
From Wich to Stone	15. miles
From Stone to Lichfield	16. miles
From Lichfield to Colſhill	12. miles
From Colſill to Couentrie	8. miles

And ſo from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.*

The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaſter, and ſo to London.

FRom Cockermouth to Kiſwike	6. miles
From Kiſwike to Grocener	8. miles
From Grocener to Kendale	14. miles
From Kendale to Burton	7. miles
From Burton to Lancaſter	8. miles
From Lancaſter to Preſton	20. miles
From Preſton to Wigam	14. miles
From Wigam to Warington	20. miles
From Warington to Newcaſtell	20. miles
From Newcaſtell to Lichfield	20. miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie	20. miles
*From Couentrie to Daintrie	14. miles
From Daintrie to Toceſter	10. miles
From Toceſter to Stoniſtratford	6. miles
From Stoniſtratford to Brichill	7. miles
From Brichill to Dunſtable	7. miles
From Dunſtable to ſaint Albons	10. miles
From ſaint Albons to Barnet	10. miles
From Barnet to London.	10. miles

The waie from Yarmouth to Colchester, and ſo to London.

FRom Yarmouth to Becclis	8. miles
From Becclis to Blibour	7. miles
From Blibour to Snapbridge	8. miles
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge.	8. miles
From Woodbridge to Ipſwich	5 miles
From Ipſwich to Colcheſter	12. miles
From Colcheſter to Eaſtford	8. miles
From Eaſtford to Chelmeſtord	10. miles
From Chelmeſtord to Brentwood	10. miles
From Brentwood to London	15. miles

The waie from Douer to London.

FRom Douer to Canturburie	12. miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne	12. miles
From Sittingborne to Rocheſter	8. miles
From Rocheſter to Grauefend	5. miles
From Grauefend to Datford	6. miles
From Datford to London	12. miles

Chaucer's journey home.

The waie from ſaint Burien in Cornewall to London.

FRom S. Burien to the Mount	20. miles
From the Mount to Thurie	12. miles
From ſaint Thurie to Bodman	20. miles
From Bodman to Launſtone	20. miles
From Launſtone to Ocomton	15. miles
From Ocomton to Crokehornewell	10. miles
[1] From Crokehornewell to Exceſter	19. miles
From Exceſter to Honiton	12. miles
From Honiton to Chard	10. miles
From Chard to Crokehorne	7. miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne	10. miles
From Shirborne to Shaftſburie	10. miles

[1] p 248]

From Shaftſburie to Saliſburie	18. miles
From Saliſburie to Andeuor	15. miles
From Andeuor to Baſingſtocke	18. miles
From Baſingſtocke to Hartford	8. miles
From Hartford to Bagſhot	8. miles
From Bagſhot to Staines	8. miles
From Staines to London	15. miles

The waie from Briſtowe to London.

From Briſtow to Maxfield	10. miles
From Maxfield to Chipnam	10. miles
From Chipnam to Marleborough	15. miles
From Marleborough to Hungerford	8. miles
From Hungerford to Newburie	7. miles
From Newburie to Reading	15. miles
From Reading to Maidenhead.	10. miles
From Maidenhead to Colbrooke	7. miles
From Colbrooke to London	15. miles

The waie from ſaint Dauids to London.

From ſaint Dauids to Axford	20. miles
From Axford to Carmarden	10. miles
From Carmarden to Newton	10. miles
From Newton to Lanburie	10. miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke	16. miles
From Brechnocke to Haie	10. miles
From Haie to Harford	14. miles
From Harford to Roſo	9. miles
From Roſo to Gloceſter	12. miles
From Gloceſter to Ciceſter	15. miles
From Ciceſter to Farington	16. miles
From Farington to Habington	7. miles
From Habington to Dorcheſter	7. miles
From Dorcheſter to Henleie	12. miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead	7. miles

From Maidenhead to Colbrooke 7. miles
From Colbrooke to London 15. miles

Of thorowfares, from Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie 12. miles
From Canturburie to Rofcheſter 20. miles
From Rofcheſter to Grauesend 5. miles
From Grauesend ouer [the] Thames, to Hornedon 4. miles
From Hornedon to Chelmeſford 12. miles
From Chelmeſford to Dunmow 10. miles
From Dunmow to Thaxſted 5. miles
Radwinter, Harrison's village. From Thaxſted to Radwinter 3. miles
From Radwinter to Linton 5. miles
From Linton to Babrenham 3. miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge 4. miles

From Canturburie to Oxford.

From Canturburie to London 43. miles
Shakspere's road from London to Oxford. From London to Uxbridge or Colbrooke 15. mile
From Uxbridge to Baccanſfield 7. miles
From Baccanſfield to eaſt Wickham 5. miles
From Wickham to Stocking church 5. miles
From Stocking church to Thetiſford 5. miles
From Thetiſford to Whatleie 6. miles
From Whatleie to Oxford 4. miles

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton 6. miles
From Edmondton to Waltham 6. miles
From Waltham to Hoddeſdon 5. miles
From Hoddeſdon to Ware 3. miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch 5. miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie 7. miles

From Barkewaie to Fulmere 6. miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge 6. miles

Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddeſdon 17. miles
From Hoddeſdon to Hadham 7. miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden 12. miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge 10. miles

Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotations.

From Barwijc to Eden-borow.

From Barwijc to Chirneſide 10. miles
From Chirneſide to Coldingham 3. miles
From Coldingham [to] Pinketon 6. miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre 6. miles
From Dunbarre to Linton 6. miles
From Linton to Haddington 6 miles
From Haddington to Seaton 4 miles
From Seaton to Aberladie or Muſkelborow 8. mi.
From thence to Edenborow 8. miles

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalketh 5. miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander 5 miles
From Lander to Urfildon 6. miles
From Urfildon to Driburg 5. miles
From Driburg to Cariton 6. miles
From Cariton to Barwijc 14. miles

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine weſtward.

From Edenborow to Kirkelifton 6. miles
From Kirkelifton to Lithco 6. miles

From Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth 6. miles
From thence to Striuelin vpon Forth 6. miles
From Striuelin to Dunbrittaine 24. miles

From Striuelin to Kinghorne eaſtward.

From Striuelin to Downe in Menketh 3. miles
From Downe to Campſkenell 3. miles
From Campſkenell to Alwie vpon Forth 4. miles
From Alwie to Culroſe on Fiffe 10. miles
From Culroſe to Dunfermelin 2. miles
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin 2. miles
From Euerkennin to Aberdore on Forth 3. miles
From Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon Forth 3. miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Diſſard in Fiffe 3. miles
From Diſſard to Cowper 8. miles
[1 p 249] [1]From Cowper to S. Andrews 14. miles
From S Andrews to the Taimouth 6. miles

From Taimouth to Stockeford.

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbeie 4. mil.
From thence to Londores abbeie 4. miles
From Londores to S. Iohns towne 12. miles
From S. Iohns to Schone 5. miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taie 15. miles
From Abernithie to Dundee 15. miles
From Dundee to Arbroth and Muros 24. miles
From Muros to Aberden 20. miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie 20. miles
From thenſe to the riuer of Spaie 30. miles
From thence to Stockeford in Roſſe, and ſo to the Neſſe of Haben, a famous point on the weſt ſide 30. miles

From Carleill to Whiteherne
weſtward.

FRom Carleill ouer the Ferie againſt Redkirke 4 miles

From thence to Dunfrees	20. miles
From Duntrees to the Ferie of Cre	40. miles
From thence to Wigton	3. miles
From thence to Whitherne	12. miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, wherevnto I will adioine the old thorowfaires aſcribed to *Antoninus*, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further conſideration of the ſame than my leiſure will permit me. In ſetting foorth alſo thereof, I haue noted ſuch diuerſitie of reading, as hath happened in the ſight of ſuch written and printed copies, as I haue ſeene in [my] time. [Notwithſtanding I muſt confeſſe the ſame to be much corrupted in the rehearſall of the miles.]

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO

De Gallis Rutupis in portu Britanniarum ſtadia
numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO
Prætorio vſque M. P. CLVI. ſic

A Bramenio Corſtopitum, m. p xx		*Britannia.*
Vindomora, m. p. ix		
Viconia* m. p. xix	*Vinouia Vinouium*	
Cataractoni m. p. xxii	[Darington.	
Iſurium m. p. xxiiii	Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.]	
Eburacum legio vi	Victrix m. p. xvii [Yorke.]	

Deruentione m. p. VII	Tadcaſter.
Delgouitia m. p. XIII	Wentbridge.
Prætorio m. p. XXV	Tudford.

ITEM A VALLO AD

portum Ritupis m. p. 481

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Ablato Bulgio* caſtra exploratorum m. p. X,	15 *alia à* Blato	
Lugu-vallo* m. p. XII	aliàs à Lugu-valio.	Cairleill.
Voreda m. p. XIIII		
Brouonacis* m. p. XIII	*Brauoniacis*	
Verteris m. p. XX, 13		
Lauatris m. p. XIIII		
Cataractone* m. p. XXI[1]	*Caturractonium.*	[Darington.]
Iſuriam* m. p. XXIIII	*Iſoriam.* [Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.]	
Eburacum* m. p. XVIII	*Eboracum.*	[Yorke.]
Calcaria* m. p. IX	*Cacaria*	
Camboduno m. p. XX		
Mamnuncio* m. p. XVIII	*Manucio*	
Condate m. p. XVIII		
Deua legio XXIII. CI. m. p. XX		
Bouio* m. p. X	*Bonio*	
Mediolano m. p. XX		
Rutunio m. p. XII		
Vrio Conio* m. p. XI	*Viroconium propè.*	[Shreweſburie]
Vxacona m. p. XI		
Penno-Crucio m. p. XII		
Etoceto m. p. XII		
Mandues Sedo m. p. XVI		
Venonis m. p. XII		
Bennauenta* m. p. XVII	*Banna venta*	
Lactorodo* m. p. XII	*Lactodoro*	

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Maginto* m. p. xvii. 12 *Magiouintum*
Duro-Cobriuis m. p. xii Dunſtable.
Vero-Lamio m. p. xii S. Albanes.
Sullomacis* m. p. ix Barnet.
Longidinio m. p. xii *Londinio.* London.
Nouiomago m. p. xii[1]
Vagniacis m. p. vi[2]
Durobrouis m. p. v[3] *Duroprouis.* [Rocheſter.]
Duroleuo m. p. xvi. 8[4]
Duror-Verno* m. p. xii *Drouerno Durouerno*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xii *Durarvenno Daruerno*

ITEM A LONDINIO

ad portum Dubris m p. 56 66, ſic:

Dubobrus* m. p. xxvii *Durolrouis Durobrivis.* [Rocheſter.]
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 [Canturburie.]
Ad portum Dubris m p. xiiii Douer hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD

portum Lemanis m. p. 68 ſic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvii [Rocheſter.]
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 [Canturburie.]
Ad portum[*] Lemanis m. p. xvi [Limming hauen.]

ITEM A LONDINIO

Lugu Valio ad Vallum m. p. 443, ſic:

Cæſaromago m. p. xxviii
Colonia m. p. xxiiii
Villa Fauſtini m. p. xxxv, 25
Icianos m. p. xviii
Camborico m. p. xxxv

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Duroliponte m. p. xxv
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Magiouinio * m. p xii *Maginto*
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Iſanna Vantia * m. p. xii *Iſanna vatia*
Tripontio m. p. xii *Iſanna varia*
Venonis m. p. ix
Ratas m. p. xii
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Ad Pontem * m. p. vii *Pons Aelij*
Croco Calana * m. p. vii *Crorolana*
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ITEM A REGNO

Londinio m. p. 116,
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Clauſentum m. p. xx
Venta Belgarum m. p. x

Galleua * Atrebatum m. p. xxii { *Gelleua,* [Walingford.]
Pontibus m. p. xxii [Reding.] { *Calliua,*
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[1]ITEM AB EBVRACO

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Ageloco * m. p. xxi	*Segoloco*
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Combretouio * m. p. xxii	*Cumbretonio*
Ad Anſam m. p. xv	
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Galacum* m. p. XIX	*Galacum Brigantum*
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[2] On the next page of the 1577 ed. comes "Faultes Escaped" "In the Firste Bobke" and "In the Second Booke," and then follows "The Historie of Englande"