

THE ROGUES AND VAGABONDS

OF

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH.

PRESENTED

TO HIS FELLOW MEMBERS OF

The New Shakspeare Society

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL.



ROXBURGHE AND BAGFORD BALLAD WOODCUTS OF BAGGARS, &c.,
here, and on the backs of the Title-pages too.

The
Rogues and Vagabonds

OF

Shakspeare's Youth,

DESCRIBED BY

Jn. AWDELEY in his *Fraternitie of Vacabondes*, 1561-73,
Thos. HARMAN in his *Caueat for Common Cursetors*, 1567-73,
and in *The Groundworke of Conny-catching*, 1592.

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EDITED BY

EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL

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AND NOW REPRINTED.

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FORETALK.

THE 550 copies of this Book that I hand over to the Society towards making up its issue for this year, 1880, are but a token of repentance for my oversight in ordering Part II. of my edition of Stubbes's *Anatomie* to be sent out last year, when there was no money to pay for it, instead of keeping it back for this year. Not being able to afford a fresh book, I can only offer this reprint of an old one, which was used in part by Harrison in his *Description of England*, I. 218-219, and which I have always intended should form one of our *Shakspeare's-England* Series. (My *Captain Cox*, or Laneham's Letter on the Kenilworth Festivities in 1575 (Ballad Soc.), should form another, when money can be found for it.)

Thomas Harman's Will (p. xiv, below) I couldn't find at Doctors' Commons when I searcht for it, though three John-Harman wills of his time turnd up.

The print of the Stationers' Registers calld for at p. xxvi, has since been produc't by Mr. Arber, to whose enery we are all so much indebted for such numbers of capital texts; and the book only needs an Index to be of real use. The entries on p. ii, vi, vii, below, are in Arber's *Transcript*, i. 157, 334, 345. (See too i. 348, 369.†) The Hunterian Club, Glasgow, reprinted, in 1874, S. Rowlands's *Martin Mark-all* (p. xvi, below) from the text of 1610, in its handsome edition of all Rowlands's works.

As connected, more or less, with the Vagabonds of London, I add, overleaf, a copy of the curious cut of the notorious Southwark brothel, 'Holland's Leaguer' in 1632, on which Mr. Rendle has commented in his "Bankside, Southwark," *Harrison*, Part II. p. ix-x., and the site of which is shown on the left of our first plan from Roque's Map, *ib*, p. 67*.

The Brothel is shown, says Mr. Ebsworth, (*Amanda Ballads*, 1880, p. 507*), fortified and sentried, as kept by a Mrs. Holland, before 1631. "The picture was frontispiece of a quarto pamphlet, '*Holland's Leaguer*; or, an *Historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Donna Britanica Holl' dia, the Arch Mistris of the wicked women of Eutopia: wherein is detected the notorious sinne of Pandarisme*,' etc., sm. 4to. printed by A. M. for Richard Barnes, 1632. . . .

"Holland's Leaguer claimed to be an island out of the ordinary jurisdiction. The portecullis, drawbridge, moat, and wicket for espial, as well as an armed bully or Pandar to quell disagreeable intruders, if by chance they got admittance without responsible introduction, all point to an organized system. There were also the garden-walks for sauntering and 'doing a spell of embroidery, or fine work,' *i. e.* flirtation; the summer-house that was proverbially famous or infamous for intrigues, and the river conveniently near for disposal of awkward visitors who might have met with misadventure.

"Shackerly Marmion's 'excellent comedy,' *Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, was reprinted in 1875, in William Paterson of Edinburgh's choice series, *Dramatists of the Restoration*. The fourth act gives an exposure of the Leaguers' garrison, where riot, disease, and robbery are unchecked. Thus *Trimalchio* says,

'I threw thy *Cerberus* a sleepy morsel,
And paid thy *Charon* for my waftage over,
And I have a golden sprig for my *Proserpina*.

Bawd: 'Then you are welcome, Sir!'

† i. 270: A ballett intituled *Tom Tell Truth*, A.D. 1565; and i. 307, 'an interlude, *the Cruell Detter* by Wager,' licenst to Colwell in 1565-6.

J 11

The
Fraternitie of Vagabondes

BY JOHN AWDELEY

(LICENSED IN 1560-1, IMPRINTED THEN, AND IN 1565)

FROM THE EDITION OF 1575 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

**A Caueat or Warening for Commen Cursetors
bulgarely called Vagabones**

BY THOMAS HARMAN ESQUIERE,

FROM THE 3RD EDITION OF 1567, BELONGING TO HENRY HUTH, ESQ.

COLLATED WITH THE 2ND EDITION OF 1567 IN THE BODLEIAN
LIBRARY, OXFORD, AND WITH THE REPRINT OF THE
4TH EDITION OF 1573.

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery

BY PARSON HABEN OR HYBERDYNE,

FROM THE LANSDOWNE MS. 98, AND COTTON VESP. A. 25.

THOSE PARTS OF

The Groundworke of Conny-catching (ed. 1592)

THAT DIFFER FROM *HARMAN'S CAUEAT*.

EDITED BY

EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL.

LONDON:

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P R E F A C E.

IF the ways and slang of Vagabonds and Beggars interested Martin Luther enough to make him write a preface to the *Liber Vagatorum*¹ in 1528, two of the ungodly may be excused for caring, in 1869, for the old Rogues of their English land, and for putting together three of the earliest tracts about them. Moreover, these tracts are part of the illustrative matter that we want round our great book on Elizabethan England, Harrison's *Description of Britain*, and the chief of them is quoted by the excellent parson who wrote that book.

The first of these three tracts, Awdeley's *Fraternitie of Vagabondes*, has been treated by many hasty bibliographers, who can never have taken the trouble to read the first three leaves of Harman's book, as later than, and a mere pilfering from, Harman's *Caueat*. No such accusation, however, did Harman himself bring against the worthy printer-author (herein like printer-author Crowley, though he was preacher too,) who preceded him. In his Epistle dedicatory to the Countes of Shrewsbury, p. 20, below, Harman, after speaking of 'these wyly wanderers,' vagabonds, says in 1566 or 1567,

There was a *fewe yeares since* a small bréeffe setforth of some zelous man to his country,—of whom I knowe not,—that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge practyses, but well worthy of prayse.

¹ *Liber Vagatorum: Der Betler Orden*: First printed about 1514. Its first section gives a special account of the several orders of the 'Fraternity of Vagabonds'; the 2nd, sundry *notabilia* relating to them; the 3rd consists of a 'Rötswelsche Vocabulary,' or 'Canting Dictionary.' See a long notice in the Wiemarisches Jahrbuch, vol. 10; 1856. *Hotten's Slang Dictionary*: Bibliography.

This description of the 'small bréefe,' and the 'lytle shewe' of the 'names and vsage,' exactly suits Awdeley's tract; and the 'fewe yeares since' also suits the date of what may be safely assumed to be the first edition of the *Fraternitye*, by John Awdeley or John Sampson, or Sampson Awdeley,—for by all these names, says Mr Payne Collier, was our one man known:—

It may be disputed whether this printer's name were really Sampson, or Awdeley: he was made free of the Stationers' Company as Sampson, and so he is most frequently termed towards the commencement of the Register; but he certainly wrote and printed his name Awdeley or Awdelay; now and then it stands in the Register 'Sampson Awdeley.' It is the more important to settle the point, because . . . he was not only a printer, but a versifier,¹ and ought to have been included by Ritson in his *Bibliographica Poetica*. (Registers of the Stationers' Company, A.D. 1848, vol. i. p. 23.)

These verses of Awdeley's, or Sampson's, no doubt led to his 'small bréefe' being entered in the Stationers' Register as a 'ballett':

"1560-1. Rd. of John Sampson, for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett called the description of vakaboundes . . . iiij^d."

"[This entry seems to refer to an early edition of a very curious work, printed again by Sampson, alias Awdeley, in 1565, when it bore the following title, 'The fraternitie of vacabondes, as well of ruffing vacabones as of beggerly,² as well of women as of men,² and as well of gyrcles as of boyes, with their proper names and qualities. Also the xxv. orders of knaves, otherwise called a quartten of knawes. Confirmed this yere by Cocke Lorel.' The edition without date mentioned by Dibdin (iv. 564) may have been that of the entry. Another impression by Awdeley, dated 1575 [which we reprint] is reviewed in the *British Bibliographer*, ii. 12, where it is asserted (as is very probable, though we are without distinct evidence of the fact) that the printer was the compiler of the book, and he certainly introduces it by three six-line stanzas. If this work came out originally in 1561, according to the entry, there is no doubt that it was the precursor of a very singular series of tracts on the same subject, which will be noticed in their proper places.]"—J. P. Collier, *Registers*, i. 42.

As above said, I take Harman's 'fewe yeares'—in 1566 or 7—to point to the 1561 edition of Awdeley, and not the 1565 ed. And as to Awdeley's authorship,—what can be more express than his own words,

¹ See the back of his title-page, p. 2, below.

² *as well* and *and as well* not in the title of the 1575 edition.

p. 2, below, that what the Vagabond caught at a Session confest as to 'both names and states of most and least of this their Vacabondes brotherhood,' *that*,—'at the request of a worshipful man, I ['The Printer,' that is, John Awdeley] have set it forth as well as I can.'

But if a doubt on Awdeley's priority to Harman exists in any reader's mind, let him consider this second reference by Harman to Awdeley (p. 60, below), not noticed by the bibliographers: "For-as-much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a Patrico, bée in *the old briefe of vacabonds*, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Iarkeman hath his name of a *Iarke*, which is a seale in their Language, as one should make writings and set seales for lycences and pasporte," and then turn to Awdeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, and there see, at page 5, below:

¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called *Iarkes*. (See also 'A Whipiacke,' p. 4.)

Let the reader then compare Harman's own description of a *Patrico*, p. 60, with that in 'the old *Briefe of Vacabonds*,' Awdeley, p. 6:

Awdeley.

Harman.

¶ A PATRIARKE Co.

there is a PATRICO . . .

A Patriarke Co doth *make mariages*, & that is *untill death depart* the married folke.

whiche in their language is a priest, that should *make mariages tyll death dyd depart*.

And surely no doubt on the point will remain in his mind, though, if needed, a few more confirmations could be got, as

Awdeley (p. 4).

Harman (p. 44).

¶ A PALLIARD.

¶ A Pallyard.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.

These Palliardes . . go with patched clokes, and haue their Morts with them.

We may conclude, then, certainly, that Awdeley did not plagiarize Harman; and probably, that he first published his *Fraternitye* in 1561. The tract is a mere sketch, as compared with Harman's *Caueat*, though in its descriptions (p. 6—11) of 'A Curtesy Man,'

'A Cheatour or Fingerer,' and 'A Ring-Faller' (one of whom tried his tricks on me in Gower-street about ten days ago), it gives as full a picture as Harman does of the general run of his characters. The edition of 1575 being the only one accessible to us, our trusty Oxford copier, Mr George Parker, has read the proofs with the copy in the Bodleian.

Let no one bring a charge of plagiarizing Awdeley, against Harman, for the latter, as has been shown, referred fairly to Awdeley's '*small breefe*' or '*old briefe of vacabonds*,' and wrote his own "*bolde Beggars booke*" (p. 91) from his own long experience with them.

Harman's *Caueat* is too well-known and widely valued a book to need description or eulogy here. It is *the* standard work on its subject,—'these rowsey, ragged, rabblement of rakehelles' (p. 19)—and has been largely plundered by divers literary cadgers. No copy of the first edition seems to be known to bibliographers. It was published in 1566 or 1567,—probably the latter year,¹—and must (I conclude) have contained less than the second, as in that's '*Harman to the Reader*,' p. 28, below, he says 'well good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare doune whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse.' He speaks again of his first edition at p. 44, below, 'I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture, that I had amongst others, whyle this boke was *first a printynge*;' and also at p. 51, below, 'Apon Alhol'enday in the morning last anno domini 1566, or my booke was halfe printed, I meane *the first impression*.' All Hallows' or All Saints' Day is November 1.

The edition called the second², also bearing date in 1567, is known to us in two states, the latter of which I have called the third edition. The first state of the second edition is shown by the Bodleian copy, which is '*Augmented and enlarged by the fyrst author here of*,' and has, besides smaller differences specified in the footnotes in our pages, this great difference, that the arrangement of '*The Names of*

¹ Compare the anecdote, p. 66, 68, '*the last sommer, Anno Domini, 1566*.'

² '*now at this seconde Impression*,' p. 27; '*Whyle this second Impression was in printynge*,' p. 87.

the Vpright Men, Roges, and Pallyards' is not alphabetical, by the first letter of the Christian names, as in the second state of the second edition (which I call the third edition), but higgledy-piggledy, or, at least, without attention to the succession of initials either of Christian or Sur-names, thus, though in three columns :

¶ VPRIGHT MEN.

Richard Brymmysh.	Robert Gerse.
John Myllar.	Gryffen.
Wel arayd Richard.	Richard Barton.
John Walchman.	John Braye.
Wylliam Chamborne.	Thomas Cutter.
Bryan Medcalfe.	Dowzabell skylfull in fence.

[&c.]

¶ ROGES.

Harry Walles with the little mouth.	Lytle Robyn.
John Waren.	Lytle Dycke.
Richard Brewton.	Richard Iones.
Thomas Paske.	Lambart Rose.
George Belbarby.	Harry Mason.
Humfrey Warde.	Thomas Smithe with the skal skyn.

[&c.]

¶ PALLYARDS.

Nycholas Newton carieth a fayned lycence.	Edward Heyward, hath his Morte following hym Whiche fayneth y ^e crank.
Bashforde.	
Robert Lackley.	Preston.
Wylliam Thomas.	Robert Canloke.

[&c.]

This alone settles the priority of the Bodley edition, as no printer, having an index alphabetical, would go and muddle it all again, even for a lark. Moreover, the other collations confirm this priority. The colophon of the Bodley edition is dated A. D. 1567, 'the eight of January;' and therefore A. D. 1567-8.

The second state of the second edition—which state I call the third edition—is shown by the copy which Mr Henry Huth has, with his never-failing generosity, lent us to copy and print from. It omits 'the eight of January,' from the colophon, and has 'Anno Domini 1567' only. Like the 2nd edition (or 2 A), this 3rd edition (or 2 B) has the statement on p. 87, below : 'Whyle this second Im-

pression was in printinge, it fortuneth that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter;’ and this brings both the 2nd and 3rd editions (or 2 A and 2 B) to the year 1568, modern style. The 4th edition, so far as I know, was published in 1573, and was reprinted by Machell Stace (says Bohn’s Lowndes) in 1814. From that reprint Mr W. M. Wood has made a collation of words, not letters, for us with the 3rd edition. The chief difference of the 4th edition is its extension of the story of the ‘dyssembling Cranke,’ Nycholas Genings, and ‘the Printar of this booke’ Wylliam Gryffith (p. 53-6, below), which extension is given in the footnotes to pages 56 and 57 of our edition. We were obliged to reprint this from Stace’s reprint of 1814, as our searchers could not find a copy of the 4th edition of 1573 in either the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library.

Thus much about our present edition. I now hark back to the first, and the piracies of it or the later editions, mentioned in Mr J. P. Collier’s *Registers of the Stationers’ Company*, i. 155-6, 166.

“1566-7 Rd. of William Greffeth, for his lycense for printinge of a boke intituled a Caviat for commen Corsetors, vulgarly called Vagabons, by Thomas Harman iiiij^a.

[No edition of Harman’s ‘Caveat or Warning for common Cursetors,’ of the date of 1566, is known, although it is erroneously mentioned in the introductory matter to the reprint in 1814, from H. Middleton’s impression of 1573. It was the forerunner of various later works of the same kind, some of which were plundered from it without acknowledgment, and attributed to the celebrated Robert Greene. Copies of two editions in 1567, by Griffith, are extant, and, in all probability, it was the first time it appeared in print: Griffith entered it at Stationers’ Hall, as above, in 1566, in order that he might publish it in 1567. Harman’s work was preceded by several ballads relating to vagabonds, the earliest of which is entered on p. 42 [Awdeley, p. ii. above]. On a subsequent page (166) is inserted a curious entry regarding ‘the boke of Rogges,’ or Rogues.]

“1566-7. For Takyng of Fynes as foloweth. Rd. of Henry

Bynnymman, for his fyne for undermy[n]dinge and procurynge, as moche as in hym ded lye, a Cotype from wylliam greffeth, called the boke of Rogges iij^s.

“[This was certainly Harman’s ‘Caveat or Warning for Common Cursetors’; and here we see Bynneman fined for endeavouring to *undermine* Griffith by procuring the copy of the work, in order that Bynneman might print and publish it instead of Griffith, his rival in business. The next item may show that Gerard Dewes had also printed the book, no doubt without license, but the memorandum was crossed out in the register.]

“Also, there doth remayne in the handes of Mr Tottle and Mr Gonneld, then wardens, the somme of iij^{li}. vij^s. viij^d., wherto was Recevyd of garrad dewes for pryntinge of the boke of Rogges in a^o 1567 ij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d.”

“[All tends to prove the desire of stationers to obtain some share of the profits of a work, which, as we have already shown, was so well received, that Griffith published two editions of it in 1567.]”

The fact is, the book was so interesting that it made its readers thieves, as ‘Jack Sheppard’ has done in later days. The very wood-cutter cheated Harman of the hind legs of the horse on his title, prigged two of his prauncer’s props (p. 42).

To know the keen inquiring Social Reformer, Thomas Harman, the reader must go to his book. He lived in the country (p. 34, foot), in [Crayford] Kent (p. 30, p. 35), near a heath (p. 35), near Lady Elizabeth Shrewsbury’s parish (p. 19), not far from London (p. 30, p. 35); ‘he lodged at the White Friars within the cloister’ (p. 51), seemingly while he was having his book printed (p. 53), and had his servant there with him (*ib.*); ‘he knew London well’ (p. 54, &c.); and in Kent ‘beinge placed as a poore gentleman,’ he had in 1567, ‘kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre,’ and where, being kept at home ‘through sickenes, he talked dayly with many of these wyly wanderars, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrls,’ whose tricks he has so pleasantly set down for us. He did not, though, confine his intercourse with vagabonds to talking, for he says of some, p. 48,

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I haue diuers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes,

wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. p. 51-6.

Our author also practically exposed these tricks, as witness his hunting out the Cranke, Nycholas Genings, and his securing the vagabond's 13s. and 4*l.* for the poor of Newington parish, p. 51-6; his making the deaf and dumb beggar hear and speak, p. 58-9 (and securing his money too for the poor). But he fed deserving beggars, see p. 66, p. 20.

Though Harman tells us 'Eloquence haue I none, I neuer was acquaynted with the Muses, I neuer tasted of Helycon' (p. 27-8), yet he could write verses—though awfully bad ones: see them at pages 50 and 89-91, below, perhaps too at p. 26¹;—he knew Latin—see his comment on Cursetors and Vagabone, p. 27; his *una voce*, p. 43; perhaps his 'Argus eyes,' p. 54; his *omnia venalia Rome*, p. 60; his *homo*, p. 73; he quotes St Augustine (and the Bible), p. 24; &c.;—he studied the old Statutes of the Realm (p. 27); he liked proverbs (see the Index); he was once 'in commission of the peace,' as he says, and judged malefactors, p. 60, though he evidently was not a Justice when he wrote his book; he was a 'gentleman,' says Harrison (see p. xii. below); 'a Iustice of Peace in Kent,² in Queene Marie's daies,' says Samuel Rowlands;³ he bore arms (of heraldry), and had them duly stamped on his pewter dishes (p. 35); he had at least one old 'tennant who customably a greate tyme went twise in the weeke to London, (over Blacke Heathe) eyther wyth fruite or with pescoddes' (p. 30); he hospitably asked his visitors to dinner (p. 45); he had horses in his pasture,⁴ the best gelding of which the Pryggers of Prauncers prigged (p. 44); he had an unchaste cow that went to bull every month (p. 67, if his ownership is not chaff here); he had in his 'well-house on the backe side of

¹ Mr J. P. Collier (*Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 365) has little doubt that the verses at the back of the title-page of Harman's *Caveat* were part of "a ballad intituled a description of the nature of a birchen broom" entered at Stationers' Hall to William Griffith, the first printer of the *Caveat*.

² Cp. Kente, p. 37, 43, 48, 61, 63, 66, 68, 77, &c. Moreover, the way in which he, like a Norfolk or Suffolk man, speaks of *shires*, points to a liver in a non *-shire*.

³ In *Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell*, 1610, quoted below, at p. xvii.

⁴ Compare his 'ride to Dartforde to speake with a priest there,' p. 57.

his house, a great cawdron of copper' which the beggars stole (p. 34-5); he couldn't keep his linen on his hedges or in his rooms, or his pigs and poultry from the thieves (p. 21); he hated the 'rascal rabblement' of them (p. 21), and 'the wicked parsons that keepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe'; and, like a wise and practical man, he set himself to find out and expose all their 'vndecnt, dolefull [guileful] dealing, and execrable exercyses' (p. 21) to the end that they might be stopt, and sin and wickedness might not so much abound, and thus 'this Famous Empyre be in more welth, and better florysh, to the inestymable joye and comfort' of his great Queen, Elizabeth, and the 'vnspeakable . . . reliefe and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons and Subiectes.' The right end, and the right way to it. We've some like you still, Thomas Harman, in our Victorian time. May their number grow!

Thus much about Harman we learn from his book and his literary contemporaries and successors. If we now turn to the historian of his county, Hasted, we find further interesting details about our author: 1, that he lived in Crayford parish, next to Erith, the Countess of Shrewsbury's parish; 2, that he inherited the estates of Ellam, and Maystreet, and the manor of Mayton or Maxton; 3, that he was the grandson of Henry Harman, Clerk of the Crown, who had for his arms 'Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable,' which were no doubt those stamp't on our Thomas's pewter dishes; 4, that he had a 'descendant,'—a son, I presume—who inherited his lands, and three daughters, one of whom, Bridget, married Henry Binneman—? not the printer, about 1565-85 A.D., p. vi-vii, above.

Hasted in his description of the parish of Crayford, speaking of Ellam, a place in the parish, says:—

"In the 16th year of K. Henry VII. John Ellam alienated it (the seat of Ellam) to Henry Harman, who was then Clerk of the Crown,¹ and

¹ "John Harman, Esquyer, one of the gentlemen hushers of the Chambré of our soverayn Lady the Quene, and the excellent Lady Dame Dorothye Gwydott, widow, late of the town of Southampton, married Dec. 21, 1557." (Extract from the register of the parish of Stratford Bow, given in p. 499, vol. iii. of Lysons's *Environs of London*.)

who likewise purchased an estate called Maystreet here, of Cowley and Bulbeck, of Bulbeck-street in this parish, in the 20th year of King Edward IV.¹ On his decease, William Harman, his son, possessed both these estates.² On his decease they descended to Thomas Harman, esq., his son; who, among others, procured his lands to be disgavelled, by the act of the 2 & 3 Edw. VI.³ He married Millicent, one of the daughters of Nicholas Leigh, of Addington, in the county of Surry, esq.⁴ His descendant, William Harman, sold both these places in the reign of K. James I. to Robert Draper, esq.—*History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 209.

The manor of Maxton, in the parish of Hougham "passed to Hobday, and thence to Harman, of Crayford; from which name it was sold by Thomas Harman to Sir James Hales. . . . William Harman held the manor of Mayton, alias Maxton, with its appurtenances, of the Lord Cheney, as of his manor of Chilham, by Knight's service. Thomas Harman was his son and heir: Rot. Esch. 2 Edw. VI."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vi. p. 47.

"It is laid down as a rule, that nothing but an act of parliament can change the nature of gavelkind lands; and this has occasioned several [acts], for the purpose of disgavelling the possessions of divers gentlemen in this county. . . . One out of several statutes made for this purpose is the 3rd of Edw. VI."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. cxliii.

And in the list of names given,—taken from Robinson's *Gavelkind*—twelfth from the bottom stands that of THOMAS HARMAN.

Of Thomas Harman's aunt, Mary, Mrs William Lovelace, we find: "John Lovelace, esq., and William Lovelace, his brother, possessed this manor and seat (Bayford-Castle) between them; the latter of whom resided at Bayford, where he died in the 2nd year of K. Edward VI., leaving issue by Mary his wife, daughter of William Harman, of Crayford, seven sons. . . ."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 612.

The rectory of the parish of Deal was bestowed by the Archbishop on Roger Harman in 1544 (*Hasted*, vol. iv. p. 171).

Harman-street is the name of a farm in the parish of Ash (*Hasted*, vol. iii. p. 691).

¹ Philipott, p. 108. Henry Harman bore for his arms—Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable.

² Of whose daughters, Mary married John, eldest son of Wm. Lovelace, of Hever in Kingsdown, in this county; and Elizabeth married John Lennard, Prothonotary, and afterwards *Custos Brevium* of the Common Pleas. See Chevening.

³ See Robinson's *Gavelkind*, p. 300.

⁴ She was of consanguinity to Abp. Chicheley. *Stemm. Chick.* No. 106. Thomas Harman had three daughters: Anne, who married Wm. Draper, of Erith, and lies buried there; Mary, who married Thomas Harrys; and Bridget, who was the wife of Henry Binneman. *Ibid.*

The excellent parson, William Harrison, in his 'Description of England,' prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicles* (edit. 1586), quotes Harman fairly enough in his chapter "Of prouision made for the poore," Book II, chap. 10.¹ And as he gives a statement of the sharp punishment enacted for idle rogues and vagabonds by the Statutes of Elizabeth, I take a long extract from his said chapter. After speaking of those who are made 'beggars through other mens occasion,' and denouncing the grasping landlords 'who make them so, and wipe manie out of their occupiengs,' Harrison goes on to those who are beggars 'through their owne default' (p. 183, last line of ccl. 1, ed. 1586):

"Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or meere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means ² are in the beginning ² iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore ² afore mentioned ²; but, degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doo what they can to continue their miserie; and, with such impediments as they haue, to straie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest exercise. Certes, I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such ³ is their owne vngratious lewdnesse and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosiuues, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies; and also laieng of ratsbane, sperewort, crowfoot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull ⁴ and odious sores, and mooue ² the harts of ² the goers by such places where they lie, to ⁵ yerne at ⁵ their miserie, and therevpon ² bestow large almesse vpon them. ⁵ How artificiallie they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and choose out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner coniure or adiuere the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuersant in the mouths of none, and yet the presence of the heuenlie maiestie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke, that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs cheeffie to haue a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

"Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which, hauing sound and perfect lims, doo yet, notwithstanding

¹ In the first edition of Holinshed (1577) this chapter is the 5th in Book III. of Harrison's *Description*.

²⁻² Not in ed. 1577.

⁴ *piteous* in ed. 1577.

³ *thorow* in ed. 1577.

⁵⁻⁵ *lament* in ed. 1577.

⁶ The remainder of this paragraph is not in ed. 1577.

sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times in their apparell also ¹ they will be like seruing men or laborers : oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and seeke for ships which they neuer lost.² But, in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and, by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but licke the sweat from the true laborers' browes, *and* beereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well-disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked³ *and* detestable maner.

"It is not yet full threescore ⁴ yeares since this trade began : but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge ; for they are now supposed, of one sex and another, to amount vnto aboute 10,000 persons, as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name *Canting* (but other pedlers French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason : and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke,—a iust reward, no doubt, for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman, also, of Thomas Harman. late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngrations rabble. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth ⁵ three *and* twentie⁵ sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may ⁶ take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie ⁶ what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

"The seuerall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Rufflers. | 8. Fraters. |
| 2. Vpightmen. | 9. Abrams. |
| 3. Hookers or Anglers. | 10. Freshwater mariners, or Whip- |
| 4. Roges. | 11. Dummerers. [iacks. |
| 5. Wild Roges. | 12. Drunken tinkers. |
| 6. Priggers of Prancers. | 13. Swadders, or Pedlers. |
| 7. Palliards. | 14. Iarkemen, or Patricoes. |

Of Women kinde—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Demanders for glimmar, or fire. | 6. Doxes. |
| 2. Baudie Baskets. | 7. Delles. |
| 3. Mortes. | 8. Kinching Mortes. |
| 4. Autem mortes. | 9. Kinching cooes. ⁷ |
| 5. Walking mortes. | |

¹ Not in ed. 1577.

² Compare *Harman*, p. 48.

³ The 1577 ed. inserts *horrible*.

⁴ The 1577 ed. reads *fifty*.

⁵⁻⁵ The 1577 ed. reads 22, which is evidently an error.

⁶⁻⁶ For these words the 1577 ed. reads *gather*.

⁷ The above list is taken from the titles of the chapters in *Harman's Caueat*.

“The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them from their gadding : wherefore the end must needs be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them as vpon theeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth *and* welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yoong¹ children, ²burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people,² I need not to rehearse ; but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be greuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person worth fise pounds in the queene’s books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich housholder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice : from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a felon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie, and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, plaiers,³ minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretended⁴ schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others, so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From⁵ among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iust cause : for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, beene occasion of the death and deuoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is *and* haue beene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges,⁵ Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queene’s maiestie for euerie time that he dooth so succour them, as it

¹ Not in the 1577 ed.

²⁻² These words are substituted for *which they disfigure to begg withal* in the 1577 ed.

³ The 1577 ed. inserts *bearwards*.

⁴ Not in 1577 ed.

⁵⁻⁵ These three sentences are not in 1577 ed.

shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue beene informed. And thus much of the poore, *and* such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England."

Among the users of Harman's book, the chief and coolest was the author of *The groundworke of Conny-catching*, 1592, who wrote a few introductory pages, and then quietly reprinted almost all Harman's book with an 'I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered' (p. 103, below). By this time Harman was no doubt dead.—Who will search for his Will in the Wills Office?—Though Samuel Rowlands was alive, he did not show up this early appropriator of Harman's work as he did a later one. As a kind of Supplement to the *Caueat*, I have added, as the 4th tract in the present volume, such parts of the *Groundworke of Conny-catching* as are not reprinted from Harman. The *Groundworke* has been attributed to Robert Greene, but on no evidence (I believe) except Greene's having written a book in three Parts on Conny-catching, 1591-2, and 'A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whore is most hvtfull in Cousonage to the Common-wealth,' 1592.¹ Hearne's copy of the *Groundworke* is bound up in the 2nd vol. of Greene's Works, among George III.'s books in the British Museum, as if it really was Greene's.

Another pilferer from Harman was Thomas Dekker, in his *Belman of London*, 1603, of which three editions were published in the same year (*Hazlitt*). But Samuel Rowlands found him out and showed him up. From the fifth edition of the *Belman*, the earliest that our copier, Mr W. M. Wood, could find in the British Museum, he has drawn up the following account of the book :

The Belman of London. Bringing to Light the most notorious Villanies that are now practised in the Kingdome. Profitable for Gentlemen, Lawyers, Merchants, Citizens, Farmers, Masters of Housholds, and all sorts of Servants to mark, and delightfull for all Men to Reade.

Lege, Perlege, Relege.

The fift Impression, with new additions. Printed at London by Miles Flesher. 1640.

¹ *Hazlitt's Hand Book*, p. 241.

On the back of the title-page, after the table of contents, the eleven following 'secret villanies' are described, severally, as

"Cheating Law	Bernard's Lawe.
Vincent's Law.	The black Art.
Curbing Law.	Prigging Law.
Lifting Law.	High Law.
Sacking Law.	Frigging Law.
Five Iumpes at Leape-frog."	

After a short description of the four ages of the world, there is an account of a feast, at which were present all kinds of vagabonds. Dekker was conveyed, by 'an old nimble-tong'd beldam, who seemed to haue the command of the place,' to an upper loft, 'where, vnseene, I might, through a wooden Latice that had prospect of the dining roome, both see and heare all that was to be done or spoken.'

'The whole assembly being thus gathered together, one, amongst the rest, who tooke vpon him a Seniority ouer the rest, charged euery man to answer to his name, to see if the Iury were full :—the Bill by which hee meant to call them beeing a double Iug of ale (that had the spirit of *Aquavita* in it, it smelt so strong), and that hee held in his hand. Another, standing by, with a toast, nutmeg, and ginger, ready to cry *Vous avez* as they were cald, and all that were in the roome hauing single pots by the eares, which, like Pistols, were charged to goe off so soone as euer they heard their names. This Ceremonie beeing set abroach, an Oyes was made. But he that was Rector Chory (the Captain of the Tatterdemalions) spying one to march vnder his Colours, that had neuer before serued in those lowsie warres, paused awhile (after hee had taken his first draught, to tast the dexterity of the liquor), and then began, Iustice-like, to examine this yonger brother vpon interrogatories.'

This yonger brother is afterwards 'stalled to the rogue ;' and the 'Rector Chory¹' instructs him in his duties, and tells him the names and degrees of the fraternity of vagabonds. Then comes the feast, after which, 'one who tooke vpon him to be speaker to the whole house,' began, as was the custom of their meeting, 'to make an oration in praise of Beggery, and of those that professe the trade,' which done, all the company departed, leaving the 'old beldam' and Dekker the only occupants of the room.

'The spirit of her owne mault walkt in her brain-pan, so that, what with the sweetnes of gaines which shee had gotten by her Marchant

¹ Leader of the Choir, Captain of the Company.

Venturers, and what with the fumes of drinke, which set her tongue in going, I found her apt for talke; and, taking hold of this opportunity, after some intreaty to discover to mee what these vpright men, rufflers and the rest were, with their seuerall qualities and manners of life, Thus shee began.'

And what she tells Dekker is taken, all of it, from Harman's book.

Afterwards come accounts of the five 'Laws' and five jumps at leap-frog mentioned on the back of the title-page, and which is quoted above, p. xv.

Lastly 'A short Discourse of Canting,' which is, entirely, taken from Harman, pages 84—87, below.

As I have said before, Dekker was shown up for his pilferings from Harman by Samuel Rowlands, who must, says Mr Collier in his Bibliographical Catalogue, have published his *Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell*, in or before 1609,—though no edition is known to us before 1610,—because Dekker in an address 'To my owne Nation' in his *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, which was published in 1609, refers to Rowlands as a 'Beadle of Bridewell.' 'You shall know him,' (says Dekker, speaking of a rival author, [that is, Samuel Rowlands] whom he calls 'a Usurper') 'by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) hee will bee taken for a *Beadle of Bridewell*.' That this 'Usurper' was Rowlands, we know by the latter's saying in *Martin Mark-all*, leaf E, i back, 'although he (the Bel-man, that is, Dekker) is bold to call me an *vsurper*; for so he doth in his last round.'

Well, from this treatise of Rowlands', Mr Wood has made the following extracts relating to Dekker and Harman, together with Rowlands's own list of slang words not in Dekker or Harman, and 'the error in his [Dekker's] words, and true englishing of the same:'

Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell; his defence and Answere to the Beadman of London, Discovering the long-concealed Originall and Regiment of Rogues, when they first began to take head, and how they have succeeded one the other successiely vnto the sixe and twentieth yeare of King Henry the eight, gathered out of the Chronicle of Crackeropez, and (as they terme it) the Legend of Lossels. By S[amuel] R[owlands].

Orderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,
Orderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ.

London

Printed for John Budge and Richard Bonian. 1610.

'Martin Mark-all, his Apologie to the Bel-man of London. There hath been of late dayes great paines taken on the part of the good old Bel-man of London, in discouering, as hee thinks, a new-found Nation and People. Let it be so for this time : hereupon much adoe was made in setting forth their liues, order of liuing, method of speech, and vsuall meetings, with diuers other things thereunto appertaining. These volumes and papers, now spread euerie where, so that euerie Iacke-boy now can say as well as the proudest of that fraternitie, "will you wapp for a wyn, or tranie for a make?" The gentle Company of Cursitours began now to stirre, and looke about them ; and hauing gathered together a Conuocation of Canting Caterpillars, as wel in the North parts at the Diuels arse apeake,¹ as in the South, they diligently enquired, and straight search was made, whether any had reuolted from that faithles fellowship. Herupon eury one gaue his verdict: some supposed that it might be some one that, hauing ventured to farre beyond wit and good taking heede, was fallen into the hands of the Magistrate, and carried to the trayning Cheates, where, in shew of a penitent heart, and remoarse of his good time ill spent, turned the cocke, and let out all : others thought it might be some spie-knaue that, hauing little to doe, tooke vpon him the habite and forme of an Hermite ; and so, by dayly commercing and discoursing, learned in time the mysterie and knowledge of this ignoble profession : and others, because it smelt of a study, deemed it to be some of their owne companie, that had been at some free-schoole, and belike, because hee would be handsome against a good time, tooke pen and inke, and wrote of that subiect ; thus, *Tot homines, tot sententia*, so many men, so many mindes. And all because the spightfull Poet would not set too his name. At last vp starts an old Cacademicall Academicke with his frize bonnet, and giues them al to know, that this inuectiue was set fourth, made, and printed Fortie yeeres agoe. And being then called, 'A caueat for Cursitors,' is now newly printed, and termèd, 'The Bel-man of London,' made at first by one Master Harman, a Iustice of Peace in Kent, in Queene Marie's daies,—he being then about ten yeeres of age.' Sign. A. 2.

'They (the vagabonds) haue a language among themselues, composed of *omnium gatherum* ; a glimring whiereof, one of late daies hath endeoured to manifest, as farre as his Authour is pleased to be an in-

¹ Where at this day the Rogues of the North part, once euerie three yeeres, assemble in the night, because they will not be seene and espied ; being a place, to those that know it, verie fit for that purpos,—it being hollow, and made spacious vnder ground ; at first, by estimation, halfe a mile in compasse ; but it hath such turnings and roundings in it, that a man may easily be lost if hee enter not with a guide.

telligencer. The substance whereof he leaueth for those that will dilate thereof; enough for him to haue the praise, other the paines, notwithstanding *Harman's* ghost continually clogging his conscience with *Sic Vos non Vobis*.—Sign. C. 3 back.¹

'Because the Bel-man entreateth any that is more rich in canting, to lend him better or more with variety, he will repay his loue double, I haue thought good, not only to shew his errour in some places in setting downe olde wordes vsed fortie yeeres agoe, before he was borne, for wordes that are vsed in these dayes (although he is bold to call me an vsurper (for so he doth in his last round), and not able to maintayne the title, but haue enlarged his Dictionary (or *Master Harman's*) with such wordes as I thinke hee neuer heard of (and yet in vse too); but not out of vaine glorie, as his ambition is, but, indeede, as an experienced souldier that hath deerely paid for it: and therefore it shall be honour good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Reare (I doe but shoote your owne arrow back againe), and not to haue the leading of the Van as he meanes to doe, although small credite in the end will redound to eyther. You shall know the wordes not set in eyther his Dictionaries by this marke §: and for shewing the errour in his wordes, and true englishing of the same and other, this marke ¶ shall serue

§ Abram, madde

§ He maunds Abram, he begs as a madde man

¶ Bung, is now vsed for a pocket, heretofore for a purse

§ Budge a beake, runne away

§ A Bite, secreta mulierum

§ Crackmans, the hedge

§ To Castell, to see or looke

§ A Roome Cuttle, a sword

§ A Cuttle bung, a knife to cut a purse

§ Chepemans, Cheape-side market

¶ Chates, the Gallowes: here he mistakes both the simple word, because he so found it printed, not knowing the true originall thereof, and also in the compound; as for *Chates*, it should be *Cheates*, which word is vsed generally for things, as *Tip me that Cheate*, Giue me that thing: so that if you will make a word for the Gallous, you must put thereto this word *treyning*, which signifies

¹ Of the above passages, Dekker speaks in the following manner:—"There is an Usurper, that of late hath taken vpon him the name of the Belman; but being not able to maintaine that title, hee doth now call himselfe the Bel-mans brother; his ambition is (rather out of vaine-glory then the true courage of an experienced Souldier) to haue the leading of the Van; but it shall be honor good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Rere. You shall know him by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he wears) he will be taken for a *Beadle of Bridewell*. It is thought he is rather a Newter then a friend to the cause: and therefore the Bel-man doth here openly protest that hee comes into the field as no fellow in armes with him."—*U per se O* (1612 edit.), sign. A. 2.

hanging ; and so *treyming cheate* is as much to say, hanging things, or the Gallous, and not *Chates*.

- § A flicke, a Theefe
- § Famblers, a paire of Gloues
- § Greenemans, the fields
- § Gilkes for the gigger, false keyes for the doore or picklockes
- § Gracemans, Gratiuous streete market
- § Iockam, a man's yard
- § Ian, a purse
- § Iere, a turd
- § Lugges, eares
- § Loges, a passe or warrant
- § A Feager of Loges, one that beggeth with false passes or counterfeite writings
- § Numans, Newgate Market
- ¶ Nigling, company keeping with a woman : this word is not vsed now, but *wapping*, and thereof comes the name *wapping mortis*, whoores.
- § To plant, to hide
- ¶ Smellar, a garden ; not smelling cheate, for that 's a Nosegay
- § Spreader, butter
- § Whittington, Newgate.

“ And thus haue I runne ouer the Canter's Dictionary ; to speake more at large would aske more time then I haue allotted me ; yet in this short time that I haue, I meane to sing song for song with the Belman, ere I wholly leaue him.” [Here follow three Canting Songs.] Sign. E 1, back—E 4.

“ And thus hath the Belman, through his pitifull ambition, caused me to write that I would not : And whereas he disclaims the name of Brotherhood, I here vtterly renounce him & his fellowship, as not desirous to be rosolued of anything he professeth on this subiect, knowing my selfe to be as fully instructed herein as euer he was.”—Sign. F.

In the second Part of his *Belman of London*, namely, his *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1609, Dekker printed a Dictionary of Canting, which is only a reprint of Harman's (p. 82-4, below). A few extracts from this *Lanthorne* are subjoined :

Canting.

“ This word *canting* seemes to bee deriued from the latine *verbe canto*, which signifies in English, to sing, or to make a sound with words,—that is to say, to speake. And very aptly may *canting* take his deriuation, *a cantando*, from singing, because, amongst these beggerly consorts that can play vpon no better instruments, the language of *canting* is a kind of musicke ; and he that in such assemblies can *cant*

best, is counted the best Musitian."—*Dekker's Lanthorne and Candle-light*, B. 4. back.

Specimen of "Canting rithmes."

"Enough—with bowsy Coue maund Nace,
Tour the Patring Coue in the Darkeman Case,
Docked the Dell, for a Coper meke
His wach shall feng a Prounces Nab-chete,
Cyarum, by Salmon, and thou shalt pek my Iere
In thy Gan, for my watch it is nace gere,
For the bene bowse my watch hath a win, &c."

Dekker's Lanthorne, &c., C. 1. back.

A specimen of "Canting prose," with translation, is given on the same page.

Dekker's dictionary of Canting, given in *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, is the same as that of Harman.

"A Canting Song.

The Ruffin cly the nab of the Harman beck,
If we mavn'd Pannam, lap or Ruff-peck,
Or poplars of yarum : he cuts, bing to the Ruffmans,
Or els he swears by the light-mans,
To put our stamps in the Harmans,
The ruffian cly the ghost of the Harman beck
If we heaue a booth we cly the Terke.
If we niggle, or mill a bowsing Ken
Or nip a bounq that has but a win
Or dup the giger of a Gentry cofe's ken,
To the quier cuffing we bing,
And then to the quier Ken, to scowre the Cramp ring,
And then to the Trin'de on the chates, in the lightmans
The Bube *and* Ruffian cly the Harman beck *and* harmans.

Thus Englished.

The Diuell take the Constable's head,
If we beg Bacon, Butter-milke, or bread,
Or Pottage, to the hedge he bids vs hie
Or swears (by this light) i' th' stocks we shall lie.
The Deuill haunt the Constable's ghoast
If we rob but a Booth, we are whip'd at a poast.
If an ale-house we rob, or be tane with a whore,
Or cut a purse that has inst a penny, and no more,
Or come but stealing in at a Gentleman's dore
To the Iustice straight we goe,
And then to the Iayle to be shakled : And so

To be hang'd on the gallows i' th' day time : the pox
And the Deuill take the Constable and his stocks."

Ibid. C. 3. back.

Richard Head (says Mr Hotten), in his *English Rogue, described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, a Witty Extravagant*, 4 vols. 12mo., 1671-80, gave "a glossary of Cant words 'used by the Gipsies'; but it was only a reprint of what Decker had given sixty years before," and therefore merely taken from Harman too. 'The Bibliography of Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Language' has been given so fully at the end of Mr Hotten's Slang Dictionary, that I excuse myself from pursuing the subject farther. I only add here Mr Wood's extracts from four of the treatises on this subject not noticed by Mr Hotten in the 1864 edition of his Dictionary, but contained (with others) in a most curious volume in the British Museum, labelled *Practice of Robbers*,—Press Mark 518. h. 2.,—as also some of the slang words in these little books not given by Harman¹:

1. *The Catterpillers of this Nation anatomized, in a brief yet notable Discovery of House-breakers, Pick-pockets, &c. Together with the Life of a penitent High-way-man, discovering the Mystery of that Infernal Society. To which is added, the Manner of Hectoring and trapanning, as it is acted in and about the City of London. London, Printed for M. H. at the Princes Armes, in Chancery-lane. 1659.*

Ken = miller, house-breaker
lowre, or mint = wealth or money
Gigers jacked = locked doors
Tilers, or Cloyers, equivalent to shoplifters
Joseph, a cloak
Bung-nibber, or Cutpurse = a pickpocket.

2. *A Warning for Housekeepers; or, A discovery of all sorts of thieves and Robbers which go under these titles, viz.—The Gilter, the Mill, the Glasier, Budg and Snudg, File-lifter, Tongue-padder, The private Thief. With Directions how to prevent them, Also an exact description of every one of their Practices. Written by one who was a Prisoner in Newgate. Printed for T. Newton, 1676.*

Glasiers, thieves who enter houses, thro' windows, first remouing a pane of glass (p. 4).

¹ We quote from four out of the five tracts contained in the volume. The title of the tract we do not quote is '*Hanging not Punishment enough*,' etc., London, 1701.

The following is a Budg and Snudg song :—

“The Budge it is a delicate trade,
 And a delicate trade of fame ;
 For when that we have bit the bloe,
 We carry away the game :
 But if the cully nap us,
 And the lures from us take,
 O then they rub us to the whitt,
 And it is hardly worth a make.
 But when that we come to the whitt
 Our Darbies to behold,
 And for to take our penitency,
 And boose the water cold.
 But when that we come out agen,
 As we walk along the street,
 We bite the Culley of his cole,
 But we are rubbed unto the whitt.
 And when that we come to the whitt,
 For garnish they do cry,
 Mary, faugh, you son of a wh——
 Ye shall have it by and by.
 But when that we come to Tyburn,
 For going upon the budge,
 There stands Jack Catch, that son of a w——
 That owes us all a grudge
 And when that he hath noosed us
 And our friends tips him no cole
 O then he throws us in the cart
 And tumbles us into the hole.”—(pp. 5, 6.)

On the last page of this short tract (which consists of eight pages) we are promised :

“In the next Part you shall have a fuller description.”

3. *Street Robberies consider'd ; The reason of their being so frequent, with probable means to prevent 'em : To which is added three short Treatises—1. A Warning for Travellers ; 2. Observations on House-breakers ; 3. A Caveat for Shopkeepers. London, J. Roberts. [no date] Written by a converted Thief.*

Shepherd is mentioned in this book as being a clever prison breaker (p. 6). There is a long list of slang words in this tract. The following are only a few of them :

Abram, Naked	Chive, a Knife
Betty, a Picklock	Clapper dudgeon, a beggar born
Bubble-Buff, Bailiff	Collar the Cole, Lay hold on the
Bube, Pox	money

Cull, a silly fellow	Nimming, stealing
Dads, an old man	Oss Chives, Bone-handled knives
Darbies, Iron	Otter, a sailor
Diddle, Geneva	Peter, Portmantua
Earnest, share	Plant the Whids, take care what you say
Elf, little	Popps, Pistols
Fencer, receiver of stolen goods	Rubbs, hard shifts
Fib, to beat	Rumbo Ken, Pawn-brokers
Fog, smoke	Rum Mort, fine Woman
Gage, Exciseman	Smable, taken
Gilt, a Picklock	Smeer, a painter
Grub, Provender	Snafflers, Highwaymen
Hic, booby	Snic, to cut
Hog, a shilling	Tattle, watch
Hum, strong	Tic, trust
Jem, Ring	Tip, give
Jet, Lawyer	Tit, a horse
Kick, Sixpence	Tom Pat, a parson
Kin, a thief	Tout, take heed
Kit, Dancing-master	Tripe, the belly
Lap, Spoon-meat	Web, cloth
Latch, let in	Wobble, to boil
Leake, Welshman	Yam, to eat
Leap, all safe	Yelp, a crier
Mauks, a whore	Yest, a day ago
Mill, to beat	Zad, crooked
Mish, a smock	Znees, Frost
Mundungus, sad stuff	Zouch, an ungenteel man
Nan, a maid of the house	&c., a Bookseller
Nap, an arrest	

“The King of the Night, as the Constables please to term themselves, should be a little more active in their employment; but all their business is to get to a watch house and guzzle, till their time of going home comes.” (p. 60.)

“A small bell to Window Shutters would be of admirable use to prevent Housebreakers.” (p. 70.)

4. *A true discovery of the Conduct of Receivers and Thief-Takers, in and about the City of London, &c., &c.* London, 1718.

This pamphlet is “design’d as preparatory to a larger Treatise, wherein shall be propos’d Methods to extirpate and suppress for the future such villanous Practices.” It is by “Charles Hitchin, one of the Marshals of the City of London.”

I now take leave of Harman, with a warm commendation of him to the reader.

The third piece in the present volume is a larky Sermon in praise of Thieves and Thievery, the title of which (p. 93, below) happened to catch my eye when I was turning over the Cotton Catalogue, and which was printed here, as well from its suiting the subject, as from a pleasant recollection of a gallop some 30 years ago in a four-horse coach across Harford-Bridge-Flat, where Parson Haben (or Hyberdyne), who is said to have preached the Sermon, was no doubt robbed. My respected friend Goody-goody declares the sermon to be 'dreadfully irreverent;' but one needn't mind him. An earlier copy than the Cotton one turned up among the Lansdowne MSS, and as it differed a good deal from the Cotton text, it has been printed opposite to that.

Of the fourth piece in this little volume, *The Groundworke of Conny-catching*, less its reprint from Harman, I have spoken above, at p. xiv. There was no good in printing the whole of it, as we should then have had Harman twice over.

The growth of the present Text was on this wise: Mr Viles suggested a reprint of Stace's reprint of Harman in 1573, after it had been read with the original, and collated with the earlier editions. The first edition I could not find, but ascertained, with some trouble, and through Mr H. C. Hazlitt, where the second and third editions were, and borrowed the 3rd of its ever-generous owner, Mr Henry Huth. Then Mr Hazlitt told me of Awdeley, which he thought was borrowed from Harman. However, Harman's own words soon settled that point; and Awdeley had to precede Harman. Then the real bagger from Harman, the *Groundworke*, had to be added, after the Parson's Sermon. Mr Viles read the proofs and revises of Harman with the original: Mr Wood and I have made the Index; and I, because Mr Viles is more desperately busy than myself, have written the Preface.

The extracts from Mr J. P. Collier must be taken for what they are worth. I have not had time to verify them; but assume them to be correct, and not ingeniously or unreasonably altered from their originals, like Mr Collier's print of Henslowe's Memorial, of which

Dr Ingleby complains,¹ and like his notorious Alleyne letter. If some one only would follow Mr Collier through all his work—pending his hoped-for Retractations,—and assure us that the two pieces above-named, and the Perkins Folio, are the only things we need reject, such some-one would render a great service to all literary antiquarians, and enable them to do justice to the wonderful diligence, knowledge, and acumen, of the veteran pioneer in their path. Certainly, in most of the small finds which we workers at this Text thought we had made, we afterwards found we had been anticipated by Mr Collier's *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, or *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and that the facts were there rightly stated.

¹ To obviate the possibility of mistake in the lection of this curious document, Mr E. W. Ashbee has, at my request, and by permission of the Governors of Dulwich College (where the paper is preserved), furnished me with an exact fac-simile of it, worked off on somewhat similar paper. By means of this fac-simile my readers may readily assure themselves that in no part of the memorial is Lodge called a "player;" indeed he is not called "Thos. Lodge," and it is only an inference, an unavoidable conclusion, that the Lodge here spoken of is Thomas Lodge, the dramatist. Mr Collier, however, professes to find that he is there called "Thos. Lodge," and that it [the Memorial] contains this remarkable grammatical inversion;

"and haveinge some knowledge and acquaintaunce of him as a player, requested me to be his baile,"

which is evidently intended to mean, as I had some knowledge and acquaintaunce of Lodge as a player, he requested me to be his baile. But in this place the original paper reads thus,

"and havinge of me some knowledge and acquaintaunce requested me to be his bayle,"

meaning, of course, *Lodge, having some knowledge and acquaintaunce of me, requested me to be his bail.*

The interpolation of the five words needed to corroborate Mr Collier's explanation of the misquoted passage from Gosson, and the omission of two other words inconsistent with that interpolation, may be thought to exhibit some little ingenuity; it was, however, a feat which could have cost him no great pains. But the labour of recasting the orthography of the memorial must have been considerable; while it is difficult to imagine a rational motive to account for such labour being incurred. To expand the abbreviations and modernize the orthography might have been expedient, as it would have been easy. But, in the name of reason, what is the gain of writing *wheare* and *theare* for "where" and "there;" *cleere*, *yeeld*, and *meerly* for "clere," "yealde," and "merely;" *verie*, *anie*, *laie*, *vaiie*, *paie*, *yssue*, and *pryvyly*, for "very," "any," "lay," "way," "pay," "issue," and "privyly;" *sondrie*, *begon*, and *doen* for "sundrie," "began," and "don;" and *thintent*, *thaction*, and *thacceptaunce* for "the intent," "the action," and "the acceptaunce"?—p. 14 of Dr C. M. Ingleby's *Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? An Exposition touching the Social Status of the Playwright in the time of Queen Elizabeth.* Printed for the Author by R. Barrett and Sons, 13 Mark Lane, 1868. 2s. 6d.

That there is pure metal in Mr Collier's work, and a good deal of it, few will doubt; but the dross needs refining out. I hope that the first step in the process may be the printing of the whole of the Stationers' Registers from their start to 1700 at least, by the Camden Society,—within whose range this work well lies,—or by the new Harleian or some other Society. It ought not to be left to the 'Early English Text' to do some 20 years hence.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

29 Nov., 1869.

P.S. For a curious Ballad describing beggars' tricks in the 17th century, say about 1650, see the Roxburghe Collection, i. 42-3, and the Ballad Society's reprint, now in the press for 1869, i. 137-41, '*The cunning Northerne Beggar*': 1. he shams lame; 2. he pretends to be a poor soldier; 3. a sailor; 4. cripple; 5. diseased; 6. festered all over, and face daubed with blood; 7. blind; 8. has had his house burnt.

NOTES.

p. vii. ix, p. 19, 20. *Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, and her parish.* The manor of Erith was granted to Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, by Henry VIII. in the 36th year of his reign, A.D. 1544-5. The Countess died in 1567, and was buried in the parish church of Erith. "The manor of Eryth becoming part of the royal revenue, continued in the crown till K. Henry VIII. in his 36th year, granted it in fee to Elizabeth, relict of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, by the description of the *manor, of Eryth, alias Lysnes*, with all its members and appurts., and also all that wood, called Somersden, lying in Eryth, containing 30 acres; and a wood, called Ludwood, there, containing 50 acres; and a wood, called Fridayes-hole, by estimation, 20 acres, to hold of the King *in capite* by knight's service.¹ She was the second wife of George, Earl of Shrews-

¹ Rot. Esch. ejus an, pt. 6.

bury, Knight of the Garter,¹ who died July 26, anno 33 K. Henry VIII.,² by whom she had issue one son, John, who died young; and Anne, married to Peter Compton, son and heir of Sir Wm. Compton, Knt., who died in the 35th year of K. Henry VIII., under age, as will be mentioned hereafter. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, in Easter Term, in the 4th year of Q. Elizabeth, levied a fine of this manor, with the passage over the Thames; and dying in the tenth year of that reign, anno 1567,³ lies buried under a sumptuous tomb, in this church. Before her death this manor, &c., seem to have been settled on her only daughter Anne, then wife of Wm. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Peter Compton, as before related, who was in possession of it, with the passage over the Thames, anno 9 Q. Elizabeth."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 196.

p. ix. In Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* (edit. 1826), p. 66, he mentions "Thomas Harman" as being one of the "Kentish writers."

Lambarde, in the same volume, p. 60, also mentions "Abacuk Harman" as being the name of one "of suche of the nobilitie and gentrie, as the Herald's recorded in their visitation in 1574."

There is nothing about Harman in Mr Sandys's book on Gavelkind, &c., *Consuetudines Cantie*. To future inquirers perhaps the following book may be of use:

"*Bibliotheca Cantiana: A Bibliographical Account of what has been published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, and Family History of the County of Kent.*" By John Russell Smith.

p. 1, 12. *The xxv. Orders of Knaues*.—Mr Collier gives an entry in the Stationers' Registers in 1585-6: "Edward White. Rd. of him, for printinge xxij^d ballades at iiij^d a peece—vij^s iiij^d, and xiiij. more at ij^d a peece ij^s iiij^d. . . . ix^s viij^d" And No. 23 is "The xxvth orders of knaves."—*Stat. Reg.* ii. 207.

p. 22. *The last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded*.—Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, one of Henry VIII's and Wolsey's victims, was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521, for 'imagining' the king's death. ('The murnynge of Edward Duke of Buckyngham' was one of certain 'ballettes' licensed to Mr John Wallye and Mrs Toye in 1557-8, says Mr J. P. Collier, *Stat. Reg.* i. 4.) His father (Henry Stafford) before him suffered the same fate in 1483, having been betrayed by his servant Bannister after his unsuccessful rising in Brecon.—*Percy Folio Ballads*, ii. 253.

¹ This lady was one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Richard Walden, of this parish, Knt., and the Lady Margaret his wife, who both lie buried in this church [of Erith]. He was, as I take it, made Knight of the Bath in the 17th year of K. Henry VII., his estate being then certified to be 40*l.* per annum, being the son of Richard Walden, esq. Sir Richard and Elizabeth his wife both lie buried here. *MSS. Dering*.

² Dugd. Bar. vol. i. p. 332.

³ Harman's dedication of his book to her was no doubt written in 1566, and his 2nd edition, in both states, published before the Countess's death.

p. 23. *Egyptians*. The Statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10 is *An Acte concerning Egypsiens*. After enumerating the frauds committed by the "outlandyshe people callynge themselves Egyptians," the first section provides that they shall be punished by Imprisonment and loss of goods, and be deprived of the benefit of 8 Hen. VI. c. 29. "de medietate linguæ." The second section is a proclamation for the departure from the realm of all such Egyptians. The third provides that stolen goods shall be restored to their owners; and the fourth, that one moiety of the goods seized from the Egyptians shall be given to the seizer.

p. 48, l. 5. *The Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed*. Charles Stourton, 7th Baron, 1548—1557:—"Which Charles, with the help of four of his own servants in his own house, committed a shameful murther upon one Hargill, and his son, with whom he had been long at variance, and buried their Carcasses 50 foot deep in the earth, thinking thereby to prevent the discovery; but it coming afterwards to light, he had sentence of death passed upon him, which he suffer'd at Salisbury, the 6th of March, Anno 1557, 4 Phil. & Mary, by an Halter of Silk, in respect of his quality."—*The Peerage of England*, vol. ii. p. 24 (Lond., 1710).

p. 77. *Saint Quinten's*. Saint Quinten was invoked against coughs, says Brand, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 196.

p. 77. *The Three Cranes in the Vintry*. "Then the Three Cranes' lane, so called, not only of a sign of three cranes at a tavern door; but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there, as is afore showed. This lane was of old time, to wit, the 9th of Richard II., called The Painted Tavern lane, of the tavern being painted."—*Stow's Survey of London*, ed. by Thoms, p. 90.

"The Three Cranes was formerly a favourite London sign. With the usual jocularly of our forefathers, an opportunity for punning could not be passed; so, instead of the three cranes, which in the vintry used to lift the barrels of wine, three birds were represented. The Three Cranes in Thames Street, or in the vicinity, was a famous tavern as early as the reign of James I. It was one of the taverns frequented by the wits in Ben Jonson's time. In one of his plays he says:—

'A pox o' these pretenders! to wit, your *Three Cranes*, Mitre and Mermaid men! not a corn of true salt, not a grain of right mustard among them all!'—*Bartholomew Fair*, act i. sc. 1.

"On the 23rd of January, 166½ Pepys suffered a strong mortification of the flesh in having to dine at this tavern with some poor relations. The sufferings of the snobbish secretary must have been intense:—

'By invitation to my uncle Fenner's, and where I found his new wife, a *pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred* woman in a hatt, a mid-wife. Here were many of his, and as many of her, relations, *sorry, mean people*; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Cranes Taverne;

and though the best room of the house, in such a narrow dogghole we were crammed, and I believe we were near 40, that it made me loath my company and victuals, and a very poor dinner it was too.'

"Opposite this tavern people generally left their boats to shoot the bridge, walking round to Billingsgate, where they would reenter them."—Hotten's *History of Signboards*, p. 204.

p. 77. *Saynt Iulyans in Thystellworth parish*. 'Thistleworth, sec Isleworth,' says Walker's *Gazetteer*, ed. 1801. That there might well have been a St Julian's Inn there we learn from the following extract:

"St. Julian, the patron of travellers, wandering minstrels, boatmen,¹ &c., was a very common inn sign, because he was supposed to provide good lodgings for such persons. Hence two St Julian's crosses, in saltier, are in chief of the innholders' arms, and the old motto was:— 'When I was harbourless, ye lodged me.' This benevolent attention to travellers procured him the epithet of 'the good herbergeor,' and in France 'bon herbet.' His legend in a MS., Bodleian, 1596, fol. 4, alludes to this:—

'Therefore yet to this day, thei that over lond wende,
They biddeth Seint Julian, anon, that gode herborw he hem sende ;
And Seint Iulianes Pater Noster ofte seggeth also
For his faders soule, and his moderes, that he hem bring therto.'

And in '*Le dit des Heureux*,' an old French fabliau:—

'Tu as dit la patenotre
Saint Julian à cest matin,
Soit en Roumans, soit en Latin ;
Or tu seras bien ostilé.'

In mediæval French, *L'hotel Saint Julien* was synonymous with good cheer.

'— Sommes tuit vostre.
Par Saint Pierre le bon Apostre,
L'ostel aurez Saint Julien,'

says Mabile to her feigned uncle in the fabliau of '*Boivin de Provins*;' and a similar idea appears in 'Cocke Lorell's bote,' where the crew, after the entertainment with the 'relygyous women' from the Stews' Bank, at Colman's Hatch,

'Blessyd theyr shypppe when they had done,
And dranke about a *Saint Iulyan's tonne*.'

Hotten's *History of Signboards*," p. 283.

"Isleworth in Queen Elizabeth's time was commonly in conversation,

¹ Of pilgrims, and of whomongers, say Brand and Sir H. Ellis (referring to the *Hist. des Troubadours*, tom. i. p. 11,) in *Brand's Antiquities*, ed. 1841, i. 202. Chaucer makes him the patron of hospitality, saying of the Frankleyn, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, "Seynt Iulian he was in his contre." Mr Hazlitt, in his new edition of Brand, i. 303, notes that as early as the *Anceren Riwle*, ab. 1220 A.D., we have 'Surely they (the pilgrims) find St. Julian's inn, which wayfaring men diligently seek.'

and sometimes in records, called Thistleworth."—Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. iii. p. 79.

p. 77. *Rothered*: ? Rotherhithe.

p. 77. *The Kyniges Barne*, betwene Detforde and Rothered, can hardly be the great hall of Eltham palace. Lysons (*Environs of London*, iv. p. 399) in 1796, says the hall was then used as a barn; and in vol. vi. of the *Archæologia*, p. 367, it is called "King John's Barn."

p. 77. *Ketbroke*. Kidbrooke is marked in large letters on the east of Blackheath on the modern Ordnance-map; and on the road from Blackheath to Eltham are the villages or hamlets of Upper Kidbrooke and Lower Kidbrooke.

"Kedbrooke lies adjoining to Charlton, on the south side of the London Road, a small distance from Blackheath. It was antiently written Cicebroc, and was once a parish of itself, though now (1778 A.D.) it is esteemed as an appendage to that of Charlton."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 40.

p. 100. *Sturbridge Fair*. Stourbridge, or Sturbich, the name of a common field, extending between Chesterton and Cambridge, near the little brook Sture, for about half a mile square, is noted for its fair, which is kept annually on September 19th, and continues a fortnight. It is surpassed by few fairs in Great Britain, or even in Europe, for traffic, though of late it is much lessened. The booths are placed in rows like streets, by the name[s] of which they are called, as Cheapside, &c., and are filled with all sorts of trades. The Duddery, an area of 80 or 100 yards square, resembles Blackwell Hall. Large commissions are negotiated here for all parts of England in *cheese*, woollen goods, wool, leather, hops, upholsterers' and ironmongers' ware, &c. &c. Sometimes 50 hackney coaches from London, ply morning and night, to and from Cambridge, as well as all the towns round, and the very barns and stables are turned into inns for the accommodation of the poorer people. After the wholesale business is over, the country gentry generally flock in, laying out their money in stage-plays, taverns, music-houses, toys, puppet-shows, &c., and the whole concludes with a day for the sale of horses. This fair is under the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge.—*Walker's Gazetteer*, ed. 1801. See Index to Brand's *Antiquities*.

THE
Fraternitie of Vacabondes.

As wel of rufflyng Vacabondes, as of beggerly, of
women as of men, of Gyrles as of Boyes,
with
their proper names and qualities.

With a description of the crafty company of
Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ Wherunto also is adioyned
the .xxv. Orders of Knaues,
otherwyse called
a Quartern of Knaues.

Confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell.

(*)

¶ **The Vpightman speaketh.**

¶ Our Brotherhood¹ of Vacabondes,
If you would know where dwell :
In graues end Barge which syldome standes,
The talke wyll shew ryght well.

¶ **Cocke Lorell aunswereth.**

¶ Some orders of my Knaues also
In that Barge shall ye fynde :
For no where shall ye walke I trow,
But ye shall see their kynde.

¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Awdeley, dwellyng in little
Britayne streete without Aldersgate.

1575.

¹ *Orig.* Brothethood.

[leaf 1b.]

¶ *The Printer to the Reader.*

THIS brotherhood of Vacabondes,
 To shew that there be such in deede :
 Both Iustices and men of Landes,
 Wyll testifye it if it neede.
 For at a Sessions as they sat,
 By chaunce a Vacabond was got.

¶ Who promysde if they would him spare,
 And keepe his name from knowledge then :
 He would as straunge a thing declare,
 As euer they knew synce they were men.
 But if my fellowes do know (sayd he)
 That thus I dyd, they would kyll me.

¶ They graunting him this his request,
 He dyd declare as here is read,
 Both names and states of most and least,
 Of this their Vacabondes brotherhood.
 Which at the request of a worshipful man
 I haue set it forth as well as I can.

FINIS.

[leaf 2]

¶ *The***Fraternitie of Vacabondes**

both rufing and beggerly,

Men and women, Boyes and Gyrls,

wyth

their proper names and qualities.

Whereunto are adioyned

the company of Cousoners and Shifters.

 ¶ AN ABRAHAM MAN.

AN Abraham man is he that walketh bare armed, and bare legged, and fayneth hym selfe mad, and caryeth a packe of wool, or a stycke with baken on it, or such lyke toy, and nameth himselfe poore Tom.

¶ A RUFFELER.

A Ruffeler goeth wyth a weapon to seeke seruice, saying he hath bene a Seruitor in the wars, and beggeth for his reliefe. But his chiefest trade is to robbe poore wayfaring men and market women.

¶ A PRYGMAN.

A Prygman goeth with a stycke in hys hand like an idle person. His propertye is to steale cloathes of the hedge, which they call storing of the Rogeman : or els filth Poultry, carying them to the Alehouse, whych they call the Bowsyng In, & ther syt playing at cardes and dice, tyl that is spent which they haue so fylched.

¶ A WHIPIACKE.

A Whypiacke is one, that by coulor of a counterfaite Lisence (which they call a Gybe, and the seales they cal Iarckes) doth vse to beg lyke a Maryner, But hys chiefest trade is to rob Bowthes in a Faire, or to pilfer ware from staules, which they cal heauing of the Bowth.

¶ A FRATER.

A Frater goeth wyth a like Lisence to beg for some Spittlehouse or Hospital. Their pray is commonly vpon [leaf 2b.] poore women as they go and come to the Markets.

¶ A QUIRE BIRD.

A Quire bird is one that came lately out of prison, & goeth to seeke service. He is commonly a stealer of Horses, which they terme a Prigger of Paulfreys.

¶ AN VPRIGHT MAN.

An Vpright man is one that goeth wyth the trunchion of a staffe, which staffe they cal a Filchman. This man is of so much authority, that meeting with any of his profession, he may cal them to accompt, & commaund a share or snap vnto him selfe, of al that they haue gained by their trade in one moneth. And if he doo them wrong, they haue no remedy agaynst hym, no though he beate them, as he vseth commonly to do. He may also commaund any of their women, which they cal Doxies, to serue his turne. He hath ye chiefe place at any market walke, & other assembles, & is not of any to be controled.

¶ A CURTALL.

A Curtall is much like to the Vpright man, but hys authority is not fully so great. He vseth commonly to go with a short cloke, like to grey Friers, & his woman with him in like liuery, which he calleth his Altham if she be hys wyfe, & if she be his harlot, she is called hys Doxy.

¶ A PALLIARD.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.

¶ AN IRISHE TOYLE.

An Irishe toyle is he that carieth his ware in hys wallet, as laces, pins, poyntes, and such like. He vseth to shew no wares vntill he haue his almes. And if the good man and wyfe be not in the way, he procureth of the ch[i]ldren or seruants a fleece of wool, or the worth of xij.d. of some other thing, for a peniworth of his wares.

[leaf 3.]

¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called Iarkes.

¶ A SWYGMAN.

A Swygman goeth with a Pedlers pack.

¶ A WASHMAN.

A Washman is called a Palliard, but not of the right making. He vseth to lye in the hye way with lame or sore legs or armes to beg. These men ye right Pilliards wil often times spoile, but they dare not complayn. They be bitten with Spickworts, & sometime with rats bane.

¶ A TINKARD.

A Tinkard leaueth his bag a sweating at the Alehouse, which they terme their Bowsing In, and in the meane season goeth abrode a begging.

¶ A WYLDE ROGE.

A wilde Roge is he that hath no abiding place but by his coulour of going abrode to beg, is commonly to seeke some kinsman of his, and all that be of hys corporation be properly called Roges.

¶ A KITCHEN CO.

A Kitchin Co is called an ydle runagate Boy.

¶ A KITCHEN MORTES.

A Kitchin Mortes is a Gyrlle, she is brought at her full age to the Vpryght man to be broken, and so she is called a Doxy, vntil she come to ye honor of an Altham.

¶ DOXIES.

Note especially all which go abroade working laces and shirt stringes, they name them Doxies.

¶ A PATRIARKE CO.

A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill [leaf 36.] death depart the married folke, which is after this sort: When they come to a dead Horse or any dead Catell, then they shake hands and so depart euery one of them a seuerall way

¶ THE COMPANY OF COUSONERS AND SHIFTERS.

¶ A CURTESY MAN.

A Curtesy man is one that walketh about the back lanes in London in the day time, and sometime in the broade streetes in the night season, and when he meeteth some handsome yong man clenly apareled, or some other honest Citizen, he maketh humble salutations and low curtesy, and sheweth him that he hath a worde or two to speake with his mastership. This child can behaue him selfe manerly, for he wyll desire him that he talketh withall, to take the vpper hand, and shew him much reuerence, and at last like his familier acquaintaunce will put on his cap, and walke syde by syde, and talke on this fashion: Oh syr, you seeme to be a man, and one that faouureth men, and therefore I am the more bolder to breake my mind vnto your good maistership. Thus it is syr, ther is a certaine of vs (though I say it both taule and handsome men of theyr hands) which haue come lately from the wars, and as God knoweth haue nothing to take to, being both maisterles and moniles, & knowing no way wherby to yerne one peny. And further, wher as we haue bene welthely brought vp, and we also haue beene had in good estimation, we are a shamed now to declare our misery, and to fall a crauing as common Beggars, and as for to steale and robbe, (God is our record) it striketh vs to [leaf 4] the hart, to thinke of such a mischief, that euer any handsome man should fall into such a

daunger for thys worldly trash. Which if we had to suffise our want and necessity, we should neuer seeke thus shamefastly to craue on such good pityfull men as you seeme to be, neither yet so daungerously to hasarde our liues for so vyle a thing. Therefore good syr, as you seeme to be a handsome man your selfe, and also such a one as pitieth the miserable case of handsome men, as now your eyes and countenance sheweth to haue some pity vppon this my miserable complainte: So in Gods cause I require your maistershype, & in the behalfe of my poore afflicted fellowes, which though here in sight they cry not with me to you, yet wheresouer they bee, I am sure they cry vnto God to moue the heartes of some good men to shew forth their liberality in this behalfe. All which & I with them craue now the same request at your good masterships hand. With these or such like words he frameth his talke. Now if the party (which he thus talketh withall) profereth hym a peny or .ii.d. he taketh it, but verye scornfully, and at last speaketh on this sorte: Well syr, your good will is not to be refused. But yet you shall vnderstand (good syr) that this is nothing for them, for whom I do thus shamefastly entreate. Alas syr, it is not a groate or .xii.d. I speake for, being such a company of Seruiters as wee haue bene: yet neuertheles God forbid I should not receiue your gentile offer at this time, hoping hereafter through your good motions to some such lyke good gentleman as you be, that I, or some of my fellowes in my place, shall finde the more liberality. These kind of ydle Vacabondes wyll go commonly well appareled, without [ear 4b.] any weapon, and in place where they meete together, as at their hosteryes or other places, they wyll beare the port of ryght good gentlemen, & some are the more trusted, but commonly thei pay them *with* stealing a paire of sheetes, or Couerlet, & so take their farewell earely in the morning, before the mayster or dame be sturring.

¶ A CHEATOUR OR FINGERER.

These commonly be such kinde of idle Vacabondes as scarcely a man shall discern, they go so gorgeously, sometime with waiting men, and sometime without. Their trade is to walke in such places, where as gentelmen & other worshipfull Citizens do resorte, as at

Poules, or at Christes Hospital, & sometime at ye Royal exchange. These haue very many acquaintaunces, yea, and for the most part will acquaint them selues with euery man, and fayne a society, in one place or other. But chiefly they wil seeke their acquaintaunce of such (which they haue learned by diligent enquiring where they resort) as haue receyued some porcioun of money of their friends, as yong Gentlemen which are sent to London to study the lawes, or els some yong Marchant man or other kynde of Occupier, whose friendes hath geuen them a stock of mony¹ to occupy withall. When they haue thus found out such a pray, they will find the meanes by theyr familiarity, as very curteously to bid him to breakefast at one place or other, where they are best acquainted, and closely amonge themselves wil appoint one of their Fraternity, which they call a Fyngerer, an olde beaten childe, not onely in such deceites, but also such a one as by his age is painted out with gray heares, wrinkled face, crooked back, and most commonly lame, as it might seeme with age, [leaf 5] yea and such a one as to shew a simplicitie, shal weare a homely cloke and hat scarce worth .vi. d. This nimble fingred knight (being appointed to this place) commeth in as one not knownen of these Cheatours, but as vnwares shal sit down at the end of the bord where they syt, & call for his peny pot of wine, or a pinte of Ale, as the place serueth. Thus sitting as it were alone, mumblyng on a crust, or some such thing, these other yonckers will finde some kind of mery talke with him, some times questioning wher he dwelleth, & sometimes enquiring what trade he vseth, which commonly he telleth them he vseth husbandry: & talking thus merely, at last they aske him, how sayest thou, Father, wylt thou play for thy breakfast with one of vs, that we may haue some pastime as we syt? Thys olde Karle makyng it straunge at the first saith: My maysters, ich am an old man, and halfe blinde, and can skyl of very few games, yet for that you seeme to be such good Gentelmen, as to profer to play for that of which you had no part, but onely I my selfe, and therefore of right ich am worthy to pay for it, I shal with al my hart fulfill your request. And so falleth to play, sometime at Cardes, & sometime at dice. Which through his counterfaiit simplicitie

¹ *Orig. wony*

in the play somtimes ouer counteth himself, or playeth somtimes against his wyl, so as he would not, & then counterfaiteth to be angry, and falleth to swearing, & so leeing that, profereth to play for a shillyng or two. The other therat hauing good sport, seming to mocke him, falleth againe to play, and so by their legerdemane, & counterfaiting, winneth ech of them a shilling or twain, & at last whispereth the yong man in the eare to play with hym also, that ech one might haue a fling at him. [leaf 5b.] This yong man for company falleth againe to play also with the sayd Fyngerer, and winneth as the other did which when he had loste a noble or .vi. s. maketh as though he had lost al his mony, and falleth a intreating for parte thereof againe to bring him home, which the other knowing his mind and intent, stoutely denieth and iesteth, & scoffeth at him. This Fyngerer seeming then to be in a rage, desireth *them* as they are true gentlemen, to tarry till he fetcheth more store of money, or els to point some place where they may meete. They seeming greedy hereof, promiseth faithfully and clappeth handes so to meete. They thus ticklyng the young man in the eare, willeth him to make as much money as he can, and they wil make as much as they can, and consent as though they wil play booty against him. But in the ende they so vse the matter, that both the young man leeseth his part, and, as it seemeth to him, they leeing theirs also, and so maketh as though they would fal together by the eares with this fingerer, which by one wyle or other at last conueyeth him selfe away, & they as it were raging lyke mad bedlams, one runneth one way, an other an other way, leauing the loser indeede all alone. Thus these Cheatours at their accustomed hosteries meete closely together, and there receiue ech one his part of this their vile spoyle. Of this fraternity there be that be called helpers, which commonly haunt tauernes or alehouses, and commeth in as men not acquainted with none in the companye, but spying them at any game, wil byd them God spede and God be at their game, and will so place him selfe that he will shew his fellow by sygnes and tokens, without speech commonly, but sometime with far fetched [leaf 6] wordes, what cardes he hath in his hand, and how he may play against him. And those betwene *them* both getteth money out of the others purse.

¶ A RING FALLER.

A Ryng faller is he that getteth fayre copper rings, some made like signets, & some after other fashions, very faire gylded, & walketh vp and down the streetes, til he spieth some man of the country, or some other simple body whom he thinketh he may deceaue, and so goeth a lyttle before him or them, and letteth fall one of these ringes, which when the party that commeth after spieth and taketh it vp, he hauing an eye backward, crieth halfe part, the party that taketh it vp, thinking it to be of great value, profereth him some money for his part, which he not fully denieth, but willeth him to come into some alehouse or tauerne, and there they will common vpon the matter. Which when they come in, and are set in some solitary place (as commonly they call for such a place) there he desireth the party that found the ring to shew it him. When he seeth it, he falleth a entreating the party that found it, and desireth him to take money for his part, and telleth him that if euer he may do him any frendship hereafter he shal commaund him, for he maketh as though he were very desirous to haue it. The symple man seeing him so importune vpon it, thinketh the ring to bee of great valure, and so is the more lother to part from it. At last this ring faller asketh him what he will geue him for his part, for, saith he, seeing you wyl not let me haue the ring, alowe me my part, and take you the ring. The other asketh what he counteth the ring to be worth, he answereth, v. or vi. pound. No, saith he, it is not so much worth. [leaf 6b.] Well (saith this Ringfaller) let me haue it, and I wyll alow you .xl. s. for your part. The other party standyng in a doubt, and looking on the ryng, asketh if he wyll geue the money out of hand. The other answereth, he hath not so much ready mony about him, but he wil go fetch so much for him, if he wil go with him. The other that found the ring, thinking he meaneth truly, beginneth to profer him .xx. s. for his part, sometymes more, or les, which he verye scornfullye refuseth at the first, and styl entreateth that he might haue the ring, which maketh the other more fonder of it, and desireth him to take the money for his part, & so profereth him money. This ring faller seing y^e mony, maketh it very straunge, and first questioneth with him whor he dwelleth, and asketh him

what is his name, & telleth him that he semeth to be an honest man, and therefore he wil do somewhat for friendships sake, hoping to haue as friendly a pleasure at his hand hereafter, and so profereth hym for .x. s. more he should haue the ryng. At last, with entreatye on both partes, he geueth the Ring faller the money, and so departeth, thinkyng he hath gotten a very great Iewell. These kynde of deceuyng Vacabondes haue other practises with their rings, as somtimes to come to buy wares of mens Prentesies, and somtimes of their Maisters, and when he hath agreed of the price, he sayth he hath not so much money about him, but pulleth of one of these rings of from his fyngers, and profereth to leaue it in pawne, tyl his Maister or his friendes hath sene it, so promising to bring the money, the seller thinking he meaneth truly, letteth him go, and neuer seeth him after, tyll perhaps at Tyburne or at such lyke place. Ther is another kinde of [leaf 7] these Ring choppers, which commonly cary about them a faire gold ring in deede, and these haue other counterfait rings made so lyke this gold ring, as ye shal not perceiue the contrary, tyl it be brought to y^e touchstone. This child wyl come to borow mony of the right gold ring, the party mistrusting the Ring not to be good, goeth to the Goldsmith with the partye that hath the ryng, and tryeth it whether it be good golde, and also wayeth it to know how much it is worth. The Goldsmith tryeth it to be good gold, and also to haue hys ful weight like gold, and warenteth the party which shall lend the money that the ring is worth so much money according to the waight, this yoncker comming home with the party which shall lend the money, and hauing the gold ring againe, putteth vp the gold ring, and pulleth out a counterfaite ring very like the same, & so deliuereth it to the party which lendeth the money, they thinking it to be the same which they tryed, and so deliuereth the money or sometimes wares, and thus vily be deceiued.

¶ *THE***.XXV. Orders of Knaues,***otherwise called***a quarterne of Knaues,***confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell.*

1 TROLL AND TROLL BY.

Troll and Trol by, is he that setteth naught by no man, nor no man by him. This is he that would beare rule in a place, and hath none authority nor thanke, & at last is thrust out of the doore like a knaue.

2 TROLL WITH.

Troll with is he *that* no man shall know the seruaunt from y^e Maister. This knaue with his cap on his head [ear7b.] lyke Capon hardy, wyll syt downe by his Maister, or els go cheeke by cheeke with him in the streete.

3 TROLL HAZARD OF TRACE.

Troll hazard of trace is he that goeth behynde his Maister as far as he may see hym. Such knaues commonly vse to buy Spice-cakes, Apples, or other trifles, and doo eate them as they go in the streetes lyke vacabond Boyes.

4 TROLL HAZARD OF TRITRACE.

Troll hazard of tritrace, is he that goeth gaping after his Master, looking to and fro tyl he haue lost him. This knaue goeth gasyng about lyke a foole at euery toy, and then seeketh in euery house lyke a Maisterles dog, and when his Maister nedeth him, he is to seeke.

5 CHAFE LITTER.

Chafe Litter is he that wyll plucke vp the Fether-bed or Matrice, and pysse in the bedstraw, and wyl neuer ryse vncalled. This knaue berayeth many tymes in the corners of his Maisters chamber, or other places inconuenient, and maketh cleane hys shooes with the couerlet or curtaines.

6 OBLOQUIUM.

Obloquium is hee that wyll take a tale out of his Maisters mouth and tell it him selfe. He of right may be called a malapart knaue.

7 RINCE PYTCHER.

Rince Pytcher is he that will drinke out his thrift at the ale or wine, and be oft times dronke. This is a licoryce knaue that will swill his Maisters drink, and brybe his meate that is kept for him.

8 JEFFREY GODS FO.

Jeffery Gods Fo is he, that wil sweare & maintaine [leaf 8] othes. This is such a lying knaue that none wil beleue him, for the more he sweareth, ye les he is to be beleued.

9 NICHOL HARTLES.

Nichol Hartles is he, that when he should do ought for his Maister hys hart faileth him. This is a Trewand knaue that faineth himselfe sicke when he should woorke.

10 SIMON SOONE AGON.

Simon soone agon is he, that when his Mayster hath any thing to do, he wil hide him out of the way. This is a loytring knaue that wil hide him in a corner and sleepe or els run away.

11 GRENE WINCHARD.

Greene Winchard is he, that when his hose is broken and hange out at his shoes, he will put them into his shooes againe with a stick, but he wyll not amend them. This is a slouthfull knaue, that had leauer go lyke a begger then cleanly.

12 PROCTOUR.

Proctour is he, that will tary long, and bring a lye, when his Maister sendeth him on his errand. This is a stibber gibber Knaue, that doth fayne tales.

13 COMMITOUR OF TIDINGES.

Commitour of Tidings is he, that is ready to bring his Maister Nouels and tidinges, whether they be true or false. This is a tale bearer knaue, that wyll report words spoken in his Maisters presence.

14 GYLE HATHER

Gyle Hather is he, that wyll stand by his Maister when he is at dinner, and byd him beware that he eate no raw meate, because he would eate it himselfe. This is a pickthanke knaue, that would make his Maister [leaf 8 b.] beleue that the Cowe is woode.

15 BAWDE PHISICKE.

Bawde Phisicke, is he that is a Cocke, when his Maisters meate is euyll dressed, and he challenging him therefore, he wyl say he wyll eate the rawest morsel thereof him selfe. This is a sausyie knaue, that wyl contrary his Mayster alway.

16 MOUNCH PRESENT.

Mouch present is he that is a great gentleman, for when his Mayster sendeth him with a present, he wil take a tast thereof by the waye. This is a bold knaue, that sometyme will eate the best and leaue the worst for his Mayster.

17 COLE PROPHET.

Cole Prophet is he, that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand, he wyl tel his answer therof to his Maister or he depart from hym. This tittiuell knaue commonly maketh the worst of the best betwene hys Maister and his friende.

18 CORY FAUELL.

Cory fauell is he, that wyl lye in his bed, and cory the bed bordes in which hee lyeth in steede of his horse. This slouthfull knaue wyll buskill and scratch when he is called in the morning, for any hast.

19 DYNG THRIFT.

Dyng thrift is he, that wil make his Maisters horse eate pies and rybs of beefe, and drinke ale and wyne. Such false knaues oft tymes, wil sell their Maisters meate to their owne profit.

20 ESEN DROPPERS.

Esen Droppers bene they, that stand vnder mens wales or windowes, or in any other place, to heare the [leaf 9] secretes of a mans house. These misdeming knaues wyl stand in corners to heare if they be euill spoken of, or waite a shrewd turne.

21 CHOPLOGYKE.

Choplogyke, is he that when his mayster rebuketh him of hys fault he wyll geue hym .xx. wordes for one, els byd the deuils Pater noster in silence. This proude prating knaue wyll maintaine his naughtines when he is rebuked for them.

22 VNTHRIFTE.

Vnthrift, is he that wil not put his wearing clothes to washing, nor black his owne shoes, nor amend his his (*sic*) own wearing clothes. This rechles knaue wyl alway be lousy: and say that hee hath no more shift of clothes, and slaunder his Maister.

23 VNGRACIOUS.

Vngracious, is he *that* by his own will, will heare no maner of seruice, without he be compelled therunto by his rulers. This Knaue

wil sit at the alehouse drinking or playing at dice, or at other games at seruice tyme.

24 NUNQUAM.

Nunquam, is he that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand he wil not come againe of an hour or two where he might haue done it in halfe an houre or lesse. This knaue wil go about his owne errand or pastime and saith he cannot speede at the first.

25 INGRATUS.

Ingratus, is he that when one doth all that he can for him, he will scant geue him a good report for his labour. This knaue is so ingrate or vnkind, *that* he considreth not his frend from his fo, & wil requit euil for good & being put most in trust, wil sonest deceiue his maister.

FINIS.

[leaf 9 b.]

Imprinted at London by
Iohn Awdely dwelling
in little Britaine streete
without Aldersgate.

(. . .)

A Caueat on Warening,

FOR COMMEN CURSE-

TORS VVLGARELY CALLED

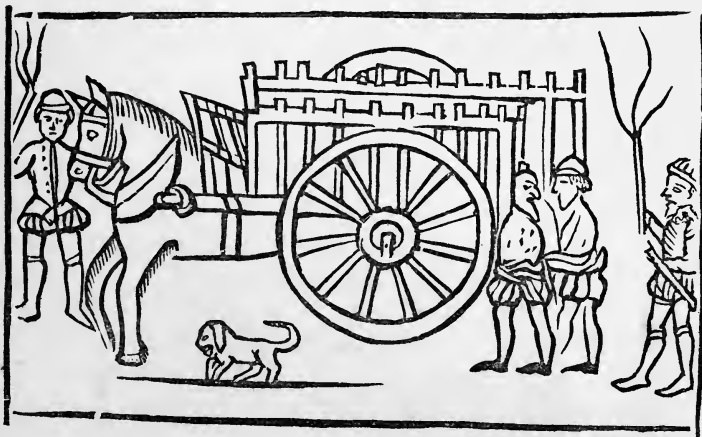
Wagabones, set forth by Thomas Harman,

Esquiere, for the vtillite and proffyt of his naturall

Cuntrye. Augmented and enlarged by the fyrst author here of.

Anno Domini. M.D.LXVII.

¶ Vewed, examined, and allowed, according vnto the
Queenes Maiestyes Iniunctions.



¶ Imprinted at London, in Fleetstreete, at the signe of the
Falcon, by Wylliam Gryffith, and are to be sold at his shappe in
Saynt Dunstones Churche garde, in the West.
Anno Domini. 1567.

[The Bodley edition of 1567 omits 'or Warening' in line 1, and 'Anno Domini. 1567.' at
foot; and substitutes 'Newly Augmented and Imprinted' for 'Augmented . . . here of',
line 6.]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

DATE: [Illegible]

TO: [Illegible]

FROM: [Illegible]

SUBJECT: [Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[leaf 2]

¶ To the ryght honorable and my singular good Lady, Elizabeth Countes of Shrewsbury, Thomas Harman wisheth all ioye and perfitte felicitie, here and in the worlde to come.

AS of Auncient and longe tyme there hath bene, and is now at this present, many good, godly, profitable lawes and actes made and setforthe in this most noble and floryshynge realme, for the reliefe, succour, comfote, and sustentacion of the poore, nedy, impotent, and myserable creatures beinge and inhabiting in all parts of the same; So is there (ryght honorable and myne especcyall good Lady) most holsom estatutes, ordinances, and necessary lawes, made, setforth, and publissed, for the extreme punishement of all vagarantes and sturdy vacabons, as passeth throughe and by all parts of this famous yle, most idelly and wyckedly: and I wel, by good experience, vnderstandinge and consideringe your most tender, pytyfull, gentle, and noble nature,—not onely hauinge a vygelant and mercifull eye to your poore, indygente, and feable parishnores; yea, not onely in the parishe where your honour moste happely doth dwell, but also in others inuyroninge or nighe adioyning to the same; As also aboundantly powringe out dayely your ardent and bountifull charytie vppon all such as commeth for reliefe vnto your luckly gates,—

I thought it good, necessary, and my bounden dutye, to acquaynte your goodnes with the abhominable, wycked, and detestable behaour of all these rowsey, ragged rabblement of rakehelles, that—vnder the pretence of great misery, dyseases, and other innumerable calamites

whiche they fayne—through great hipocrisie do wyn and gayne great almes in all places where they wyly wander, to the vtter deludinge of the good geuers, deceauinge and impouerishing of all such poore householders, both sicke and sore, as nether can or maye walke abroad for reliefe and comferte (where, in dede, most mercy is to be shewed). And for that I (most honorable Lady), beinge placed as a poore gentleman, haue kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre, not without some reliefe, as my poore callinge and habyltye maye and doth extende: I haue of late yeares gathered a great suspection that all should not be well, and, as the prouerbe saythe, “sume thinge lurke and laye hyd that dyd not playnely apeare;” for I, hauinge more occation, through sickenes, to tary and remayne at home then I haue bene accustomed, do, by my there abyding, talke ¹and confere dayly with many of these wyly wanderars of both sortes, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrls, by whom I haue [leaf 2, back] gathered and vnderstande their depe dissimulation and detestable dealyng, beinge maruelous suttle and craftye in there kynde, for not one amongst twenty wyll discouer, eyther declare there scelorous secretes: yet with fayre flatteringe wordes, money, and good chere, I haue attained to the typ by such as the meanest of them hath wandred these xiii. yeares, and most xvi. and some twenty and vppward,² and not withoute faythfull promesse made vnto them neuer to discouer their names or any thinge they shewed me; for they would all saye, yf the vpriight men should vnderstand thereof, they should not be only greuously beaten, but put in daunger of their lyues, by the sayd vpriight men. There was a fewe yeares since a small bréefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey, of whom I knowe not, that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge³ practyses, but well worthy of prayse. But (good madame), with nolesse trauell then good wyll, I haue repayred and rygged the Shyp of knowledge, and haue hoysed vp the sayles of good fortune, that

¹ leaf 2 b. Bodley edition (B).

² The severe Act against vagrants, Ed. VI., c. 3, was passed in 1548, only 19 years before the date of this 2nd edition.

³ The 1573 edition reads *pyinking*

she maye safely passe aboute and through all partes of this noble realme, and there make porte sale of her wysshed wares, to the confusion of their drowsey demener and vnlawfull language, pylfring pycking, wily wanderinge, and lykinge lechery, of all these rablement of rascals that raunges about al *the* costes of the same, So *that* their vndecent, dolefull dealing and execrable exercyses. may apere to all as it were in a glasse, that therby the Iusticers *and* Shréeues may in their circutes be more vygelant to punishe these malefactores, and the Counstables, Bayliffes, and bosholders,¹ settinge asyde all feare, slouth, *and* pytie, may be more circumspect in executing the charg geuen them by the aforesayd Iusticers. Then wyll no more this rascall rablement raunge about the countrey. Then greater reliefe may be shewed to *the* pouerty of eche parishe. Then shall we kepe our Horses in our pastures vnstolen. Then our lynnens clothes shall and maye lye safelye one our hedges vntouched. Then shall we not haue our clothes and lynnens hoked out at our wyndowes as well by day as by night. Then shall we not haue our houses broken vp in the night, as of late one of my nyghtbors had and two great buckes of clothes stolen out, and most of the same fyne Lynnens. Then shall we safely kepe our pygges and poultrei from pylfring. Then shall we surely passe by ²*the* hygh waies leading to markets *and* fayres vnharmed. Then shall our Shopes and bothes be vnpycked *and* spoyled. Then shall these vncomly companies be dispersed and set to labour for their lyuinge, or hastely hang for ^[leaf 3] their demerites. Then shall it incourage a great number of gentle men and others, seing this securitie, to set vp houses and kepe hospitalytie in the countrey, to the comfort of their nighboures, releife of the poore, and to the amedement of the common welth. Then shall not sinne and wickednes so much abound among vs. Then wil gods wrath be much *the* more pacified towards vs. Then shall we not tast of so many and sondry plages, as now dayely raigneth ouer vs. And then shall this Famous Empyre be in more welth *and* better florysh, to the inestymable ioye *and* comfort of the Quenes most excelent maiesty, whom god of his

¹ So printed in both 1567 editions. 1573 reads *housholders*; but *Bors-holders* is doubtless meant.

² leaf 3. B.

infynite goodnes, to his great glory, long and many yeares make most prosperously to raygne ouer vs, to the great Felycitye of all the Peres and Nobles, and to the vnspeakable ioye, releife, and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons *and* Subiectes. Now, me thinketh, I se how these peuysh, peruerse, and pestilent people begyn to freat, fume, sweare, and stare at this my booke, their lyfe being layd open and aparantly paynted out, that their confusion and end draweth one a pase. Where as in dede, if it be well waied, it is set forth for their synguler profyt and *commoditie*, for the sure safegard of their lyues here in this world, that they shorten not the same before¹ their time, and that by their true labour and good lyfe, in the world to com they may saue their Soules, that Christ, the second person in [the] Trinytie, hath so derely bought *with* his most precious blood: so that hereby I shall do them more good then they could haue deuised for them selues. For behold, their lyfe being so manyfest wycked and so aparantlye knowen, The honorable wyl abhore them, The worshipfull wyll reiecte them, The yemen wyll sharplye tawnte them, The Husband men vtterly defye them, The laboryng men bluntly chyde them, The wemen with a loud exclamation² wonder at them, And all Children with clappinge handes crye out at them. I manye times musing with my selfe at these mischeuous misliuers, merueled when they toke their oryginall *and* beginning; how long they haue exercised their execrable wandring about. I thought it méete to confer with a very old man that I was well acquaynted with, whose wyt *and* memory is meruelous for his yeares, beinge about the age of fourescore, what he knewe when he was yonge of these lousey leuterars. And he shewed me, that when he was yonge he wayted vpon a man of much worshyp in Kent, who died immediatly after the last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded: at his buryall there was such a number of beggers, besides poore housholders dwelling there abouts, that vneth they mighte lye or stande aboute the House: then was there [leaf 3, back] prepared for them a great and a large barne, and a great fat oxe sod out in Furmenty for them, with bread *and* drinke abundantly to furnesh out the premisses; and euery person had two pence, for such was the

¹ Printed "*brfore*"

² *reclamation*. B.

dole. When Night approached, *the* pore housholders repaired home to their houses : the other wayfaring bold beggers remained alnight in *the* barne ; and the same barne being serched with light in the night by this old man (and then yonge), with¹ others, they tolde seuen score persons of men, euery of them hauing his woman, except it were two wemen that lay alone to gether for some especyall cause. Thus hauing their makes to make mery withall, the buriall was turned to bousing *and* belly chere, morning to myrth, fasting to feasting, prayer to pastyme *and* pressing of papes, and lamenting to Lechery. So that it may apere this vncomly company hath had a long continuance, but then nothinge geuen so much to pylferinge, pyckinge, and spoyling ; and, as far as I can learne or vnderstand by the examination of a number of them, their languag—which they terme peddelars Frenche or Canting—began but within these xxx. yeeres,² lytle aboue ; and that the first inuenter therof was hanged, all saue the head ; for that is the fynall end of them all, or els to dye of some filthy and horyble diseases : but much harme is don in the meane space by their continuance, as some x., xii., and xvi. yeares before they be consumed, and the number of them doth dayly renew. I hope their synne is now at the hyghest ; and that as short and as spedy a redresse wylbe for these, as hath bene of late yeres for *the* wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling and naming them selues Egiptians, depely dissembling and long hyding *and* couering their depe, decetfull practises,—feding the rude common people, wholly addicted and geuen to nouelties, toyes, and new inuentions,—delyting them with the strangenes of the attyre of their heades, and practising paulmistrise to such as would know their fortunes : And, to be short, all theues and hores (as I may well wryt),—as some haue had true experience, a number can well wytne, and a great sorte hath well felte it. And now (thankes bée to god), throughe wholsome lawes, and the due execution thereof, all be dispersed, banished,³ *and* the memory of them cleane extynguished ; that when they bée once named here after, our Chyldren wyl muche meruell what kynd of people they were : and so, I trust, shal shortly happen of these.

¹ The 1573 edition reads *and*

² The 1573 edition here inserts the word *or*

³ *vanished*. B.

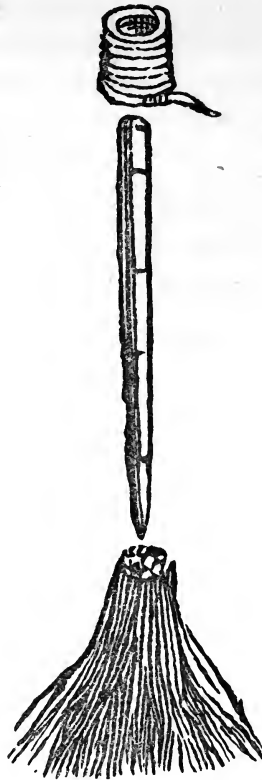
For what thinge doth chiefly cause these rowsey rakehelles thus to continue and dayly increase? Surely a number of wicked parsons that kéepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe; and what so euer they bring, they are sure to receaue money for [leaf 4] the same, for they sell good penyworthes. The byers haue *the* greatest gayne; yea, yf they haue nether money nor ware, they wylbe trusted; their credite is much. I haue taken a note of a good many of them, *and* wil send their names and dwelling-places to such Iusticers as dwelleth nere or next vnto them, that they by their good wisdomes may displace the same, and auctoryse such as haue honesty. I wyl not blot my boke with their names, because they be resident. But as for this fletinge Fellowship, I haue truly setforth the most part of them that be doers at this present, with their names that they be knowene by. Also, I haue placed in the end therof their leud language, calling the same pedlers French or Canting. And now shal I end my prologue, makinge true declaration (right honorable Lady) as they shal fall in order of their vntymelye tryfeling time, leud lyfe, and pernicious practises, trusting that the same shall neyther trouble or abash your most tender, tymeours, and pytifull Nature, to thinke the smal mede should growe vnto you for such Almes so geuen. For god, our marcifull and most louing father, well knoweth your hartes and good intent,—the geuer neuer wanteth his reward, according to the sayinge of Saynt Augustyn: as there is (neyther shalbe) any synne vnpunished, euen so shall there not be eny good dede vnrewarded. But how comfortably speaketh Christ our Sauour vnto vs in his gospel (“geue ye, and it shalbe geuen you againe”): behold farther, good Madam, that for a cup of colde water, Christ hath promised a good reward. Now saynt Austen properly declareth why Christ speaketh of colde water, because the poorest man that is shall not excuse him selfe from that cherytable warke, least he would, parauenture, saye that he hath neyther wood, pot, nor pan to warme any water with. Se, farther, what god speaketh in the mouth of his prophet, Esaye, “breake thy bread to him that is a hongred;” he sayth not geue him a hole lofe, for paraduenture the poore man hath it not to geue, then let him geue a pece. This much is sayd because the poore that hath it should not

be excused : now how much more then the riche? Thus you se, good
madam, for your treasure here dispersed, where nede and lacke
is, it shalbe heaped vp abundantly for you in heauen,
where neither rust or moth shall corrupt or destroy
the same. Vnto which tryumphant place, after
many good, happy, and fortunat yeres pros-
perouslye here dispended. you maye for
euer and euer there most ioyfully
remayne. A men.

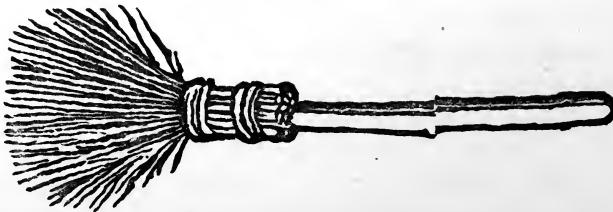
¶¶ *FINIS.*

Thre thing to benoted
A staff, a béesom, and

all in their kynde
wyth, that wyll wynde



¶ A béesome of byrche, for babes very feete,¹
A longe lastinge lybbet for loubbers as méete
A wyth to wynde vp, that these wyll not kéepe
Bynde all up in one, and vse it to swéepe



[This page is printed at the back of the title page in Bodley edition.]

¹ *fyt.* B.

¶ THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

[leaf 5]

AL though, good Reader, I wright in plain termes—and not so playnly as truely—concerning the matter, meaning honestly to all men, and wyshe them as much good as to myne owne harte; yet, as there hathe bene, so there is nowe, and hereafter wylbe, curyous heds to finde faultes: wherefore I thought it necessary, now at this seconde Impression, to acquaynt *the* with a great faulte, as some takethe it, but none¹ as I meane it, callinge these Vagabonds Cursetors in the intytelynge of my booke, as runneres or rangers aboute the countrey, deriued of this Laten word (*Curro*): neither do I wryght it Cooresetores, with a duble² oo; or Cowresetors, with a w, which hath an other signification: is there no deuersite between a gardein and a garden, maynteynaunce *and* maintenance, Streytes and stretes? those that haue vnderstanding knowe there is a great dyfference: who is so ignorant by these dayes as knoweth not the meaning of a vagabone? and yf an ydell leuterar should be so called of eny man, would not he think it bothe odyous and reprocheful? wyll he not shonne the name? ye, and where as he maye and dare, *with* bent browes, wyll reueng that name of Ingnomy: yet this playne name vagabone is deryued, as others be, of Laten wordes, and now vse makes it commen to al men; but let vs loke back four .C. yeres sithens, *and* let vs se whether this playn word vagabon was vsed or no. I beleue not, and why? because I rede of no such name in the old estatutes of this realme, vnles it be in the margente of the booke, or in the Table, which in the collection and pryntinge was set in; but these were then the commen names of these leud leuterars, Faytores, Robardesmen, Drawlatches, *and* valyant beggares. Yf I should haue vsed suche wordes, or the same order of wryting, as this realme vsed in Kynge Henry the thyrd or Edward *the* fyrstes tyme, oh, what a grose, barberous fellow [leaf 5, back] haue we here! his wryting is both homely and darke, that wee had nede to haue an interpretar: yet then it was verye well, and in short season a great change we see: well, this delycat age shall haue his tyme on the

¹ The 1573 ed. reads *not*.² This word is omitted in the 1573 ed.

other syde. Eloquence haue I none ; I neuer was acquaynted with the muses ; I neuer tasted of Helycon. But accordinge to my playne order, I haue setforth this worke, symplye and truelye, with such vsual words and termes as is among vs wel known and frequented. So, that as *the* prouerbe saythe, “all though truth be blamed, it shal neuer be shamed.” well, good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare donn whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse ; and as I truste I haue deserued no rebuke for my good wyll, euen so I desyre no prayse for my payne, cost, and trauell. But faithfullye for the proffyt and benyfyt of my countrey I haue don it, that the whole body of the Realme may se and vnderstand their leud lyfe and pernitious practisses, that all maye spedelye helpe to amend that is amysse. Amen saye all with me.

Finis

¶ A RUFFLER. Ca. 1.¹

[leaf 6]

THE Rufflar, because he is first in degre of this odious order : And is so called in a statute made for the punishment of Vacabonds, In the xxvij. yeare of Kyng Henry the eight, late of most famous memory : Héé shall be first placed, as the worthiest of this vnurly rablement. And he is so called when he goeth first abroad ; eyther he hath serued in the warres, or els he hath bene a seruinge man ; and, weary of well doing, shakinge of all payne, doth chuse him this ydle lyfe, and wretchedly wanders aboute the most shyres of this realme. And with stout audacyte,² demaundeth where he thinketh héé maye be bolde, and circomspecte ynough, as he sethe cause to aske charitie, rufully and lamentably, that it would make a flyntey hart to relent, and pytie his miserable estate, howe he hath bene maymed and broused in the warres ; *and*, paraenture, some wyll shew you some outward wounde, whiche he gotte at some dronken fraye, eyther haltinge of some preuye wounde festred with a fylthy firy flankard. For be well assured that the hardist souldiers be eyther slayne or maymed, eyther and³ they escape all hassardes, and retourne home agayne, if they bée without reliefe of their friends, they wyl surely desperatly robbe and steale, and⁴ eyther shortlye be hanged or miserably dye in pryson ; for they be so much ashamed and disdayne to beg or aske charity, that rather they wyll as desperatlye fight for to lyue and mayntayne them selues, as manfully and valyantly they ventred them selues in the Prynces quarell. Now these Rufflars, the out castes of seruinge men, when begginge or crauinge fayles, then they pycke and pylfer, from other inferiour beggeres that they méete by the waye, as Roages, Pallyardes, Mortes, and Doxes. Yea, if they méete with a woman alone ridinge to the market, eyther olde man or boye, that héé well knoweth wyll not resiste, such they filche and spoyle. These rufflars, after a yeare or two at the farthest, become vpryght men, vnlesse they be preuented by twind hempe.

¹ The chapters are not noted in the Bodley ed.² The 1573 ed. here inserts the word *he*³ 1573 reads *if*⁴ 1573 has *or*

{ I had of late yeares an old man to my tennant, who customably a greate tyme went twice in the weeke to London, eyther wyth fruite or with pescodes, when tyme serued therefore. And as he was comminge homewarde on blacke heathe, at the end thereof next to shotars hyl, he ouer tooke two rufflars, the one manerly wayting on the other, as one had ben the maister, *and* the other the man or seruant, [leaf 6, back] caryinge his maisteres cloke. this olde man was verye glad that hee might haue their company ouer the hyl, because that day he had made a good market; for hee had seuen shyllinges in his purse, and a nolde angell, which this poore man had thought had not bene in his purse, for hee wylled his wyfe ouer night to take out the same angell, and laye it vp vntyll his comminge home agayne. And he verely thought that his wyfe had so don, whiche in dede for got to do it. Thus after salutations had, this maister rufflar entered into communication with this simple olde man, who, ridinge softlye beside them, commoned of many matters. Thus fedinge this old man with pleasaunt talke, vntyll they weare one the toppe of the hyl, where these rufflars might well beholde the coaste about them cleare, Quiclye stepes vnto this poore man, and taketh holde of his horse brydell, and leadeth him in to the wode, and demaundeth of him what and how much money he had in his purse. "Now, by my troth," quoth this old man; "you are a merye gentle man. I knowe you meane not to take a waye anye thinge from me, but rather to geue me some if I shoulde aske it of you." By and by, this seruant thiefe casteth the cloke that he caried on his arme about this poore mans face, that he should not marke or vew them, with sharpe words to delyuer quicly that he had, and to confesse truly what was in his purse. This poore man, then all abashed, yelded, and confessed that he had but iust seuen shyllinges in his purse; and the trouthe is he knew of no more. This old angell was falen out of a lytle purse into the botome of a great purse. Now, this seuen shyllings in whyte money they quickly founde, thinkinge in dede that there had bene no more; yet farther groping and searchinge, found this old angell. And with great admiration, this gentleman thyefe begane to blesse hym, sayinge, "good lorde, what a worlde is this! howe maye" (quoth hee) "a man beleue

or truste in the same? se you not" (quoth he) "this old knaue tolde me that he had but seuen shyllings, and here is more by an angell: what an old knaue and a false knaue haue we here!" quoth this rufflar; "oure lorde haue mercy on vs, wyll this worlde neuer be better?"—and there with went their waye. And lefte the olde man in the wood, doinge him no more harme. But sorowfully sighinge, this olde man, returning home, declared his misaduenture, with all the words and circumstaunces aboue shewed. Wherat, for the tyme was great laughing, and this poore man for his losses among his louing neighbours well considered in the end.

¶ A VPRIGHT MAN. Ca. 2.

[leaf 7] **A** Vpright¹ man, the second in secte of this vnsemely sorte, must be next placed, of these rainginge rablement of rascales; some be seruing men, artificers, and laboryng men traded vp in husbandry. These not mindinge to get their lyuinge with the swete of their face, but casting of all payne, wyll wander, after their wycked maner, through the most shyres of this realm,—

{ As Sommerset shyre, Wylshire, Barke shyre, Oxforde shyre,
 { Harfordeshyre, Myddilsex, Essex, Suffolke, Northfolke, Sussex,
 Surrye, and Kent, as the cheyfe and best shyres of reliefe. Yea, not with out punishment by stockes, whyppinges, and imprisonment, in most of these places aboue sayde. Yet, not with standinge they haue so good lykinge in their lewed, lecherous loyteringe, that full quiclye all their punishmentes is² for gotten. And repentaunce is neuer thought vpon vntyll they clyme threé tres with a ladder. These vnrewly rascales, in their roylunge, disperse them selues into seuerall companyes, as occation serueth, sometyme more and somtyme lesse. As, if they repayre to a poore husbandmans house, hée wyll go a lone, or one with him, and stoutely demaund his charytie, eyther shewing how he hath serued in the warres, and their maymed, eyther that he sekethe seruice, and saythe that he woulde be glad to take payne for hys lyuinge, although he meaneth nothinge lesse.

¹ Printed "*vpreght*." *vpright* in Bodley ed.

² 1573, *be*

Yf he be offered any meate or drynke, he vtterlye refuseth the scornfully, and wyll nought but money; and yf he espye yong pyges or pultry, he well noteth the place, and they the next night, or shortly after, hée wyll be sure to haue some of them, whyche they brynge to their stawlinge kens, which is their typplyng houses, as well knowen to them, according to the olde prouerbe, "as the begger knowes his dishe." For you must vnderstand, euery Typplyng ale house wyll neyther receiue them or their wares, but some certayne houses in euery shyre, especially for that purpose, where they shalbe better welcome to them then honest men. For by such haue they most gayne, and shalbe conuayde eyther into some loft out of the waye, or other secret corner not comen to any other; and thether repayre, at accustomed tymes, their harlots, whiche they terme Mortes and Doxes,—not with emty hands; for they be as skilfull in picking, riffling, and filching as the vpright men, and nothing inferior to them in all kind of wyckednes, as in other places hereafter they shalbe touched. At these foresayde peltinge, peuish places and vnmannerly metinges, O! how the pottes walke about! their talking tounge talke at large. They bowle and bowse one to another, and for the tyme bousing belly chere. And after there ruysting recreation, [leaf 7, back] yf there be not rome ynough in the house, they haue cleane strawe in some barne or backehouse nere adioyning, where they couch comly to gether, and ¹ it were dogge and byche; and he that is hardyste maye haue his choyse, vnlesse for a lytle good maner; some wyll take there owne that they haue made promyse vnto, vntyll they be out of sight, and then, according to the old adage, "out of minde." Yet these vpright men stand so much vpon their reputation, as they wyl in no case haue their wemen walke with them, but seperat them selues for a tyme, a moneth or more. And mete at fayres, or great markets, where they mete to pylfer and steale from staules, shoppes, or bothes. At these fayres the vpright men vse commonly to lye and lingar in hye wayes by lanes, some prety way or distaunce from the place, by which wayes they be assured that compeny passeth styll two and fro. And ther they² wyll demaund, with cap in hand and comly curtesy, the deuotion and charity of the people. They

¹ 1573, as² the. B.

haue ben much lately whipped at fayrs. Yf they aske at a stout yemans or farmars house his charity, they wyll goe strong as thre or foure in a company. Where for feare more then good wyll, they often haue reliefe. they syldome or neuer passe by a Iustices house, but haue by wayes, vnlesse he dwell alone, and but weakely manned ; thether wyll they also go strong, after a slye, suttle sorte, as with their armes bounde vp with kercher or lyste, hauinge wrapte about the same filthy clothes, either their legges in such maner be-wrapped halting down right. Not vnprouided of good codg[e]ls, which they cary to sustayne them, and, as they fayne, to keepe gogges¹ from them, when they come to such good gentlemens houses. Yf any searche be made or they suspected for pylfring clothes of hedgges, or breaking of houses, which they commonly do when the owners bée eyther at the market, church, or other wayes occupyed aboute their busines,—eyther robbe some sely man or woman by the hye waye, as many tymes they do,—Then they hygh them into wodes, great thickets, and other ruffe corners, where they lye lurkinge thre or foure dayes to gether, and haue meate and drinke brought them by theyre Mortes, and Doxes ; and whyle they thus lye hydden in couert, in the night they be not idle,—nether, as *the* common saying is, “well occupyed ;” for then, as the wyly foxe, crepinge out of his den, seketh his praye for pultery, so do these for lynnens and any thinge els worth money, that lyeth about or near a house. As somtyme a whole bucke of clothes caryed awaye at a tyme. When they haue a greater booty then they maye cary awaye quickly to their stawling kendes, as is aboue sayd, They wyll hyde the same for a thre dayes in some thicke couert, and ^[near s] in the night time carye the same, lyke good water Spanlles, to their foresayd houses. To whom they wyll discouer where or in what places they had the same, where the markes shalbe pycked out cleane, and conuayed craftely fare of, to sell. If the man or woman of the house want money them selues. ² If these vpright men haue nether money nor wares, at these houses they shalbe trusted for their vitales, and it amount to twentye or thirty shyllings. Yea, if it fortune any of these vpright men to be taken, either suspected, or charged with felony or petye

¹ dogges. B.² 1573 inserts *and*

brybrye, don at such a tyme or such a place, he wyll saye he was in his hostes house. And if the man or wyfe of that house be examined by an officer, they boldelye vouche, that the[y] lodged him suche a tyme, whereby the truth cannot appeare. And if they chaunce to be retained into seruice, through their lamentable words, with any welthy man, They wyll tary but a smale tyme, either robbing his maister or som of his fellowes. And some of them vseth this polocyte, that although they trauaile into al these shyres, aboue said, yet wyl they haue good credite, espiciallye in one shyre, where at diuers good farmars houses they be wel knowen, where they worke a moneth in a place or more, and wyll for that time behaue them selues very honestly *and* paynfully ; And maye at any tyme, for their good vsage, haue worke of them ; and to these at a ded lyft, or last refuge, they maye safely repayre vnto and be welcom, When in other places, for a knacke of knauery that they haue playd, thei dare not tary. These vyright men wil sildom or neuer want ; for what is gotten by anye Mort, or Doxe, if it please him, hée doth comaunde the same. And if he mete any begger, whether he be sturdye or impotent, he wyll demaund of him, whether euer he was stalled to the roge or no. If he saye he was, he wyll know of whom, and his name *that* stalled hym. And if he be not learnedly able to shewe him the whole circumstance thereof, he wyll spoyle him of his money, either of his best garment, if it be worth any money, and haue him to the bowsing ken, Which is to some typpling house next adioyninge ; and laieth their to gage the best thing that he hath for twenty pence or two shyllinges : this man obeyeth for feare of beating. Then doth this vpright man call for a gage of bowse, whiche is a quarte pot of drinke, and powres the same vpon his peld pate, adding these words :—" I. G. P. do stalle thée W. T. to the Roge, and that from hence forth it shall be lawefull for the to Cant"—that is, to aske or begge—" for thy liuing in al places." Here you se *that* the vpright man is of great auctorite. For all sortes of beggers are obedient to his hests, and surmounteth all others in pylfring and stealinge. ¶ I lately had standinge in my [leaf 8, back] well house, which standeth on the backside of my house, a great cawdron of copper, beinge then full of water, hauinge in the same halfe a dosen

of pewter dyshes, well marked, and stamped *with* the connizance of my armes, whiche being well noted when they were taken out, were set a side, the water powred out, and my caudren taken awaye, being of such bygnes that one man, vnlesse he were of great strength, was not able far to cary the same. Not withstandinge, the same was one night within this two yeares conuayed more then half a myle from my house, into a commen or leth, And ther bestowed in a great firbushe. I then immediatly the next day sent one of my men to London, and there gate warning in Sothwarke, kent strete, and Barmesey stréete, to all the Tynckars there dwelling,—That if any such Caudron came thether to be sold, the bringar therof should be stayed, and promised twenty shyllings for a reward. I gaue also intelligence to the water men that kept the ferres, that no such vessel should be ether conuayd to London or into essex, promysing the lyke reward, to haue vnderstanding therof. This my doing was well vnderstand in many places about, and that the feare of espyng so troubled *the* conscience of the stealer, that my caudoren laye vntouched in the thicke firbushe more then halfe a yeare after, which, by a great chaunce, was found by hunteres for conneys; for one chaunced to runne into the same bushe where my caudren was, and being perceaued, one thrust his staffe into the same bushe, and hyt my caudren a great blowe, the sound whereof dyd cause the man to thinke and hope that there was some great treasure hidden, wherby he thought to be the better whyle he lyued. And in farther searching he found my caudren; so had I the same agayne vnlooked for.

¶ A HOKER, OR ANGGLEAR. Cap. 3.

THese hokers, or Angglers, be peryllous and most wicked knaues, and be deryued or procede forth from the vpriht men; they commenly go in frese ierkynes and gally slopes, poynted benethe the kne; these when they practise there pylfringe, it is all by night; for, as they walke a day times from house to house, to demaund charite, they vigelantly marke where or in what place they maye attayne to there praye, casting there eyes vp to euery wyndow, well noting what they se their, whether apparell or linnen, hanginge nere vnto the sayde wyndowes, and that wyll they

be sure to haue *the* next night folowing ; for they customably carry with them a staffe of v. or vi. foote long, in which, within one ynch of *the* tope therof, ys a lytle hole bored through, [leaf 9] in which hole they putte an yron hoke, and with the same they wyll pluck vnto them quickly any thing *that* they may reche ther with, which hoke in the day tyme they couertly cary about them, and is neuer sene or taken out till they come to the place where they worke there fete : such haue I sene at my house, and haue oft talked with them and haue handled ther staues, not then vnderstanding to what vse or intent they serued, although I hadde and perceiued, by there talke and behaiour, great lykelyhode of euyll suspition in them : they wyl ether leane vpon there staffe, to hyde the hole thereof, when they talke with you, or holde their hande vpon the hole ; and what stuffe, either wollen or lynnyn, they thus hoke out, they neuer carye the same forth with to their staulynge kens, but hides the same a iij. daies in some secret corner, *and* after conuayes the same to their houses abouesaid, where their host or hostys geueth them money for the same, but halfe the value that it is worth, or els their doxes shall a farre of sell the same at the like houses. I was credebly informed that a hoker came to a farmers house in the ded of the night, and putting back a drawe window of a low chamber, the bed standing hard by the sayd wyndow, in which laye three parsones (a man and two bygge boyes), this hoker with his staffe plucked of their garments which lay vpon them to kepe them warme, with the couerlet and shete, and lefte them lying a slepe naked sauing there shertes, and had a way all clene, and neuer could vnderstande where it became. I verely suppose that when they wer wel waked with cold, they suerly thought that Robin goodfellow (accordiunge to the old saying) had bene with them that night.

¶ A ROGE. Cap. 4.

A Roge is neither so stoute or hardy as the vpright man. Many of them will go fayntly and looke piteously when they see, either méete any person, hauing a kercher, as white as my shooes, tyed about their head, with a short staffe in their hand, haltinge, although they nede not, requiring almes of such as they

méete, or to what house they shal com. But you may easely perceiue by their colour *that* thei cary both health and hipocrisie about them, wherby they get gaine, when others want that cannot fayne and dissemble. Others therebee that walke sturdely about *the* countrey, *and* faineth to seke a brother or kinsman of his, dwelling within som part of *the* shire;—ether that he hath a letter to deliuer to som honest housholder, dwelling out of an other Shyre, and will shewe you the same fayre sealed, with the superscription to [leaf 9, back] the partye he speaketh of, because you shall not thinke him to runne idelly about the countrey;—either haue they this shyfte, they wyll cary a cirtificate or pasport about them from som Iusticer of the peace, with his hand and seale vnto the same, howe hée hath bene whipped and punished for a vacabonde according to the lawes of this realme, and that he muste returne to .T., where he was borne or last dwelt, by a certayne daye lymited in the same, whiche shalbe a good longe daye. And all this fayned, bycause without feare they woulde wyckedly wander, and wyll renue the same where or when it pleasethe them; for they haue of their affinity that can wryte and read. These also wyll picke and steale as the vpright men, and hath their women and metinges at places apoynted, and nothings to them inferiour in all kynde of knauery. There bée of these Roges Curtales, wearinge shorte clokes, that wyll change their aparell, as occasion seruethe. And their end is eyther hanginge, whiche they call trininge in their language, or die miserably of the pokes.

¶ There was not long sithens two Roges that alwaies did associate them selues together, *and* would neuer separat them selues, vnles it were for some especiall causes, for they were sworn brothers, *and* were both of one age, and much like of favour: these two, traueling into east kent, resorted vnto an ale house there,¹ being veried with traueling, saluting with short curtisey, when they came into the house, such as thei sawe sitting there, in whiche company was the parson of the parish; and callinge for a pot of the best ale, sat downe at the tables ende: the lykor liked them so well, that they had pot vpon pot, and sometyme, for a lytle good maner, would drinke and offer the cup to such as they best fancied; and to be short, they sat

¹ 1573 omits.

out al the company, for eche man departed home aboute their busines. When they had well refreshed them selues, then these rowsy roges requested the good man of the house wyth his wyfe to sit downe and drinke with them, of whome they inquired what priest the same was, and where he dwelt: then they fayninge that they had an vncle a priest, and that he should dwel in these partes, which by all presumptions it should be he, and that they came of purpose to speake with hym, but because they had not sene hym sithens they were sixe yeares olde, they durst not be bold to take acquayntance of him vntyl they were farther instructed of the truth, and began to inquier of his name, and how longe he had dwelt there, and how farre his house was of from *the* place they were in: the good wyfe of the house, thynkinge them honest men without disceit, because they so farre enquyred of their kinsman, was but of a good zelous natural intent, shewed them cherefully that hee [leaf 10] was an honest man *and* welbeloued in the parish, and of good welth, *and* had ben there resident xv. years at the least; "but," saith she, "are you both brothers?" "yea, surely," said they, "we haue bene both in one belly, *and* were twinnes." "Mercy, god!" *quoth* this folish woman; "it may wel be, for ye be not much vnlike,"—and wente vnto her hall windowe, callinge these yong men vnto her, and loking out therat,¹ pointed with her fingar *and* shewed them the house standing alone, no house nere the same by almoste a quarter of a myle; "that," sayd² she, "is your vncles house." "Nay," saith one of them, "he is not onely my vncle, but also my godfather." "It may well be," *quoth* she, "nature wyll bind him to be the better vnto you." "Well," *quoth* they, "we be weary, and meane not to trouble our vncle to-night; but to-morowe, god willinge, we wyll see him and do our duty: but, I pray you, doth our vncle occupy husbandry? what company hath he in his house." "Alas!" saith she, "but one old woman *and* a boy, he hath no occupying at al: tushe," *quoth* this good wyfe, "you be mad men; go to him this night, for hee hath better lodging for you then I haue, *and* yet I speake folishly against my³ own profit, for by your taring⁴ here I should gaine *the* more by you." "Now, by my troth," *quoth* one of them, "we thanke

¹ 1573 omits.² *saith*. B.³ 1573, *myne*⁴ *taryng*. B.

you, good hostes, for your holsome counsell, and we meane to do as you wyll vs: we wyl pause a whyle, and by that tyme it wylbe almost night; *and* I praye you geue vs a reckeninge,"—so, manerly paying for that they toke, bad their hoste and hostes farewell with takinge leaue of the cup, marched merelye out of the dores towardes this parsones house, vewed the same well rounde about, and passed by two bowshotes of into a younge wodde, where they laye consultinge what they shoulde do vntyll midnight. Quoth one of them, of sharper wyt and subtyller then the other, to hys fellowe, "thou seest that this house is stone walled about, and that we cannot well breake in, in any parte thereof; thou seest also that the windowes be thicke of mullions, that ther is no kreping in betwene: wherefore we must of necessytye vse some policye when strength wil not serue. I haue a horse locke here about me," saith he; "and this I hope shall serue oure turne." So when it was aboute xii. of the clocke, they came to the house and lurked nere vnto his chamber wyndowe: the dog of the house barked a good, that with they¹ noise, this priest waketh out of his sléepe, and began to cough and hem: then one of these roges stepes forth nerer the window *and* maketh a ruful *and* pityful noise, requiring for Christ sake² some reliefe, that was both hongry and thirstye, and was like to ly with out the dores all nighte and starue for colde, vnles he were releued by him with some small pece of money. "Where dwellest thou?" quoth this parson. "Alas! sir," saithe this roge, "I haue smal ^[leaf 10, back] dwelling, and haue com out of my way; and I should now," saith he, "go to any towne nowe at this time of night, they woulde set me in the stockes and punishe me." "Well," quoth this pitifull parson, "away from my house, either lye in some of my out houses vntyll the morning, and holde, here is a couple of pence for thée." "A god rewarde you," quoth this roge; "and in heauen may you finde it." The parson openeth his wyndowe, and thrusteth out his arme to geue his almes to this Roge that came whining to receiue it, and quickly taketh holde of his hand, and calleth his fellowe to him, whiche was redye at hande with the horse locke, and clappeth the same about the wrest of his arme, that the mullions standing so close together for strength, that for his

¹ So printed. Bodley ed. has *the*

² *sakes*. B.

life he could not plucke in his arme againe, and made him beleue, vnles he would at the least geue them .iii. li., they woulde smite of his arme from the body. So that this poore parson, in feare to lose his hand, called vp his olde woman that lay in the loft ouer him, and wyllde her to take out all the money he had, which was iiij. markes, which he saide was all the money in his house, for he had lent vi. li. to one of his neighbours not iiij daies before. "Wel," quoth they, "master parson, if you haue no more, vpon this condicion we wil take of the locke, that you will drinke .xij. pence for our sakes to-morow at the alehouse wher we found you, and thank the good wife for the good chere she made vs." He promised faithfully that he would so do; so they toke of the locke, and went their way so farre ere it was daye, that the parson coulde neuer haue any vnderstanding more of them. Now this parson, sorowfully slumbering that night betwene feare and hope, thought it was but folly to make two sorrowes of one; he vsed contentacion for his remedy, not forgetting in the morning to performe his promise, but went betims to his neighbour that kept tiplinge, and asked angerly where the same two men were that dranke with her yester daye. "Which two men?" quoth this good wife. "The straungers that came in when I was at your house wyth my neighbores yesterday." "What! your newewes?" quoth she. "My newewes?" quoth this parson; "I trowe thou art mad." "Nay, by god!" quoth this good¹ wife, "as sober as you; for they tolde me faithfully that you were their vncler: but, in fayth, are you not so in dede? for, by my trouth, they are strau[n]gers to me. I neuer saw them before." "O, out vpon them!" quoth the parson; "they be false theues, and this night thei compelled me to geue them al the money in my house." "Benedicite!" quoth this good wife, "and haue they so in dede? as I shall aunswere before god, one of them told me besides that you were godfather to him, and that he trusted to haue your blessinge before he departed." "What! did he?" quoth this parson; "a halter blesse him for [teaf u] me!" "Me thinketh, by the masse, by your countenance you loked so wildly when you came in," quoth this good wife, "that somthing was amis." "I vse not to gest,"

¹ Omitted in 1573.

quoth this parson, "when I speake so earnestly." "Why, all your sorrowes goe with it," quoth this good wife, "and sitte downe here, and I will fil a freshe pot of ale shall make you mery agayne." "Yea," saith this parson, "fill in, *and* geue me some meat; for they made me sweare and promise them faithfully that I shoulde drinke xii. pence with you this day." "What! dyd they?" quoth she; "now, by the mary masse, they be mery knaues. I warraunt you they meane to bye no land with your money; but how could they come into you in the night, your dores being shut fast? your house is very stronge." Then this prason¹ shewed her all the hole circumstance, how he gaue them his almes oute at the wyndowe, they² made such lamentable crye that it pytied him at the hart; for he sawe but one when he put oute his hand at the windowe. "Be ruled by me," quoth this good wyfe. "Wherin?" quoth this parson. "By my troth, neuer speake more of it: when they shal vnderstand of it in the parish, they wyll but laugh you to skorne." ³"Why, then," quoth this parson, "the deuyll goe with it,"—and their an end.³

¶ A WYLDE ROGE. Cap. 5.

A Wilde Roge is he that is borne a Roge: he is a more subtil and more geuen by nature to all kinde of knauery then the other, as beastely begotten in barne or bushes, and from his infancye traded vp in trechery; yea, and before ripenes of yeares doth permyt, wallowinge in lewde lechery, but that is counted amongst them no sin. For this is their custome, that when they mete in barne at night, euery one getteth a make⁴ to lye wythall, *and* their chaunce to be twentye in a companye, as their is sometyme more and sometyme lesse: for to one man that goeth abroad, there are at the least two women, which neuer make it straunge when they be called, although she neuer knewe him before. Then when the day doth appeare, he rouses him vp, and shakes his eares, and awaye wanderinge where he may gette oughte to the hurte of others. Yet before he skypeth oute of hys couche and departeth from his darling, if he like her well, he will apoint her where to mete shortlye

¹ so printed.²⁻³ Why end. B. omits.² *the. B.*⁴ 1573 reads *mate*

after, with a warninge to worke warely for some chetes, that their meting might be the merier.

¶ Not long sithens, a wild roge chaunced to mete a pore neighbour of mine, who for honesty *and* good natur surmounteth many. This poore man, riding homeward from London, where he had made his market, this [leaf 11, back] roge demaunded a peny for gods sake, to kepe him a true man. This simple man, beholding him wel, and sawe he was of taule personage with a good quarter staffe in his hand, it much pitied him, as he sayd, to se him want; for he was well able to serue his prince in the wars. Thus, being moued with pytie, and¹ loked in his pursse to finde out a peny; and in loking for the same, he plucked oute viii. shyllinges in whyte money, and raked therin to finde a single peny; and at the last findinge one, doth offer the same to this wyld roge: but he, seinge so much mony in this simple mans hand, being striken to the hart with a couetous desire, bid him forth wyth delyuer al that he had, or els he woulde with his staffe beat out his braynes. For it was not a peny would now quench his thirst,² seing so much as he dyd²: thus, swallowinge his spittell gredely downe, spoyled this poore man of al *the* money that he had, and lept ouer the hedge into a thicke wode, and went his waye as merely as this good simple man came home sorowfully. I once rebuking a wyld roge because he went idelly about, he shewed me that he was a begger by enheritance—his Grandfather was a begger, his father was one, and he must nedes be one by good reason.

¶ A PRYGGER OF PRAUNCERS. Cap. 6.

A Prigger of Prauncers be horse stealers; for to prigge signifieth in their language to steale, *and* a Prauncer is a horse: so beinge put together, the matter is³ playne. These go commonly in Ierkins of leatherr, or of white frese, *and* carry litle wands in their hands, and will walke through grounds and pastures, to search and se horses meete for their purpose. And if thei chaunce to be met and asked by the owners of the grounde what they make there, they fayne strayghte that they haue loste their waye, and de-

¹ omitted in 1573.

²⁻² seing dyd. B. omits.

³ 1573, *was*

syre to be enstructed the beste waye to such a place. These will also repayre to gentlemens houses and aske their charitye, and wyll offer their seruice. And if you aske them what they can do, they wyll saye that they can kepe two or thre Geldinges, and waite vpon a Gentleman. These haue also their women, that walkinge from them in other places, marke where and what they seee abroade, and sheweth these Priggars therof when they meete, which is with in a weeke or two. And loke, where they steale any thinge, they conuay the same at the least thre score miles of or more.

¶ There was a Gentleman, a verye friende of myne, rydyng from London homewarde into Kente, hauinge with in threé myles of his house busynesse, alyghted of his horse, and his man also, in a pretye ^[near 12] vyllage, where diueres houses were, and looked aboute hym where he myghte haue a conuenient person to walke his horse, because hee would speake with a Farmer that dwelt on the backe side of the sayde village, lytle aboue a quarter of a myle from the place where he lighted, and had his man to waight vpon him, as it was mete for his callinge: espying a Pryggar there standing, thinking the same to dwell there, charging this prity prigginge person to walke his horse well, and that they might not stande styll for takyng of colde, and at his returne (which he saide should not be longe) he would geue hym a peny to drinke, and so wente aboute his busines. This pelytynge Priggar, proude of his praye, walkethe his horse¹ vp and downe tyll he sawe the Gentleman out of sighte, and leapes him into the saddell, and awaye he goeth a mayne. This Gentleman returninge, and findinge not his horses, sent his man to the one end of the vyllage, and he went himselfe vnto the other ende, and enquired as he went for his horses that were walked, and began some what to suspecte, because neither he nor his man could se nor find him. Then this Gentleman deligentelye enquired of thre or foure towne dwellers there whether any such person, declaring his stature,² age, apparell, with so many linaments of his body as he could call to remembraunce. And, "vna voce," all sayde that no such man dwelt in their streate, neither in the parish, that they knewe of; but some did wel remember that such a one they saw there lyrkinge and hug-

¹ horses. B.

² Printed statute

geringe two houres before the Gentleman came thether, and a straunger to them. "I had thoughte," quoth this Gentleman, "he had here dwelled,"—and marched home manerly in his botes: farre from the place he dwelt not. I suppose at his comming home he sente suche wayes as he suspected or thought méete to searche for this Prigger, but hetherto he neuer harde any tydings agayne of his palfreys.—I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture that I had amongst others whyle this boke was first a printinge.

¶ A PALLYARD. Cap. 7.

THese Palliardes be called also Clapperdogens: these go with patched clokes, *and* haue their Morts with them, which they cal wiues; and if he goe to one house, to aske his almes, his wife shall goe to a nother: for what they get (as bread, chéese, malte, and woll) they sell the same for redy money; for so they get more and if they went together. Although they be thus¹ deuided in the daie, yet they mete iompe at night. Yf they chauce to come to some gentylmans house standinge [leaf 12, back] a lone, and be demaunded whether they be man and wyfe, *and* if he perceaue that any doubteth thereof, he sheweth them a Testimonial with the ministers name, and others of the same parishe (naminge a parishe in some shere fare distant from the place where he sheweth the same). This writing he carieth to salue that sore. Ther be many Irishe men that goe about with counterfeate licenses; and if they perceiue you wil straytly examen them, they will immediatly saye they can speake no Englishe.

¶ Farther, vnderstand for trouth that the worst and wickedst of all this beastly generation are scarce comparable to these prating Pallyardes. All for *the* most parte of these wil either lay to their legs an herb called Sperewort, eyther Arsnicke, which is called Ratesbane. The nature of this Spereworte wyll rayse a great blister in a night vpon the soundest part of his body; and if the same be taken away, it wyl dry vp againe and no harme. But this Arsnicke will so poyson the same legge or sore, that it will euer after be incurable: this do they for gaine and to be pitied. The most of these that walke about be Walchmen.

¹ Printed *this*

¶ A FRATER. Cap. 8.

SOME of these Fraters will cary blacke boxes at their gyrdel, wher in they haue a briefe of the Queenes maiesties letters patentes, geuen to suche¹ poore spittlehouse for the reliefe of the poore there, whiche briefe is a coppie of the letters patentes, *and* vtterly fained, if it be in paper or in² parchment without the great seale. Also, if the same brief be in printe,³ it is also of auctoritie. For the Printers wil see *and* wel vnderstand, before it come in presse, that the same is lawfull. Also, I am credibly informed that the chiefe Proctors of manye of these houses, that seldome trauel abroad them selues, but haue their factors to gather for them, which looke very slenderly to the impotent and miserable creatures committed to their charge, *and* die for want of cherishing; whereas they *and* their wiues are wel crammed *and* clothed, *and* will haue of the best. And the founders of euery such house, or the chiefe of the parishe wher they be, woulde better see vnto these Proctors, that they might do their duty, they should be wel spoken of here, and in the world to come abundantly therefore rewarded. I had of late an honest man, and of good wealthe, repayred to my house to common wyth me aboute certeyne affaires. I inuited the same to dinner, and dinner beinge done, I demaunded of hym some newes of these⁴ parties were hee dwelte. "Thankes be to God, syr," (saith he); "all is well *and* good now." "Now!" (quoth I) "this same 'nowe' [leaf 13] declareth *that* some things of late hath not bene wel." "Yes, syr," (quoth he) "the⁵ matter is not great. I had thought I should haue bene wel beaten within this seuenth night." "How so?" (quoth I). "Mary, syr," sayd he, "I am Counstable for fault of a better, and was commaunded by the Iusticer to watch. The watch being set, I toke an honest man, one of my neighbors, with me, and went vp to the ende of the towne as far as the spittle house, at which house I heard a great noyse, and, drawing nere, stode close vnder the wall, and this was at one of the clocke after midnight.

¹ B. inserts *a*² B. omits *in*³ Probably the reason why "in print" came to be considered synonymous with "correct." See 2 Gent. of Verona, act ii. sc. 1, 175.⁴ *those*. B.⁵ B. omits *the*

Where he harde swearinge, pratinge, and wagers laying, and the pot apase walkinge, and xl. pence gaged vpon a matche of wrastling, pitching of the barre, and casting of the sledge. And out they goe, in a fustian fume, into the backe syde, where was a great Axiltiye,¹ and there fell to pitching of the barre, being thre to thre. The Moone dyd shine bright, the Counstable with his neighbourse myght see and beholde all that was done. And howe the wyfe of the house was rostinge of a Pyg, whyle her gestes were in their matche. At the laste they coulde not agree vpon a caste, and fell at wordes, and from wordes to blowes. The Counstable with his² fellowe runnes vnto them, to parte them, and in the partinge lyckes a drye blowe or two. Then the noyse increased; the Counstable woulde haue had them to³ the stockes. The wyfe of the house runnes out with her goodman to intreat the Counstable for her gestes, and leaues the Pyg at the fyre alone. In commeth two or thrée of the next neighbourse, beinge waked wyth this noise, and into the house they come, and fynde none therein, but the Pygge well rosted, and carieth the same awaye wyth them, spyte and all, with suche breade and drinke also as stooode vpon the table. When the goodman and the goodwyfe of the house hadde intreated and pacified the Counstable, shewinge vnto him that they were Proctors and Factores all of Spyttell houses, and that they taryed there but to breake theyr fast, and woulde ryde awaye immediatlye after, for they had farre to goe, and therefore mente to ryde so earlye. And comminge into their house agayne, fyndinge the Pygge wyth bread and drinke all gonne, made a greate exclamation, for they knewe not who had the same.

¶ The Counstable returning and hearinge the lamentable wordes of the good wyfe, howe she had lost both meate and drinke, and sawe it was so in deede, hée laughed in his sleue, and commaunded her to dresse no more at vnlawfull houres for any gestes. For hée thought it better bestowed vpon those smell feastes his poore neigh-

¹ Castynge of axtre & eke of ston,
Sofere hem þere to vse non;
Bal, and barres, and suche play,
Out of chycheorde put a-way.—

Myrc, p. 11, l. 334-7 (E. E. T. Soc. 1868)

² Printed *hys*

³ to to. B.

boures then vppon suche sturdye Lubbares. The nexte mornynge betymes the ^[leaf 13, back] spitte and pottes were sette at the Spittle house doore for the owner. Thus were these Factours begyled of theyr breakfast, and one of them hadde well beaten an other; "And, by my trouth," (quoth thys Counstable) "I was gladde when I was well ryd of them." "Why," quoth I, "coulede the[y] caste the barre and sledge well?" "I wyll tell you, syr," (quoth hée) "you knowe there hath bene manye games this Sommer. I thinke verely, that if some of these Lubbars had bene there, and practysed amongst others, I beleue they woulde haue carryed awaye the beste games. For they were so stronge and sturdye, that I was not able to stande in their handes." "Well" (quoth I) "at these games you speake of, both legges and armes bée tryed." "Yea," quoth this offycer, "they bée wycked men. I haue séene some of them sithens wyth cloutes bounde aboute theyr legges, and haltynge wyth their staffe in their handes. Wherefore some of theym, by GOD, bee nought all."

¶ A ABRAHAM MAN. Cap. 9.

THese Abraham men be those that fayne themselues to haue bene mad, and haue bene kept eyther in Bethelem or in some other pryson a good tyme, *and* not one amongst twenty that euer came in pryson for any such cause: yet wyll they saye howe pitiously and most extreamely they haue bene beaten, and dealt with all. Some of these be merye and verye pleasant, they wyll daunce and sing; some others be as colde and reasonable to talke wyth all. These begge money; eyther when they come at Farmours howses they wyll demaunde Baken, eyther chéese, or wooll, or any thinge that is worthe money. And if they espye small company within, they wyll with fierce countenaunce demaund some what. Where for feare the maydes wyll geue theym largely to be ryd of theym.

{ ¶ If they maye conueniently come by any cheate, they wyl picke and steale, as the v[p]right man or Roge, poultreiy or lynnyn. And all wemen that wander bée at their commaunde-mente. Of all that euer I saw of this kynde, one naminge him selfe Stradlynge is the craftiest and moste dyssemblyngest Knaue.

Hée is able wyth hys tounge and vsage to deceaue and abuse the wysest man that is. And surely for the proporcion of his body, with euery member there vnto appertayninge, it cannot be a mended. But as the prouerbe is "God hath done his part." Thys Stradlyng sayth he was the Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed, for very pensiuenes of mynde, [leaf 14] he fell out of his wytte, and so continued a yeaere after and more; and that with the very gréeffe and feare, he was taken wyth a marueilous palsey, that both head and handes wyll shake when he talketh, with anye and that a pase or fast, where by he is much pytied, and getteth greatly. And if I had not demaunded of others, bothe men and women, that commonly walketh as he doth, and knowen by them his déepe dissimylation, I neuer hadde vnderstand the same. And thus I end wyth these kynde of vacabondes.

¶ A FRESHE WATER MARINER OR WHIPIACKE. Cap. 10.

THESE Freshwater Mariners, their shipes were drowned in the playne of Salisbery. These kynde of Caterpillers counterfet great losses on the sea; these bée some Western men, and most bée Irishe men. These wyll runne about the countrey wyth a counterfet lycence, fayninge either shypwracke, or spoyled by Pyrates, neare the coaste of Cornwall or Deuonshyre, and set a lande at some hauen towne there, hauynge a large and formall wrytinge, as is aboue sayd, with the names and seales of suche men of worshyppe, at the leaste foure or fiue, as dwelleth neare or next to the place where they fayne their landinge. And neare to those shieres wyll they not begge, vntyll they come into Wylshyre, Hamshyre, Barkeshyre, Oxfordshyre, Harfordshyre, Middelsex, and so¹ to London, and downe by the ryuer to séeke for their shyppe and goods that they neuer hade: then passe they through Surrey, Sossex, by the sea costes, and so into Kent, demaunding almes to bring them home to their country.

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I haue diuers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes, wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. And they wyll not

¹ Omitted in 1573.

beelonge with out another. For at anye good towne they wyll renewe the same. Once wyth muche threatninge and faire promises, I required to knowe of one companye who made their lycence. And they sweare that they bought the same at Portsmouth, of a Mariner there, and it cost them¹ two shillinges ; with such warrantes to be so good and efectuell, that if any of the best men of lawe, or learned, aboute London, should peruse the same, they weare able to fynde no faute there with, but would assuredly allow the same.

¹ *him (sic)*. B.

[leaf 14, back] 1



These two pycles, lyuely set out,
 One bodye and soule, god send him more grace.
 This mounstrous desembelar, a Cranke all about.
 Vncomly couetinge, of eche to imbrace,
 Money or wares, as he made his race.
 And sometyme a marynar, and a saruinge man,
 Or els an artificer, as he would fayne than.
 Such shyftes he vsed, beinge well tryed,
 A bandoninge labour, tyll he was espyed.
 Condng punishment, for his dissimulation,
 He sewerly receaued with much declination ²

¹ This page is not in Bodley ed.

² 1573 reads *exclamation*

[leaf 15]

¶ A COUNTERFET CRANKE. Cap. 11.

THese that do counterfet the Cranke be yong knaues and yonge harlots, that depely dissemble the falling sicknes. For the Cranke in their language is the falling euyll. I haue séene some of these with fayre writinges testimoniall, with the names and seales of some men of worshyp in Shropshyre, and in other Shieres farre of, that I haue well knowne, and haue taken the same from them. Many of these do go without writinges, and wyll go halfe naked, and looke most pitiously. And if any clothes be geuen them, the[y]¹ immediatly sell the same, for weare it they wyll not, because they would béé the more pitied, and weare fylthy clothes on their heades, and neuer go without a péeece of whyte sope about them, which, if they sée cause or present gaine, they wyll priuely conuey the same into their mouth, and so worke the same there, that they wyll fome as it were a Boore, *and* maruelously for a tyme torment them selues; and thus deceiue they the common people, and gayne much. These haue commonly their harlots as the other.

Apon Alhollanday in the morning last Anno domini. 1566, or my² booke was halfe printed, I meane the first impression, there came earely in the morninge a Counterfet Cranke vnder my lodgyng at the whyte Fryares, wythin the cloyster, in a lyttle yard or coorte, where aboutes laye two or thre great Ladyes, beyng without the lyberties of London, where by he hoped for the greater gayne; this Cranke there lamentably lamentinge and pitefully crying to be releued, declared to dyuers their hys paynfull and miserable dysease. I being rysen and not halfe ready, harde his dolfull wordes and ruffull mornings, hering him name the falling sicknes, thought assuredlye to my selfe that héé was a depe desemblar; so, comminge out at a sodayne, and beholdinge his vgly and yrksome attyre, hys lothsome and horyble countenance, it made me in a meruelous parplexite what to thinke of hym, whether it were fayned or trouth,—for after this manner went he: he was naked from the wast vpward, sauynge he had a old Ierken³ of leather patched, and that was lose⁴ about hym, that all his bodye laye out bare; a filthy foule cloth he ware on his head,

¹ they. B.² my my. B.³ gyrken (et seqq.). B.⁴ loose. B.

being cut for the purpose, hauing a narowe place to put out his face, with a bauer made to trusse vp his beard, and a stryng that tyed the same downe close aboute his necke; with an olde felt hat which he styll caried in his hande to receaue the charytye and deuotion of the people, for that woulde he hold out from hym; hauyng hys face, from the eyes downe ward, all smerd with freshe bloud, [leaf 15, back] as though he had new falen, and byn tormented wyth his paynefull panges,—his Ierken beinge all be rayde with durte and myre, and hys hatte and hosen also, as though heée hadde wallowed in the myre: sewerly the sighte was monstrous and terreble. I called hym vnto me, and demaunded of hym what he ayled. “A, good maister,” quoth he, “I haue the greuous and paynefull dyseas called the falynge syckenes.” “Why,” quoth I, “howe commeth thy Ierken, hose, and hat so be rayd with durte and myre, and thy skyn also?” “A, good master, I fell downe on the backesyde here in the fowle lane harde by the watersyde; and there I laye all most all night, and haue bled all most all the bloude owte in my bodye.” It raynde that morninge very fast; and whyle I was thus talkinge with hym, a honest poore woman that dwelt thereby brought hym a fayre linnen cloth, and byd hym wpe his face therewyth; and there beinge a tobbe standing full of rayne water, offered to geue hym some in a dishe that he might make hym selfe cleane: heée refuseth¹ the same. “Why dost thou so?” quoth I. “A, syr,” sayth he, “yf I shoulde washe my selfe, I shoulde fall to bléedinge a freshe againe, and then I should not stop my selfe:” these wordes made me the more to suspecte hym.

Then I asked of hym where he was borne, what is name was, how longe he had this dysease, and what tyme he had ben here about London, and in what place. “Syr,” saythe he, “I was borne at Leycestar, my name is Nycholas Gennings,² and I haue had this falling sycknes viij. yeares, and I can get no remedy for the same; for I haue it by kinde, my father had it and my friendes before me; and I haue byne these two yeares here about London, and a yeare and a halfe in bethelem.” “Why, wast thou out of thy wyttes?” quoth I. “Ye, syr, that I was.”

¹ *refused.* B.

² *Gennins.* B.

“What is the Kepar name of the house?” “Hys name is,” quoth hée, “Iohn Smith.” “Then,” quoth I, “hée must vnderstande of thy dysease; yf thou hadest the same for the tyme thou wast there, he knoweth it well.” “Ye, not onely he, but all the house bée syde,” quoth this Cranke; “for I came thens but within this fortnight.” I had stande so longe reasoning the matter wyth him that I was a cold, and went into my chamber and made me ready, and commaunded my seruant to repayre to bethalem, and bringe me true worde from the keper there whether anye suche man hath byn with him as a prisoner hauinge the dysease aforesayd, and gaue hym a note of his name and the kepars also: my seruant, retorninge to my lodginge, dyd assure me that neither was there euer anye such man there, nether yet anye keper of anye suche name; but hée that was there keper, he sent me hys name in writing, afferming that hee letteth no man depart from hym vnlesse he be fet a waye by [leaf 16] hys fréendes, and that none that came from hym beggeth aboute the Citye. Then I sent for the Printar of this booke, and shewed hym of this dyssembling Cranke, and how I had sent to Bethalem to vnderstand the trouthe¹, and what aunswere I receaued againe, requiringe hym that I might haue some seruant of his to watche him faithfully that daye, that I might vnderstand trustely to what place he woulde repaire at night vnto, and thether I promised to goe my selfe to sée their order, and that I woulde haue hym to associate me thether: hée gladly graunted to my request, and sent two boyes, that both diligently and vygelantly accomplisht the charge geuen them, and found the same Cranke aboute the Temple, where about the most parte of the daye hée begged, vnlesse it weare about xii. of the clocke he wente on the backesyde of Clementes Ine without Temple barre: there is a lane that goeth into the Feldes; there hee renewed his face againe wyth freshe bloud, which he caried about hym in a bladder, and dawbed on freshe dyrte vpon his Ierken, hat, and hoson.

¶ And so came backe agayne vnto the Temple, and sometyme to the Watersyde, and begged of all that passed bye: the boyes behelde howe some gaue grottes, some syxe pens, some gaue more;

¹ *trough. B.*

for hée looked so ougleie and yrksomlye, that euerye one pytied his miserable case that beehelde hym. To bee shorte, there he passed all the daye tyll night approched ; and when it began to bée some what dark, he went to the water syde and toke a Skoller,¹ and was sette ouer the Water into Saincte Georges felde, contrarye to my expectation ; for I had thought he woulde haue gonne into Holborne or to Saynt Gylles in the felde ; but these boyes, with Argues and Lynces eyes, set sewre wathe vppon him, and the one tooke a bote and followed him, and the other went backe to tell his maister.

The boye that so folowed hym by Water, had no money to pay for his Bote hyre, but layde his Penner and his Ynkhorne to gage for a penny ; and by that tyme the boye was sette ouer, his Maister, wyth all celeryte, hadde taken a Bote and followed hym apase : now hadde they styll a syght of the Cranke, wych crossed ouer the felddes towards Newyngton, and thether he went, and by that tyme they came thether it was very darke : the Prynter hadde there no acquaintance, nether any kynde of weapon about hym, nether knewe he² how farre the Cranke woulde goe, because hee then suspected that they dogged hym of purposse ; he there stayed hym, and called for the Counstable, whyche came forthe dyligentelye to inqyre what the matter was : thys zelous Prynter charged thys offycer [leaf 16, back] wyth hym as a malefactor and a dessemblinge vagabonde—the Counstable woulde haue layde him all night in the Cage that stode in the streate. “Naye,” saythe this pitifull Prynter, “I praye you haue him into your house ; for this is lyke to be a cold nyght, and he is naked : you kepe a vytellinge house ; let him be well cherished this nyght, for he is well hable to paye for the same. I knowe well his gaynes hath byn great to day, and your house is a sufficient pryson for the tyme, and we wil there serche hym. The Counstable agreed there vnto : they had him in, and caused him to washe him selfe : that donne, they demaunded what money he had about hym. Sayth this Cranke, “So God helpe me, I haue but xii. pence,” and plucked oute the same of a lytle pursse. “Why, haue you no more ?” quoth they. “No,” sayth this Cranke, “as God shall saue my soule at the day of iudgement.” “We must se more,” quoth they,

¹ 1573 reads *skolloer*

² Omitted in 1573 edit.

and began to stryp hym. Then he plucked out a nother purse, wherin was xl. pens. "Toushe," sayth¹ thys Prynter, "I must see more." Saythe this Cranke, "I pray God I bée dampned both body² and soule yf I haue anye more." "No," sayth thys Prynter, "thou false knaue, here is my boye that dyd wathe thée all this daye, and sawe when such men gaue the péeses of sixe pens, grottes, and other money; and yet thou hast shewed vs none but small money." When thys Cranke hard this, and the boye vowinge it to his face, he relented, and plucked out another purse, where in was eyght shyllings and od money; so had they in the hole *that* he had begged that day xiiij. shillings iii. ³pens halfepeny³. Then they strypt him starke naked, and as many as sawe him sayd they neuer sawe hansommer man, wyth a yellowe flexen beard⁴, and fayre skynned, withoute anye spot or greffe. Then the good wyfe of the house fet her goodmans⁵ olde clocke, *and* caused the same to be cast about him, because the sight shoulde not abash her shamefast maydens, nether loth her squaymysh sight.

{ Thus he set⁶ downe at the Chemnes end, and called for a potte of Béere, and dranke of a quarte at a draft, and called for another, and so the thyrde, that one had bene sufficient for any resonable man, the Drynke was so stronge.⁷ I my selfe, the next morninge, tasted thereof; but let the reader iudge what and howe much he would haue dronke and he had bene out of feare. Then when they had thus wrong water out of a flint in spoyling him of his euyl gotten goods, his passing pens⁸, *and* fletting trashe, The printer with this offecer were in gealy gealowsit⁹, and deuised to search a barne for some roges and vpriht men, a quarter of a myle from the house, that stode a lone in the fieldes, and wente out about their busines, leauing this cranke alone with his wyfe and maydens: this crafty Cranke, espying al gon, requested *the* good wife that [leaf 17] hee might goe out on the backesyde to make water, and to exonerate his paunche: she bad hym drawe the lache of the dore and goe out, neither thinkinge or mistrusting he

¹ *sayih* (sic). B. ² printed *dody* ³⁻⁵ *d. ob.* B. ⁴ *bede.* B.
⁵ *mans.* B. ⁶ 1573 inserts *him*; *sette hym.* B. ⁷ 1573 inserts *that*
⁸ *pence.* B. ⁹ The 1573 edition reads *ioly ioylitie*; *gelonsy.* B.

would haue gon away naked ; but, to conclude, when hee was out, he cast awaye the cloke, and, as naked as euer he was borne, he ran away, ¹ that he could ² neuer be hard of ³ againe.¹ Now ³ the next morning betimes, I went vnto Newington, to vnderstand what was done, because I had word or it was day that there my printer was ; and at my comming thether, I hard the hole circumstance, as I aboue haue wrytten ; and I, seing the matter so fall out, tooke order with the chiefe of the parish that this xij. shyllings and iij. ⁴pens halpenny⁴ might the next daye be equally distributed, by their good discrecions, to the pouertie of the same parishe,⁵ and so it was done.

¹ The 1573 edition finishes the sentence thus :—"ouer the fields to his own house, as hee afterwards said."

² *woulde*. B.

³⁻³ *again til now*. B.

⁴⁻⁴ *d. ob*. B.

⁵ The 1573 edition continues thus :—"wherof this crafty Cranke had part him selfe, for he had both house and wife in the same parishe, as after you shall heare. But this lewde lewterar could not laye his bones to labour, hauing got once the tast of this lewd lasy lyfe, for al this fayr admonition, but deuised other suttel sleights to maintaine his ydell liuing, and so craftely clothed him selfe in mariners apparel, and associated him self with an other of his companions : they hauing both mariners apparel, went abroad to aske charity of the people, faying they hadde loste their shippe with all their goods by casualty on the seas, wherewith they gayned much. This crafty Cranke, feareinge to be mistrusted, fell to another kinde of begging, as bad or worse, and appalled himselfe very well with a fayre black frëese cote, a new payre of whyte hose, a fyne felt hat on his head, a shert of flaunders worke esteemed to be worth xvi. shillings ; and vpon newe yeares day came againe into the whyt Fryers to beg : the printer, hauing occasion to go that ways, not thinking of this Cranke, by chauce met with him, who asked his charitie for Gods sake. The printer, vewing him well, did mistrust him to be the counterfet Cranke which deceued him vpon Alhollen daye at night, demanded of whence he was and what was his name, 'Forsoth,' saith he, 'my name is Nicolas Genings, and I came from Leicester to séeke worke, and I am a hat-maker by my occupation, and all my money is spent, and if I coulde get money to paye for my lodging this night, I would seke work to morowe amongst the hatters.' The printer perceiuing his depe dissimulation, putting his hand into his purse, seeming to giue him some money, and with fayre allusions brought him into the strëete, where he charged the constable with him, affirminge him to be the counterfet Cranke that ranne away vpon Alholon daye last. The constable being very loth to medle with him, but the printer knowing him and his depe disceit, desyred he mought be brought before the debutie of the ward, which straight was accomplished, which when he came before the debuty, he demanded of him of whence he was and what was his name ; he answered as before he did vnto the printer : the debutie asked the printer what he would laye vnto hys charge ; he answered and aleged him to be a vagabond and depe deceyuer of the people, and the counterfet Crank that ran away vpon Alhallon day last from the constable of Newington and him, and requested him earnestly to send him to ward : the debuty thinking him to be deceiued, but

¶ A DOMMERAR. Cap. 12.

THese Dommerars are leud and most subtyll people: the moste part of these are Walch men, and wyll neuer speake, vnlesse they haue extreame punishment, but wyll gape, and with a maruelous force wyll hold downe their tounge doubled, groning for your charyty, and holding vp their handes full pitiously, so that with their déepe dissimulation they get very much. There are of these many, *and* but one that I vnderstand of hath lost his tounge in dede. Hauing on a time occasion to ride to Dartforde, to speake with a priest there, who maketh all kinde of conserues very well, and vseth stilling of waters; And repayinge to his house, I founde a Dommerar at his doore, and the priest him selfe perusinge his¹ lycence, vnder the seales and hands of certayne worshypfull men, had² thought the same to be good and effectuell. I taking the same writing, and

neuerthelesse laid his commaundement vpon him, so that the printer should beare his charges if he could not iustifie it; he agréed thereunto. And so he and the constable went to cary him to the Counter; and as they were going vnder Ludgate, this crafty Cranke toke his héeles and ran down the hill as fast as he could dryue, the constable and the printer after him as fast as they coule; but the printer of *the* twayn being lighter of fote, ouertoke him at fleete bridge, and with strong hand caried him to the counter, and safely deliuered him. In *the* morow *the* printer sent his boy that stripped him vpon Alhalon day at night to view him, because he would be sure, which boy knew him very well: this Crank confessed unto the debuty, *that* he had hosted the night before in Kent stréet in Southwarke, at the sign of the Cock, which thing to be true, the printer sente to know, and found him a lyer; but further inquiring, at length found out his habitation, dwelling in maister Hilles rentes, hauinge a pretye house, well stuffed, with a fayre ioyne table, and a fayre cubbard garnished with peuter, hauing an old auncient woman to his wyfe. The printer being sure therof, repaired vnto the Counter, and rebuked him for his beastly behaviour, and told him of his false fayning, willed him to confesse it, and aske forgiveness: he perceyued him to know his depe dissimulation, relented, and confessed all his disceit; and so remayning in the counter thrée dayes, was removed to Brydwell, where he was strypt starke naked, and his ougly attyre put vpon him before the maisters thereof, who wondered greatly at his dissimulation: for which offence he stode vpon the pillery in Cheapsyde, both in his ougly and handsome attyre. And after that went in the myll whyle his ougly picture was a drawing; and then was whynned at a cartes tayle through London, and his displayd banner caried before him vnto his own dore, and so backe to Brydewell again, and there remayned for a tyme, and at length let at libertie, on that condicion he would proue an houest man, and labour truly to get his liuing. And his picture remayneth in Bridewell for a monyment."

—See, also, *post*, p. 89.

¹ of his. B.

² which priest had. B.

reading it ouer, and noting the seales, founde one of the seales like vnto a seale that I had aboute me, which seale I bought besides Charing crosse, that I was out of doubt it was none of those Gentlemens seales that had sub[s]cribed. And hauing vnderstanding before of their peuish practises, made me to conceaue that all was forged and nought. I made the more hast home; for well I wyst that he would and must of force passe through the parysh wliere I dwelt; for there was no other waye for hym. And comminge home-ward, I found them in the towne, accordinge to my expectation, where they were staid; for there was a Pallyarde associate with the Dommerar and partaker of his gaynes, whyche Pallyarde I sawe not at Dartford. The stayers of them was a gentleman called¹ *Chayne*, and a seruant of my Lord Kéepers, cald *Wostestowe*, which was [leaf 17, back] the chiefe causer of the staying of them, being a Surgien, and cunning in his science, had séene the lyke practises, and, as he sayde, hadde caused one to speake afore that was dome². It was my chance to come at the begynning of the matter. "Syr," (quoth this Surgien) "I am bold here to vtter some part of my cunning. I trust" (quoth he) "you shall se a myracle wrought anon. For I once" (quoth he) "made a dumme man to speake." Quoth I, "you are wel met, and somewhat you haue preuented me; for I had thought to haue done no lesse or they hadde passed this towne. For I well knowe their writing is fayned, and they depe dissemblers." The Surgien made hym gape, and we could see but halfe a tounge. I required the Surgien to put hys fynger in his mouth, and to pull out his tounge, and so he dyd, not withstanding he held strongly a prety whyle; at the length he plucked out the same, to the great admiration of many that stode by. Yet when we sawe his tounge, hée would neither speake nor yet could heare. Quoth I to the Surgien, "knit two of his fyngers to gether, and thrust a stycke betwene them, and rubbe the same vp and downe a lytle whyle, and for my lyfe hée speaketh by and by." "Sir," quoth this Surgien, "I praye you let me practise and³ other waye." I was well contented to see the same. He had him into a house, and tyed a halter aboute the wrestes of his handes, and hoysed him vp ouer a beame, and

¹ *cal-* (sic). B.² *dumme*. B.³ So printed. *an*. B.

there dyd let him hang a good while : at *the* length, for very paine he required for Gods sake to let him down. So he that was both deafe and dume coulde in short tyme both heare and speake. Then I tooke that money I could find in his purse, and distributed the same to the poore people dwelling there, whiche was xv. pence halfe-peny, being all that we coulde finde. That done, and this merry myracle madly made, I sent them with my seruaunt to the next Iusticer, where they preached on the Pyllery for want of a Pulpet, and were well whypped, and none dyd bewayle them.

¶ A DRONKEN TINCKAR. Cap. 13.

THese dronken Tynckers, called also Prygges, be beastly people, *and* these yong knaues be *the* wurst. These neuer go *with* out their Doxes, and yf their women haue anye thing about them, as apparell or lynnens, that is worth the selling, they laye the same to gage, or sell it out right, for bene bouse at their bowsing ken. And full sone wyll they bée wearye of them, and haue a newe. When they happen one woorke at any good house, their Doxes lynger alofe, and tarry for them in some corner ; and yf he taryeth longe from her, then she knoweth ^[ear 18] he hath worke, and walketh neare, and sitteth downe by him. For besydes money, he looketh for meate and drinke for doinge his dame pleasure. For yf she haue thrée or foure holes in a pan, hee wyll make as many more for spedy gaine. And if he se any old kete, chafer, or pewter dish abroad in the yard where he worketh, hée quicklye snappeth the same vp, and in to the boogit it goeth round. Thus they lyue with deceite.

{ ¶ I was crediblye informed, by such as could well tell, that one of these tipling Tinckers *with* his dogge robbed by the high way iij. Pallyards and two Roges, six persons together, and tooke from them about foure pound in ready money, *and* hide him after in a thicke woode a daye or two, and so escaped vntaken. Thus with picking and stealing, mingled with a lytle worke for a coulour, they passe their time.

¶ A SWADDER, OR PEDLER. Cap. 14.

THese Swadders and Pedlers bee not all euyl, but of an indifferent behaiour. These stand in great awe of the vpright men, for they haue often both wares and money of them. But for as much as they seeke gayne vnlawfully against the lawes and statutes of this noble realme, they are well worthy to be registred among the number of vacabonds; and vndoubtedly I haue hadde some of them brought before me, when I was in commission of the peace, as malefactors, for bryberinge and stealinge. And nowe of late it is a greate practes of the vpright man, when he hath gotten a botye, to bestowe the same vpon a packefull of wares, and so goeth a time for his pleasure, because he would lyue with out suspition.

¶ A IARKE MAN, AND A PATRICO. Cap. 15.

FOR as much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a Patrico, bee in the old briefe of vacabonds, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Iarkeman hathe his name of a Jarke, which is a seale in their Language, as one should make writinges and set seales for lycences and pasporte¹. And for trouthe there is none that goeth aboute the countrey of them that can eyther wryte so good and fayre a hand, either indite so learnedly, as I haue sene *and* handeled a number of them: but haue the same made in good townes where they come, as what can not be hadde for money, as the prouerbe sayth (“*Omnia venalia Rome*”), and manye hath confessed the same to me. [leaf 18, back] Now, also, there is a Patrico, and not a Patriarcho², whiche in their language is a priest that should make mariages tyll death dyd depart; but they haue none such, I am well assured; for I put you out of doubt that not one amo[n]gest a hundreth of them are married, for they take lechery for no sinne, but naturall fellowshyp and good lyking loue: so that I wyll not blot my boke with these two that be not.

¹ *pasportes*. B.² *Patriarch*. B.

¶ A DEMAUENDER FOR GLYMMAR. Cap. 16.

These Demaunders for glymmar be for the moste parte wemen ; for glymmar, in their language, is fyre. These goe with fayned¹ lycences and counterfayted wrytings, hauing the hands and seales of suche gentlemen as dwelleth nere to the place where they fayne them selues to haue bene burnt, and their goods consumed with fyre. They wyll most lamentable² demaunde your charitie, and wyll quicklye shed salte teares, they be so tender harted. They wyll neuer begge in that Shiere where their losses (as they say) was. Some of these goe with slates at their backes, which is a shéete to lye in a nightes. The vpright men be very familiare with these kynde of wemen, and one of them helps an other.

¶ A Demaunder for glymmar came vnto a good towne in Kente, to aske the charitie of the people, hauinge a fayned lycens aboute her that declared her misfortune by fyre, donne in Somerset shyre, walkinge with a wallet on her shoulders, where in shée put the deuotion of suche as hadde no money to geue her ; that is to saye, Malte, woll, baken, bread, and cheese ; and alwayes, as the same was full, so was it redye money to her, when she emptyed the same, where so euer shee trauelede : thys harlot was, as they terme it, snowte fayre, and had an vpright man or two alwayes attendinge on her watche (whyche is on her parson), and yet so circumspecte, that they woulde neuer bee séene in her company in any good towne, vnlesse it were in smale vyllages where typling houses weare, cyther traueling to gether by the hygh wayes ; but the troth is, by report, she would wekely be worth vi. or seuen shyllinges with her begging and bycherye. This glimmering Morte, repayringe to an Ine in the sayde towne where dwelt a wydow of fyftie wynter olde of good welth ; but she had an vnthryfte sonne, whom she vsed as a chamberlaine to attend gestes when they repared to her house : this amerous man, be holdinge with ardante eyes thys³ glimmeringe glauncer, was presentlye pyteouslye persed to the hart, and lewdlye longed to bée clothed vnder her lyuerye ; and bestowinge [leaf 19] a

¹ faynen. B.² lamentably. B.³ beholding this. B.

fewe fonde wordes with her, vnderstode strayte that she woulde be easlye perswaded to lykinge lechery, and as a man mased, mused howe to attayne to his purpose, for¹ he hadde no money. Yet consideringe wyth hym selfe that wares woulde bée welcome where money wanted, hée went with a wannion to his mothers chamber, and there sekinge aboute for odde endes, at length founde a lytle whystell of syluer that his mother dyd vse customablye to weare on, and had forgot the same for haste that morninge, and offeres the same closely to this manerly marian, that yf she would mete hym on the backesyde of the towne and curteously kys him with out constraynt, she shoulde bée mystres thereof, and it weare much better. “Well,” sayth she, “you are a wanton;” and beholdinge the whystell, was farther in loue there with then rauysht wyth his person, and agred to mete him presently, and to accomplyshe his fonde fancy:—to be short, and not tedyous, a quarter of a myle from the towne, he merely toke measure of her vnder a bawdye bushe; so she gaue hym that she had not, and he receiued that he coulde not; and taking leue of eche other with a curteous kysse, she pleasantly passed forth one her iornaye, and this vntoward lycorous chamberlayne repayred home ward. But or these two tortylles tooke there leue, the good wyfe myssed her whystell, and sent one of her maydenes in to her chamber for the same, and being long sawght for, none coulde be founde; her mystres hering that, diligent search was made for the same; and that it was taken awaye, began to suspecte her vnblessed babe, and demaunded of her maydens whether none of them sawe her sonne in her chamber that morning, and one of them aunswered that she sawe him not there, but comming from thens: then had she ynough, for well she wyste that he had the same, and sent for him, but he could not be founde. Then she caused her hosteler, in whome she had better affyaunce in for his trouthe,—and yet not one amongst twenty of them but haue well left there honesty, (As I here a great sorte saye)—to come vnto her, whiche attended to knowe her pleasure. “Goe, seke out,” saythe she, “my vntowarde sonne, and byd hym come speake with me.” “I sawe him go out,” saythe he, “halfe an houre

¹ *but.* B.

sithens one the backesyde. I hadde thought you hadde sent him of your arrante." "I sent him not," quoth she; "goe, loke him out."

¶ This hollowe hosteler toke his staffe in his necke, and trodged out apase that waye he sawe him before go, and had some vnderstanding, by one of the maydens, that his mistres had her whistell stolen *and* suspected her sonne; and he had not gone farre but that he espyed him comming homeward alone, and, meting him, axed where he had ben. [leaf 19, back] "Where haue I bene?" quoth he, and began to smyle. "Now, by the mas, thou hast bene at some baudy banquet." "Thou hast euen tolde trouth," quoth thys chamberlayne. "Sewerly," quoth this hosteler, "thou haddest the same woman that begged at our house to day, for *the* harmes she had by fyre: where is she?" quoth he. "She is almost a myle by this tyme," quoth this chamberlayne. "Where is my mystres whystell?" quoth this hosteler; "for I am well assured that thou haddest it, and I feare me thou hast geuen it to that harlot." "Why! is it myssed?" quoth this chamberlayne. "Yea," quoth this hosteler, and shewed him all the hole circumstance, what was both sayde and thought on him for the thing. "Well, I wyl tell the," quoth this Chamberlayne. "I wylbe playne with the. I had it in dede, and haue geuen the same to this woman, and I praye the make the best of it, and helpe nowe to excuse the matter, and yet surely and thou wouldest take so much payne for me as to ouer take her, (for she goeth but softly, and is not yet farre of) and take the same from her, and I am euer thyne assured fréende." "Why, then, go with me," quoth this hostler. "Nay, in faythe," quoth this Chamberlayne; "what is frear then gift? and I hadde prety pastime for the same." "Hadest thou so?" quoth this hosteler; "nowe, by the masse, and I wyl haue some to, or I wyl lye in the duste or I come agayne." Passing with hast to ouer take this paramoure, within a myle from *the* place where he departed he ouertoke her, hauing an vpriight man in her company, a stronge and a sturdye vacabond: some what amased was this hosteler to se one familiarly in her company, for he had well hopped to haue had some delycate dalyance, as his fellowe hadde; but, seinge the matter so fallout, and being of

good corage, and thinking to him selfe that one true man was better then two false knaues, and being on the high way, thought vpon helpe, if nede had bene, by such as had passed to and fro, Demanded fersely the whistell that she had euyne nowe of his fellowe. "Why, husband," quoth she, "can you suffer this wretche to slaunders your wyfe?" "A vaunt verlet," quoth this vpright man, and letes dryue with all his force at this hosteler, and after halfe¹ a dosen blowes, he strycks his staffe out of his hande, and as this hosteler stept backe to haue taken vp his staffe agayne, his glymmeringe Morte flinges a great stone at him, and strake him one the heade that downe hee fales, wyth the bloud about his eares, and whyle hée laye this amased, the vpright man snatches awaye his pursse, where in hée hadde money of his mystresses as well as of his owne, and there let him lye, and went a waye with spede that they were neuer harde of more. When this drye beaten hosteler was come to him selfe, hée fayntlye wandereth home, and crepethe in to hys couche, and restes [leaf 20] his ydle heade: his mystres harde that hée was come in, and layde him downe on his beade, repayred straight vnto him, and aske hym what he ayled, and what the cause was of his so sudden lying one his bed. "What is the cause?" quoth this hosteler; "your whystell, your whistel,"—speaking the same pyteouslye thre or foure tymes. "Why, fole," quoth his mystrisse, "take no care for that, for I doe not greatly waye it; it was worth but thrée shyllinges foure pens." "I would it had bene burnt for foure yeares agon." "I praye the why so," quoth his mystres; "I think thou art mad." "Nay, not yet," quoth this hosteler, "but I haue bene madly handlyd." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres, and was more desirous to know the case. "And you wyl for geue my fellowe and me, I wyl shewe you, or els I wyl neuer doe it." Shée made hym presently faithfull promisse that shée woulde. "Then," saythe hee, "sende for your sonne home agayne, whyche is ashamed to loke you in the face." "I agre there to," sayth shée. "Well, then," quoth this hosteler, "youre sonne hathe geuen the same Morte that begged here, for the burninge of her house, a whystell, and you haue geuen her v. shyllinges in money,

¹ Omitted in 1573.

and I haue geuen her ten shyllinges of my owne." "Why, howe so?" quoth she. Then he sadly shewed her of his myshap, with all the circumstance that you haue harde before, and howe hys pursse was taken awaye, and xv. shyllinges in the same, where of v. shyllinges was her money and x. shyllinges his owne money. "Is this true?" quoth his mystres. "I, by my trouth," quoth this hosteler, "and nothing greues me so much, neyther my beating, neither the losse of my money, as doth my euell *and* wreched lucke." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres. "Your sonne," saythe this hosteler, "had some chere and pastyme for that whystell, for he laye with her, and I haue bene well beaten, and haue had my pursse taken from me, and you knowe your sonne is merrye and pleasaunt, and can kepe no great councell; and then shall I bemocked *and* loughed to skorne in all places when they shall here howe I haue bene serued." "Nowe, out vpon you knaues both," quoth his mystres, and laughs oute the matter; for she well sawe it would not other wyse preuayle.

¶ A BAWDY BASKET. Cap. 17.

THese Bawdy baskets be also wemen, and go with baskets and Capcases on their armes, where in they haue laces, pynnes, nedles, white ynkell, and round sylke gyrdles of al coulours. These wyl bye *conneyskins*,¹ *and* steale linen clothes of on hedges. And for their trifles they wil procure of mayden seruaunts, when [leaf 20, back] their mystres or dame is oute of the waye, either some good peece of béefe, baken, or chéese, that shalbe worth xij. pens, for ii. pens of their toyes. And as they walke by the waye, they often gaine some money wyth their instrument, by such as they sodaynely mete withall. The vpright men haue good acquayntance with these, and will helpe and relieue them when they want. Thus they trade their lyues in lewed lothsome lechery. Amongest them all is but one honest woman, and she is of good yeares; her name is Ione Messenger. I haue had good prooffe of her, as I haue learned by the true report of diuers.

¹ Rabbitskins

There came to my gate the last sommer, Anno Domini .1566, a very miserable man, and much deformed, as burnt in the face, blere eyde, and lame of one of his legges that he went with a crouche. I axed him wher he was borne, and where he dwelt last, and shewed him that thether he must repaire and be releued, and not to range aboute the countrey; and seing some cause of cherytie, I caused him to haue meate and drinke, and when he had dronke, I demaunded of him whether he was neuer spoyled of the vpright man or Roge. "Yes, that I haue," quoth he, "and not this seuen yeres, for so long I haue gon abroad, I had not so much taken from me, and so euyll handeled, as I was *within* these iiij. dayes." "Why, how so?" quoth I. "In good fayth, sir," quoth hée, "I chaunced to méete with one of these bawdy baskets which had an vpright man in her company, and as I would haue passed quietly by her, 'man,' sayth she vnto her make, 'do you not se this ylfauored, windshaken knaue?' 'Yes,' quoth the vpright man; 'what saye you to him?' 'this knaue¹ oweth me ii. shyllings for wares that² he had of me, halfe a yere ago, I think it well.' Sayth this vpright man, 'syra,' sayth he, 'paye your detts.' Sayth this poore man, 'I owe her none, nether dyd I euer bargane with her for any thinge, and as this³ aduysed I neuer save her before in all my lyfe.' 'Mercy, god!' quoth she, 'what a lyinge knaue is this, and he wil not paye you, husband, beat him suerly,' and the vpright man gaue me thre or foure blowes on my backe and shoulders, and would haue beat me worsse and I had not geuen hym all the money in my pursse, and in good fayth, for very feare, I was fayne to geue him xiiij. pens, which was all the money that I had. 'Why,' sayth this bawdy basket, 'hast thou no more? then thou owest me ten pens styll; and, be well assured that I wyll bée payde the next tyme I méete with thée.' And so they let me passe by them. I praye god saue and blesse me, and al other in my case, from such wycked persons," quoth this poore man. "Why, whether went they then?" quoth I. "Into east Kent, for I mete with them on thyssyde of Rochester. I haue dyuers tymes bene attempted, but

¹ B. inserts *sayth she*.

² Omitted in 1573.

³ 1573 reads *I am*

I neuer loste [leaf 21] much before. I thanke god, there came styll company by a fore this vnhappy time." "Well," quoth I, "thanke God of all, and repaire home into thy natyue countrey."

¶ A AUTEM MORT. Cap. 18.

THese Autem Mortes be maried wemen, as there be but a fewe. For Autem in their Language is a Church; so she is a wyfe maried at the Church, and they be as chaste as a Cowe I haue, *that* goeth to Bull euery moone, with what Bull she careth not. These walke most times from their husbands companye a moneth and more to gether, being asociate with another as honest as her selfe. These wyll pylfar clothes of hedges: some of them go with children of ten or xii. yeares of age; yf tyme and place serue for their purpose, they wyll send them into some house, at the window, to steale and robbe, which they call in their language, Milling of the ken; and wil go *with* wallets on their shoulders, and slates at their backs. There is one of these Autem Mortes, she is now a widow, of fyfty yeres old; her name is Alice Milson: she goeth about with a couple of great boyes, the yongest of them is fast vpon xx. yeares of age; and these two do lye with her euery night, and she lyeth in the middes: she sayth that they be her children, that beteled be babes borne of such abhominable bellye.

¶ A WALKING MORT. Cap. 19.

THese walkinge Mortes bee not maryed: these for their vnhappy yeares doth go as a Autem Morte, and wyll saye their husbandes died eyther at Newhauen, Ireland, or in some seruice of the Prince. These make laces vpon staues, *and* purses, that they cary in their hands, and whyte vallance for beddes. Manye of these hath hadde and haue chyldren: when these get ought, either with begging, bychery, or brybery, as money or apparell, they are quickly shaken out of all by the vpright men, that they are in a maruelous feare to cary any thinge aboute them that is of any valure. Where fore, this pollicye they vse, they leaue their money now with one and then with a nother trustye housholders, eyther with the good man or good wyfe, some tyme in one shiere, and then in another, as they

trauell : this haue I knowne, *that* iiij. or v. shyllinges, yea x. shyllinges, lefte in a place, and the same wyll they come for againe within one quarter of a yeaere, or some tyme not in halfe a yeaere ; and all this is to lytle purpose, for all their peuyshe [leaf 21, back] pollycey ; for when they bye them lynnyn or garmentse, it is taken awaye from them, and worsse geuen them, or none at all.

¶ The last Sommer, Anno domini .1566, being in familiare talke with a walking Mort that came to my gate, I learned by her what I could, and I thought I had gathered as much for my purpose as I desired. I began to rebuke her for her leud lyfe and beastly behaour, declaring to her what punishment was prepared and heaped vp for her in the world to come for her fylthy lyuinge and wretched conuersation. "God helpe," *quoth* she, "how should I lyue? none wyll take me into seruice ; but I labour in haruest time honestly." "I thinke but a whyle with honestie," *quoth* I. "Shall I tell you," *quoth* she, "the best of vs all may be amended ; but yet, I thanke god, I dyd one good dede within this twelue monthes." "Wherein?" *quoth* I. Sayth she, "I woulde not haue it spoken of agayne." "Yf it be méete and necessary," *quod* I, "it shall lye vnder my feete." "What meane you by that?" *quoth* she. "I meane," *quod* I, "to hide the same, and neuer to discouer it to any." "Well," *quoth* she, and began to laugh as much as she could, and swaere by the masse that if I disclosed the same to any, she woulde neuer more¹ tell me any thinge. "The last sommer," *quoth* she, "I was greate with chylde, and I traueled into east kent by the sea coste, for I lusted meruelously after oysters and muskels², and gathered many, and in *the* place where I found them, I opened them and eate them styll : at the last, in sekynge more, I reached after one, and stept into a hole, and fel in into the wast, and their dyd stycke, and I had bene drowned if the tide had come, and espyng a man a good waye of, I cried as much as I could for helpe. I was alone, he hard me, and repaired as fast to me as he might, and finding me their fast stryking, I required for gods sake his helpe ; and whether it was with strynging and forcing my selfe out, or for ioye I had of his comynge to me, I had a great couller in my face, and loked red and well

¹ Omitted in 1573.

² *mussels*. B.

coullered. And, to be playne with you, hée lyked me so well (as he sayd) that I should there lye styll, and I would not graunt him, that he might lye with me. And, by my trouth, I wist not what to answeare, I was in such a perplexite; for I knew the man well: he had a very honest woman to his wyfe, and was of some welth; and, one the other syde, if I weare not holpe out, I should there haue perished, and I graunted hym that I would obeye to his wyll: then he plucked me out. And because there was no conuenient place nere hande, I required hym that I might go washe my selfe, and make me somewhat clenly, and I would come to his house and lodge all night in his barne, whether he mighte repaire to me, and accomplyshe hys desire, 'but let it not be,' quoth she,¹ 'before nine of the clocke at nyghte [leaf 22] for then there wylbe small styrring. And I may repaire to the towne,' quoth she,² 'to warme and drye my selfe'; for this was about two of the clocke in the after none. 'Do so,' quoth hée; 'for I must be busie to looke oute my cattell here by before I can come home.' So I went awaye from hym, and glad was I." "And why so?" quoth I. "Because," quoth she, "his wyfe, my good dame, is my very fréend, and I am much beholdinge to her. And she hath donne me so much good or this, that I weare loth nowe to harme her any waye." "Why," quoth I, "what and it hadde béene any other man, and not your good dames husbände?" "The matter had bene the lesse," quoth shée. "Tell me, I pray the," quoth I, "who was the father of thy chylde?" She stodyd a whyle, and sayde that it hadde a father. "But what was hée?" quoth I. "Nowe, by my trouth, I knowe not," quoth shée; "you brynge me out of my matter so, you do." "Well, saye on," quoth I. "Then I departed strayght to the towne, and came to my dames house, And shewed her of my mysfortune, also of her husbands vsage, in all pointes, and that I showed her the same for good wyll, and byde her take better hée de to her husbände, and to her selfe: so shée gaue me great thankes, and made me good chéere, and byd me in anye case that I should be redye at the barne at that tyme and houre we had apoynted; 'for I knowe well,' quoth this good wyfe, 'my husband wyll not breake wyth the. And one thinge I warne³ the, that thou

¹ *he*, ed. 1573.² *I*, ed. 1573.³ *warrant*. B.

geue me a watche worde a loud when hée goeth aboute to haue his pleasure of the, and that shall¹ bée “fye, for shame, fye,” and I wyll bée harde by you wyth helpe. But I charge the kéepe thys secret vntyll all bee fynesed; and holde,’ saythe thys good wyfe, ‘here is one of my peticotes I geue thée.’ ‘I thanke you, good dame,’ quoth I, ‘and I warrante you I wyll bée true and trustye vnto you.’ So my dame lefte me settinge by a good fyre with meate and drynke; and wyth the oysters I broughte with me, I hadde greate cheere: shée wente strayght and repaired vnto her gossypes dwelling there by; and, as I dyd after vnderstande, she made her mone to them, what a naughtye, lewed, lecherous husbände shée hadde, and howe that she coulde not haue hys companye for harlotes, and that she was in feare to take some fylthy dysease of hym, he was so commen a man, hauinge lytle respecte whome he hadde to do with all; ‘and,’ quoth she, ‘nowe here is one at my house, a poore woman that goeth aboute the countrey that he woulde haue hadde to doe withall; wherefore, good neyghboures and louinge gossypes, as you loue me, and as you would haue helpe at my hand another tyme, deuyse some remedy to make my husband a good man, *that* I may lyue in some suerty without disease, and that hée may saue his soule that God so derelye [leaf 22, back] bought.’ After shée hadde tolde her tale, they caste their persinge eyes all vpon her, but one stoute dame amongst the rest had these wordes—‘As your pacient bearinge of troubles, your honest behaiour among vs your neyghbours, your tender and pytifull hart to the poore of the parysh, doth moue vs to lament your case, so the vnsatiable carnalite of your faithlesse husbände doth instigate and styre vs to deuyse and inuent some spéedy redresse for your ease² and the amendement of hys lyfe. Wherefore, this is my counsell and you wyll bée aduertysed by me; for³ I saye to you all, vnlesse it be this good wyfe, who is chéevely touched in this matter, I haue the nexte cause; for hée was in hande wyth me not longe a goe, and companye had not bene present, which was by a meruelous chaunce, he hadde, I thinke, forced me. For often hée hath bene tempering⁴ with me, and yet haue I sharpely sayde him

¹ *should*. B.² 1573 reads *case*³ Omitted in 1573.⁴ 1573 reads *tempting*

naye : therefore, let vs assemble secretly into the place where hée hathe apuynted to méete thys gylot that is at your house, and lyrke preuelye in some corner tyll hée begyn to goe aboute his busines. And then me thought I harde you saye euen nowe that you had a watche word, at which word we wyll all stepforth, being fíue of vs besydes you, for you shalbe none because it is your husbände, but gette you to bed at your accustomed houre. And we wyll cary eche of vs¹ good byrchen rodde in our lappes, and we will all be muffed for knowing, and se that you goe home and acquaynt that walking Morte with the matter ; for we must haue her helpe to hold, for alwaies foure must hold and two lay one.' 'Alas !' sayth this good wyfe, 'he is to stronge for you all. I would be loth, for my sake you should receaue harme at his hande.' 'feare you not,' quoth these stout wemen, 'let her not geue the watch word vntyl his hosen be about his legges. And I trowe we all wylbe with him to bring before he shall haue leasure to plucke them vp againe.' They all with on voyce ag[r]ed to the matter, that the way she had deuised was the best : so this good wife repaired home ; but before she departed from her gossypes, she shewed them at what houre they should preuelye come in on *the* backsid, *and* where to tary their good our : so by *the* time she came in, it was all most night, and found the walking Morte still setting by the fyre, and declared to her all this new deuysie aboue sayd, which promised faythfully to full fyll to her small powre as much as they hadde deuysed : within a quarter of an oure after, in commeth the good man, who said that he was about his cattell. "Why, what haue we here, wyfe, setting by the fyre? *and* yf she haue eate and dronke, send her into the barme to her lodging for this night, for she troubeleth the house." "Euen as you wyll husbände," sayth his wyfe ; "you knowe she commeth once in two yeres into these [leaf 23] quarters. Awaye," saythe this good wyfe, "to your lodginge." "Yes, good dame," sayth she, "as fast as I can : " thus, by loking one² on the other, eche knewe others mynde, and so departed to her comely couche : the good man of the house shrodge hym for Ioye, thinking to hym selfe, I wyll make some pastyme with you anone. And calling to his wyfe for hys sopper, set

¹ B. inserts *a*² *non.* B.

him downe, and was very plesant, and dranke to his wyfe, *and* fell to his mammerings, and mounched a pace, nothing vnderstanding of the banquet that¹ was a preparing for him after sopper, *and* according to the prouerbe, that swete meate wyll haue sowre sawce: thus, when he was well refreshed, his sprietes being reuyued, entred into familiare talke with his wife, of many matters, how well he had spent that daye to both there proffytes, sayinge some of his cattell² were lyke to haue bene drowned in the dyches, dryuinge others of his neyghbours cattell out that were in his pastures, *and* mending his fences that were broken downe. Thus profitably he had consumed the daye, nothinge talking of his helping out of the walkinge Morte out of the myre, nether of his request nor yet of her³ promisse. Thus feding her *with* frendly fantacyes, consumed two houres and more. Then fayninge howe hée would se in what case his horse were in and howe they were dressed, Repaired couertly into the barne, where as his fré[e[n]dlye foes lyrked preuely, vnlesse it were this manerly Morte, that comly couched on a bottell of strawe. "What, are you come?" quoth she; "by the masse, I would not for a hundreth pound that my dame should knowe that you were here, eyther any els of your house." "No, I warrant the," sayth this good man, "they be all safe and fast ynough at their woorke, and I wylbe at mine anon." And laye downe by her, and strayght would haue had to do *with* her. "Nay, fye," sayth she, "I lyke not this order: if ye lye with me, you shall surely vntrus you *and* put downe your hosen, for that way is most easiest and best." "Sayest thou so?" quoth he, "now, by my trouth agred." And when he had vntrussed him selfe and put downe, he began to assalt the vnsatiable⁴ fort "Why," quoth she, that was with out shame, sauinge for her promes, "And are you not ashamed?" "neuer a whyte," sayth he, "lye downe quickly." "Now, fye, for shame, fye," sayth shée a loude, whyche was the watche word. At the which word, these fyue furious, sturdy, muffed gossypes flynges oute, and takes sure holde of this be trayed parson, sone⁵ pluckinge his hosen downe lower, and byndinge the same fast about his féete;

¹ B. omits *that*² B. inserts *that*³ 1573 reads *his*⁴ B. reads *vnसानable*, or *vnसानable*⁵ 1573 reads *some*

then byndinge his handes, and knitting a hande charcher about his eyes, that he shoulde not see; and when they had made hym sure and fast, Then they layd him one vntyll they weare windles. "Be good," sayth this Morte, "vnto my maister, for the passion of God," [leaf 23, back] and layd on as fast as the rest, and styll ceased not to crye vpon them to bee mercyfull vnto hym, and yet layde on a pace; and when they had well beaten hym, that the bloud braste plentifullye oute in most places, they let hym lye styll bounde. With this exhortation, that he shoulde from that tyme forth knowe his wyfe from other mens, and that this punishment was but a flebyting in respect of that which should followe, yf he amended not his manners. Thus leuynge hym blustering, blowing, and fominge for payne, and malyncolye that hee neither might or coulede be reuenged of them, they vanyshed away, and hadde thys Morte with them, and safely conuayde her out of the towne: sone after commeth into the barne one of the good mans boyes, to fet some haye for his horse. And fyndinge his maister lyinge faste bounde and greuouslye beaten with rodes, was sodenly abashed and woulde haue runne out agayne to haue called for helpe; but his maister bed hym come vnto hym and vnbynd hym; "and make no wordes," quoth he, "of this. I wylbe reuenged well inoughe;" yet not with standinge, after better aduyse, the matter beinge vn honest, he thought it meter to let the same passe, and, not, as the prouerbe saythe, to awake the sleping dogge. "And, by my trowth," quoth this walkinge Morte, "I come nowe from that place, and was neuer there sythens this parte was playde, whiche is some what more then a yeare. And I here a very good reporte of hym now, that he loueth his wyfe well, and vseth hym selfe verye honestlye; and was not this a good acte? nowe, howe saye you?" "It was pretely handeled," quoth I, "and is here all?" "Yea," quoth she, "here is the ende."

¶ A DOXE. Cap. 20.

THESE Doxes be broken and spoyled of their maydenhead by the vpright men, and then they haue their name of Doxes, and not afore. And afterwarde she is commen and indifferent for any that wyl vse her, as *homo* is a commen name to all men. Such

as be fayre and some what handsome, kepe company with the walkinge Mortes, and are redye alwayes for the vpright men, and are cheifely mayntayned by them, for others shalbe spoyled for their sakes: the other, inferior, sort wyll resorte to noble mens places, and gentlemens houses, standing at the gate, eyther lurkinge on the backesyde about backe houses, eyther in hedge rowes, or some other thycket, expectinge their praye, which is for the vncomely company of some curteous gest, of whome they be refreshed with meate and some money, where eschaunge is made, ware for ware: this bread and meate they vse to carrye in their ^[leaf 24] greate hosen; so that these beastlye brybinge¹ bréeshes serue manye tymes for bawdye purposes. I chaunced, not longe sithens, familiarly to commen with a Doxe that came to my gate, and surelye a pleasant harlot, and not so pleasant as wytty, and not so wytty as voyd of all grace and goodnes. I founde, by her talke, that shée hadde passed her tyme lewdlye eyghttene yeares in walkinge aboute. I thoughte this a necessary instrument to attayne some knowledge by; and before I woulde grope her mynde, I made her both to eate and drynke well; that done, I made her faythfull promisse to geue her some money, yf she would open and dyscouer to me such questions as I woulde demaunde of her, and neuer to bée wraye her, neither to disclose her name. “And you shoulde,” sayth she, “I were vndon:” “feare not that,” quoth I; “but, I praye the,” quoth I, “say nothing but truth.” “I wyll not,” sayth shée. “Then, fyrste tell me,” quoth I, “how many vpright men and Roges dost thou knowe, or hast thou knowne and byn conuersaunt with, and what their names be?” She paused a whyle, and sayd, “why do you aske me, or wherefore?” “For nothinge els,” as I sayde, “but that I woulde knowe them when they came to my gate.” “Nowe, by my truth” (quoth she) “then are yea neuer the neare, for all myne acquayntaunce, for the moste parte, are deade.” “Dead!” quoth I, “howe dyed they, for wante of cherishinge, or of paynefull diseases?” Then she sighed, and sayde they were hanged. “What, all?” quoth I, “and so manye walke abroad, as I dayelye see?” “By my truth,” quoth she, “I

¹ *bryberinge. B.*

knowe not paste six or seuen by their names," and named the same to me. "When were they hanged?" quoth I. "Some seuen yeares a gone, some thrée yeares, and some wⁱthⁱn this fortnight," and declared the place where they weare executed, which I knewe well to bée true, by the report of others. "Why" (quoth I) "dyd not this sorrowfull and fearefull sight much greue the, and for thy tyme longe and euyl spent?" "I was sory," quoth shée, "by the Masse; for some of them were good louing men. For I lackt not when they had it, and they wanted not when I had it, and diuers of them I neuer dyd forsake, vntyll the Gallowes departed vs." "O, mercyfull God!" quoth I, and began to blesse me. "Why blesse ye?" quoth she. "Alas! good gentleman, euery one muste haue a lyuinge." Other matters I talked of; but this nowe maye suffice to shewe the Reader, as it weare in a glasse, the bolde beastly lyfe of these Doxes. For suche as hath gone anye tyme abroade, wyll neuer forsake their trade, to dye therefore. I haue hadde good profe thereof. There is one, a notorious harlot, of this affinitye, called Besse Bottomelye; she hath but one hande, and she hath murdered two children at the least.

[leaf 24, back]

¶ A DELL. Cap. 21.

A Dell is a yonge wenche, able for generation, and not yet knowen or broken by the vpright man. These go abroade yong, eyther by the death of their parentes, and no bodye to looke vnto them, or els by some sharpe mystres that they serue, do runne away out of seruice; eyther she is naturally borne one, and then she is a wyld Dell: these are broken verye yonge; when they haue béene lyen with all by the vpright man, then they be Doxes, and no Dels. These wyld dels, beinge traded vp with their monstrous mothers, must of necessitye be as euill, or worse, then their parents, for neither we gather grapes from gréene bryars, neither fyggs from Thystels. But such buds, such blosoms, such euyl sede sowed, wel worse beinge growen.

¶ A KYNCHIN MORTE. Cap. 22.

A Kynching Morte is a lytle Gyrl: the Mortes their mothers carries them at their backes in their slates, whiche is their shetes, and bryngs them vp sauagely¹, tyll they growe to be rype, and soone rype, soone rotten.

¶ A KYNCHEN Co. Cap. 23.

A Kynchen Co is a young boye, traden vp to suche peuishe purposes as you haue harde of other young ympes before, that when he groweth vnto yeres, he is better to hang then to drawe forth.

¶ THEIR VSAGE IN THE NIGHT. Cap. 24.

NOW I thinke it not vnecessary to make the Reader vnderstand how and in what maner they lodge a nights in barnes or backe houses, and of their vsage there, for asmuch as I haue acquaynted them with their order and practises a day times. The arche and chiefe walkers that hath walked a long time, whose experience is great, because of their continuinge practise, I meane all Mortes and Doxes, for their handsomnes and diligence for making of their couches. The men neuer trouble them selues with *that* thing, but takes the same to be the dutye of *the* wyfe. And she shuffels vp a quayntitye of strawe or haye into some pretye carner of the barne [leaf 25] where she maye conuenientlye lye, and well shakethe the same, makinge the heade some what hye, and dryues the same vpon the sydes and fete lyke abed: then she layeth her wallet, or some other lytle pack of ragges or serype vnder her heade in the strawe, to beare vp the same, and layethe her petycote or cloke vpon and ouer the strawe, so made lyke a bedde, and that serueth for the blancket. Then she layeth her slate, which is her sheete, vpon that; and she haue no shéete, as fewe of them goe without, then she spreddeth some large cloutes or rags ouer the same, and maketh her ready, and layeth her drouselye downe. Many wyll plucke of their smockes, and laye the same vpon them in stede of their vpper shéete, and all her other pelte and

¹ B. reads *safely*

trashe vpon her also ; and many lyeth in their smockes. And if the rest of her clothes in colde weather be not sufficient to kepe her warme, then she taketh strawe or haye to performe the matter. The other sorte, that haue not slates, but touble downe and couche a hogshhead in their clothes, these bée styll lousye, and shall neuer be with out vermyn, vnlesse they put of their clothes, and lye as is a boue sayde. If the vpright man come in where they lye, he hath his choyse, and crepeth in close by his Doxe : the Roge hath his leauings. If the Morts or Doxes lye or be lodged in some Farmers barne, and the dore be ether locked or made fast to them, then wyl not the vpright man presse to come in, Vnles it be in barnes and oute houses standinge alone, or some distance from houses, which be commonly knowne to them, As saint Quintens, thrée Cranes of the vintrey, Saynt Tybbes, and Knapsbery. These foure be with in one myle compasse neare vnto London. Then haue you iiij. more in Middlesex, drawe the pudding out of the fyre in Harrow on the hyll parish, *the Crose Keyes* in Cranford¹ parish, Saynt Iulyans in Thystell worth parish, the house of pyty in Northhall parysh. These are their chiefe houses neare about London, where commonly they resorte vnto for Lodginge, and maye repaire thether freelye at all tymes. Sometye shall come in some Roge, some pyckinge knaue, a nymble Prygge ; he walketh in softly a nightes, when they be at their rest, and plucketh of as many garmentes as be ought worth that he maye come by, and worth money, and maye easely cary the same, and runneth a waye with the same with great seleritye, and maketh porte sale at some conuenient place of theirs, that some be soone ready in the morning, for want of their Casters *and* Togemans. Where in stéede of blessinge is cursing ; in place of praying, pestelent prating with odious othes *and* terrible threatninges. The vpright men haue geuen all these nycke names to the places aboue sayde. Y[e]t haue [leaf 25, back] we two notable places in Kent, not fare from London : the one is betwene Detforde and Rothered, called the Kynges barne, standinge alone, that they haunt commonly ; the other is Ketbroke, standinge by blacke heath, halfe a myle from anye house. There wyl they boldlye drawe the latches of the doore, and

¹ 1573 reads *Crayford*.

go in when the good man with hys famyly be at supper, and syt downe without leauē, and eate and drinke with them, and either lye in the hall by the fyre all night, or in *the* barne, if there be no rome in the house for them. If the doore be eyther bolted or lockt, if it be not opened vnto them when they wyl, they wyl breake the same open to his farther cost. And in this barne sometyme do lye xl. vpright men with their Doxes together at one time. And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten him to burne him, and all that he hath.

THE NAMES OF THE VPRIGHT MEN, ROGES, AND
PALLYARDS.

HERE followeth the vnruyle rablement of rascals, and the moste notorious and wyckedst walkers that are lyuinge nowe at this present, with their true names as they be called and knowne by. And although I set and place here but thre orders, yet, good Reader, vnderstand that all the others aboue named are deriued and come out from the vpright men and Roges. Concerning the number of Mortes and Doxes, it is superfluous to wryte of them. I could well haue don it, but the number of them is great, and woulde aske a large volume.

¶ UPRIGHT MEN.

A. ¹	D.	E.
Antony Heymer.	Dowzabell skylfull in	Edmund Dun, a sing- fence.
Antony Iackson.	Dauid Coke.	Edward Skinner, <i>alias</i> Ned Skinner.
B.	Dycke Glouer.	Edward Browne.
Burfet.	Dycke Abrystowe.	
Bryan medcalfe.	Dauid Edwardes.	F.
C.	Dauid Holand.	Follentine Hylles.
Core the Cuckold.	Dauid Iones.	Fardinando angell.
Chrystouer Cooke.		Fraunces Dawghton.

¹ The arrangement in Bodley ed. is not alphabetical.

G.	John Geffrey.	K.
Gryffin.	John Goddard.	L.
Great John Graye.	John Graye the lytle.	Lennard Iust.
George Marrinar.	John Graye the great.	Long Gréene.
George Hutchinson.	John Wylliams the Longer.	Laurence Ladd. Laurence Marshall.
H.	John Horwood, a maker of wels; he wyll take halfe his bargayne in hand, <i>and</i> when hée hath wrought ii. or iii. daies, he runneth away with his earnest.	M. N. Nicolas Wilson. Ned Barington. Ned Wetherdon. Ned holmes.
Hary Hylles, alias Harry godepar.		
[leaf 26] Harry Agglyn- tine.		
Harry Smyth, he driueleth when he speaketh.	John Peter.	
Harry Ionson.	John Porter.	
I.	John Appowes.	O.
Iames Barnard.	John Arter.	P.
John Myllar.	John Bates.	Phyllype Gréene.
John Walchman.	John Comes.	Q.
John Iones.	John Chyles, <i>alias</i> great Chyles.	R.
John Teddar.	John Leuet; he maketh tappes and fausetts.	Robart Grauener. Robart Gerse.
John Braye.	John Louedall, a mais- ter of fence.	Robart Kynge. Robart Egerton.
John Cutter.	John Louedale.	Robart Bell, brother to Iohn Bell.
John Bell.	John Mekes.	Robart Maple.
John Stephens.	John Appowell.	Robart Langton.
John Graye.	John Chappell.	Robyn Bell.
John Whyte.	John Gryffen.	Robyn Toppe.
John Rewe.	John Mason.	Robart Brownsverd, he werith his here long.
John Mores.	John Humfrey, with the lame hand.	
John a Farnando.	John Stradling, with the shaking head.	Robart Curtes.
John Newman.	John Franke.	Rychard Brymmysh.
John Wyn, <i>alias</i> Wyl- liams.	John Baker.	Rychard Iustyce.
John a Pycons.	John Bascafeld.	Rychard Barton.
John Tomas.		
John Arter.		
John Palmer, <i>alias</i> Tod.		

Rychard Constance.	Thomas Graye, his toes	Wylliam Chamborne.
Rychard Thomas.	be gone.	Wylliam Pannell.
Rychard Cadman.	Tom Bodel.	Wylliam Morgan.
Rychard Scategood.	Thomas Wast.	Wylliam Belson.
Rychard Apryce.	Thomas Dawson <i>alias</i>	Wylliam Ebes.
Rychard Walker.	Thomas Iacklin.	Wylliam Garret.
Rychard Coper.	Thomas Basset.	Wylliam Robynson.
	Thomas Marchant.	Wylliam Vmberuile.
S.	Thomas Web.	Wylliam Dauids.
Steuen Neuet.	Thomas Awefeld.	Wyll Pen.
	Thomas Gybbins.	Wylliam Iones.
T.	Thomas Lacon.	Wyll Powell.
Thomas Bulloke. [leaf	Thomas Bate.	Wylliam Clarke.
26, back]	Thomas Allen.	Water Wirall.
Thomas Cutter.		Wylliam Browne.
Thomas Garret.	V.	Water Martyne. ¹
Thomas Newton.	W.	Wylliam Grace.
Thomas Web.	Welarayd Richard.	Wylliam Pyckering.

ROGES.

A.	G.	John Elson.
Arche Dowglas, a Scot.	George Belberby.	John Raynoles, Irysh man.
B.	Goodman.	John Harrys.
Blacke Dycke.	Gerard Gybbin, a coun- terfet Cranke.	Iames Monkaster, a counterfet Cranke.
C.	H.	John Dewe.
D.	Hary Walles, with the lytle mouth.	John Crew, with one arme.
Dycke Durram.	Humfrey ward.	John Browne, great stamerar.
Dauid Dew neuet, a counterfet Cranke.	Harry Mason.	
E.	I.	L.
Edward Ellys.	John Warren.	Lytle Dycke.
Edward Anseley.	John Donne, with one legge.	Lytle Robyn.
F.		Lambart Rose.

¹ Omitted in 1573 edit.

M.	sonder <i>with</i> his	Thomas Smith, <i>with</i>
More, burnt in the	téeth, and a bawdye	the skald skyn. ³
hand. ¹	(leaf 27) dronkard.	
N.	Richard Crane; he	W.
Nicholas Adames, a	carieth a Kynchne	Wylliam Carew.
great stamerar. ²	Co at his backe.	Wylliam wastfield.
Nycholas Crispyn.	Rychard Iones.	Wylson.
Nycholas Blunt <i>alias</i>	Raffe Ketley.	Wylliam Gynkes, with
Nycholas Gennings,	Robert Harrison.	a whyte bearde, a
a counterfet Cranke.	S.	lusty and stronge
Nycholas Lynch.	Simon Kynge.	man; he runneth
R.	T.	about the countrey
Rychard Brewton.	Thomas Paske.	to séeke worke, with
Rychard Horwod, well	³ Thomas Bere.	a byg boy, his sonne
nere lxxx. yeares	Thomas Shawnean,	caryng his toles as
olde; he wyll byte	Irish man.	a dawber or plays-
a vi. peny nayle a		terer, butlytle worke
		serueth him.

¶ PALLYARDS.

B.	Edward Lewes, a dum-	John Fysher.
Bashford.	merer.	John Dewe.
D.	H.	John Gylford, Irish,
Dycke Sehan Irish.	Hugh Iones.	<i>with</i> a counterfet
Dauid Powell.	I.	lisence.
Dauid Iones, a coun-	John Perse, ⁴ a counter-	L.
terfet Crank.	fet Cranke.	Laurence with the
E.	John dauids.	great legge.
Edward Heyward, hath	John Harrison.	N.
his Morte following	John Carew.	Nycholas Newton, cari-
him, which fained	James Lane, with one	eth a fained lisence.
the Cranke.	eye, Irish.	Nicholas Decase.

¹ Omitted in 1573 ed.² Last three words omitted in 1573 ed.³ The 1573 ed. arranges these names in the following order:—

Thomas Béere.

Irish man.

Thomas Smith with the
skalde skin.

Thomas Shawneam.

⁴ The 1573 ed. reads *Persk*

P.	Richard Thomas.	Thomas Dauids.
Prestoue.		Wylliam Thomas.
	S.	Wylliam Coper with the Harelyp.
R.	Soth gard.	Wyll Pettyt, beareth a Kinchen mort at his back.
Robart Lackley.	Swanders.	Wylliam Bowmer.
Robart Canloke.		
Richard Hylton, cary- eth ii. Kynchen mortes about him.	T. Thomas Edwards.	

There is aboute an hundreth of Irish men and women that wander about to begge for their lyuing, that hath come ouer within these two yeaeres. They saye the[y] haue béene burned and spoyled by the Earle of Desmond, and report well of the Earle of Vrmond.

¶ All these aboute wryten for the most part walke about Essex, Myddlesex, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. Then let the reader iudge what number walkes in other Shieres, I feare me to great a number, if they be well vnderstande.

[leaf 27, back]

¹ Here followyth their pelting speche.¹

Here I set before the good Reader the leud, lousey language of these lewtering Luskés and lasy Lorrels, where with they bye and sell the common people as they pas through the country. Whych language they terme Peddelars Frenche, a vnknown tounge onely, but to these bold, beastly, bawdy Beggers, and vaine Vacabondes, being halfe myngled with Englyshe, when it is famylyarlye talked, and fyrste placinge thinges by their proper names as an Introduction to this peuyshé spéeche.

Nab, a head.	a pratling chete, a tounge.	quaromes, a body.
Nabchet, a hat or cap.	Crashing chetes, téeth.	prat, a buttocke.
Glasyers, eyes.	Hearing chetes, eares.	stampes, legges.
a smelling chete, a nose.	fambles, handes.	a caster, a cloke.
gan, a mouth.	a fambling chete, a rynge on thy hand.	a togeman, a cote.

¹ B. omits.

a commission, a shierte.	quier, nought.	a prauncer, a horse.
drawers, hosen.	a gage, a quarte pot.	autem, a church.
stampers, shoos.	a skew, a cuppe.	Salomon, a alter or masse.
a moffing chete, a napkyn.	pannam, ¹ bread.	patrico, a priest.
a belly chete, an apern.	cassan, chéese.	nosegent, a Nunne.
dudes, clothes.	yaram, ² mylke.	a gybe, a writinge.
a lag of dudes, a bucke of clothes.	lap, butter milke or whey.	a Iarke, a seale.
a slate or slates, a shéete or shetes.	[leaf 25] pek, meate.	a ken, a house.
lybbege, a bed.	poppelars, porrage.	a staulinge ken, a house that wyll re- ceaeue stolen ware.
bunge, a pursse.	ruff pek, baken.	a bousing ken, a ale house.
lowre, mony.	a grunting chete or a patricos kynchen, a pyg.	a Lypken, a house to lye in.
mynt, golde.	a cakling chete, a cocke or capon.	a Lybbege, a bedde.
a bord, a shylling.	a margery prater, a hen.	glymmar, fyre.
halfe a borde, sixe pence.	a Roger or tyb of the buttery, a Goose.	Rome house, wyne.
flagg, a groate.	a quakinge chete or a red shanke, a drake or ducke.	lage, water.
a wyn, a penny.	grannam, corne.	a skypper, a barne.
a make, a halfepeny.	a lowhinge chete, a Cowe.	strommell, strawe.
bowse, drynke.	a bletinge chete, a calfe or shéepe.	a gentry cofes ken, A noble or gentlemans house.
bene, good.		a gygger, a doore.
benshyp, very good.		

¹ The 1573 ed. reads *Yannam*.² B. reads *yarum*. The 1573 ed. reads *Param*.

bufe, a dogge.	the hygh pad, the hygh waye.	to towre, to sée.
the lightmans, the daye.	the ruffmans, the wodes or bushes.	to bowse, to drynke.
the darkemans, the nyght.	a smellinge chete, a garden or orchard.	to maunde, to aske or requyre.
Rome vyle, London.	crassinge chetes, apels, peares, or anye other frute.	to stall, to make or ordaine.
dewse a vyle, the cuntrye.	to fylche, to beate, to stryke, to robbe. ²	to cante, to speake.
Rome mort, the Quene.	to nyp a boung, to cut a pursse.	to myll a ken, to robbe a house.
a gentry cofe, a noble or gentleman.	To skower the cramp- rings, [leaf 23, back] to weare boltes or fetters.	to prygge, to ryde.
a gentry morte, A noble or gentle woman.	to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boew- eth.	to dup the gyger, to open the doore.
the quyer cuffyn, ¹ the Iusticer of peace.	to cly the gerke, to be whypped.	to couch a hogshead, to lye downe and sléepe.
the harman beek, the Counstable.	to cutte benle, ³ to speake gently.	to nyggle, to haue to do with a woman carnally.
the harmans, the stockes.	to cutte bene whydds, to speake or geue good wordes.	stow you, holde your peace.
Quyerkyn, a pryson house.	to cutte quyrewhyddes, to geue euell wordes or euell language.	bynge a waste, go you hence.
Quier crampringes, boltes or fetters.	to cutte, to saye.	to the ruffian, to the deuell.
trynninge, hanginge.		the ruffian cly the, the deuyll take thée.
chattes, the gallowes.		

¶ The vpright Cofe canteth to the Roge.⁴

The vpright man speaketh to the Roge.

VPRIGHTMAN.⁵

Bene Lightmans to thy quarromes, in what lipken hast thou
lypped in this darkemans, whether in a lybbege or in the strummell?

¹ *custyn*. B.

² For these two lines printed in small type, the 1573 edition reads,

To fylche
to robbe

³ *benie*. B.

⁴ *Roger*. B.

⁵ *man*. B.

God morrowe to thy body, in what house hast thou lyne in all night,
whether in a bed, or in the strawe ?

ROGE.

I couched a hogshead in a Skypper this darkemans.
I layd ¹ me downe to sléepe in a barne this night.

VPRIGHT MAN.²

I towre the strummel trine vpon thy nabchet³ *and* Togman.
I sée the strawe hang vpon thy cap and coate.

ROGE.

I saye by the Salomon I will lage it of with a gage of benebouse ;
then cut to my nose watch.

I sweare by the masse⁴, I wull washe it of with a quart of good drynke ;
[leaf 20]⁵ then saye to me what thou wylt.

MAN. Why, hast thou any lowre in thy bonge to bouse ?
Why, hast thou any money in thy purse to drinke ?

ROGE. But a flagge, a wyn, and a make.
But a grot, a penny, and a halfe penny.

MAN. Why, where is the kene that hath the bene bouse ?
where is the house that hath good drinke ?

ROGE. A bene mort hereby at the signe of the prauncer.
A good wyfe here by at the signe of the hors.

MAN. I cutt it is quyer buose, I bousd a flagge the laste dark
mans.

I saye it is small and naughtye drynke. I dranke a groate there
the last night.

ROGE. But bouse there a bord, *and* thou shalt haue beneship.
But drinke there a shyllinge, and thou shalt haue very good.

Tower ye yander is the kene, dup the gygger, and maund that is
bene shyp.

Se you, yonder is the house, open the doore, and aske for the best.

¹ *laye*. B.

² B. omits *vpright*.

³ *nabches*. B.

⁴ *masst*. B.

⁵ This leaf is supplied in MS. in Mr Huth's edition.

MAN. This bouse is as benschyp¹ as rome bouse.
This drinke is as good as wyne.

Now I tower that bene bouse makes nase nabes.
Now I se that good drinke makes a dronken heade.

Maunde of this morte what bene pecke is in her ken.
Aske of this wyfe what good meate shee hath in her house.

ROGE. She hath a Cacling chete, a grunting chete, ruff Peecke,
cassan, and poplarr of yarum.
She hath a hen, a pyg, baken, chese and mylke porrage.

MAN. That is beneshyp to our watche.
That is very good for vs.

Now we haue well bousd, let vs strike some chete.
Nowe we haue well dronke, let us steale some thinge.

Yonder dwelleth a quyere cuffen, it were beneship to myll hym.
Yonder dwelleth a hoggeshe and choyrlyshe man, it were very well donne
to robbe him.

ROGE. Nowe bynge we a waste to the hygh pad, the ruffmanes
is by.
Naye, let vs go hence to the hygh waye, the wodes is at hand.

MAN. So may we happen on the Harmanes, and cly the Iarke,
or to the quyerken and skower quyaer crampings, and so to tryning
on the chates.

[leaf 29, back] So we maye chaunce to set in the stockes, eyther be whypped,
eyther had to prison house, and there be shackled with bolttes and fetters, and
then to hange on the gallowes.

Gerry gan, the ruffian clye thee.
A torde in thy mouth, the deuyll take thee.

MAN. What, stowe your bene, cofe, and cut benat whydds, and
byng we to rome vyle, to nyp a bong ; so shall we haue lowre for the
bousing ken, and when we byng back to the deuseauyel, we wyll
fylche some duddes of the Ruffemans, or myll the ken for a lagge of
dudes.

What, holde your peace, good fellowe, and speake better wordes, and go
we to London, to cut a purse ; then shal we haue money for the ale house, and

¹ *good* in the 1573 ed.

when wee come backe agayne into the country, wee wyll steale some linnen clothes of one¹ hedges, or robbe some house for a bucke of clothes.

¶ By this litle ye maye holy and fully vnderstande their vntowarde talke and pelting speache, mynglede without measure; and as they haue begonne of late to deuise some new termes for certien thinges, so wyll they in tyme alter this, and deuise as euyll or worsse. This language nowe beinge knowen and spred abroad, yet one thinge more I wyll ad vnto, not meaninge to Englyshe the same, because I learned the same² of a shameles Doxe, but for the phrase of speche I set it forth onely.

There was a proude patrico and a nosegent, he tooke his Iockam in his famble, and a wappinge he went, he dokte the Dell, hee pryge to prounce, he byngd a waste into the darke mans, he fylcht the Cofe, with out any fylch man.

WHyle this second Impression was in printinge, it fortun'd that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter; *and* as the counstable and a nother would haue caried hym thether, This counterefet Cranke ran awaye, but one lyghter of fote then the other ouer toke hym, *and* so leading him to the counter, where he remayned three days, *and* from thence to Brydewell, where before the maister³ he had his dysgyssed aparell put vpon hym, which was monstrous to beholde, And after stode in Chepesyde *with* the same apparil on a scaffold.⁴

A Stockes to staye sure, and safely detayne,
Lasy lewd Leutterers, that lawes do offend,
Impudent persons, thus punished with payne,
Hardlye for all this, do meane to amende.

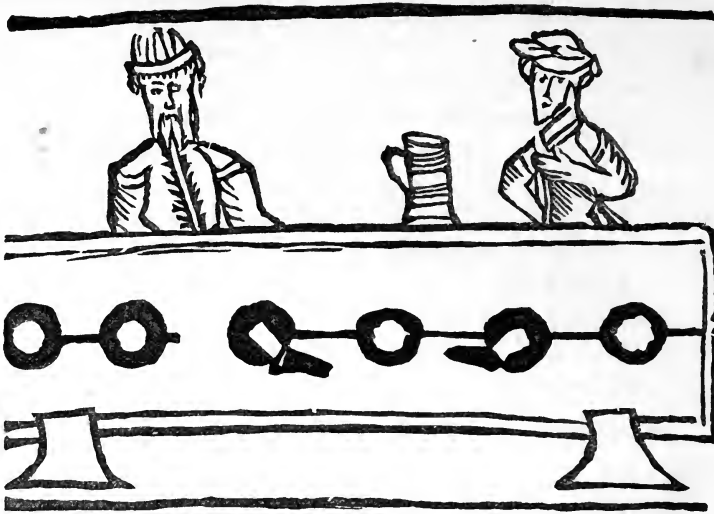
[leaf 30]

¹ The 1573 ed. has *some*

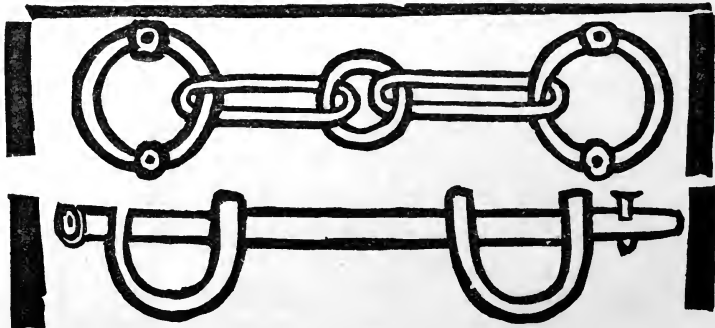
² Instead of "the same," the 1573 ed. reads *that*

³ *maisters*. B.

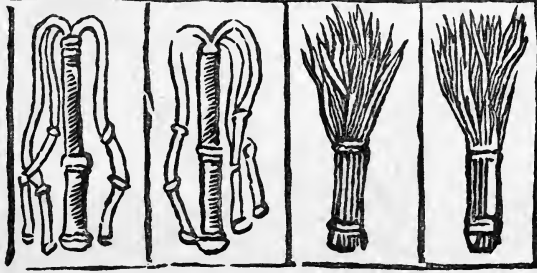
⁴ This paragraph is omitted in the ed. of 1573; but see note, *ante*, p. 56.



Fetters or shackles serue to make fast,
 Male malefactours, that on myschiefe do muse,
 Vntyll the learned lawes do quite or do cast,
 Such suttile searchers, as all euyll do vse.

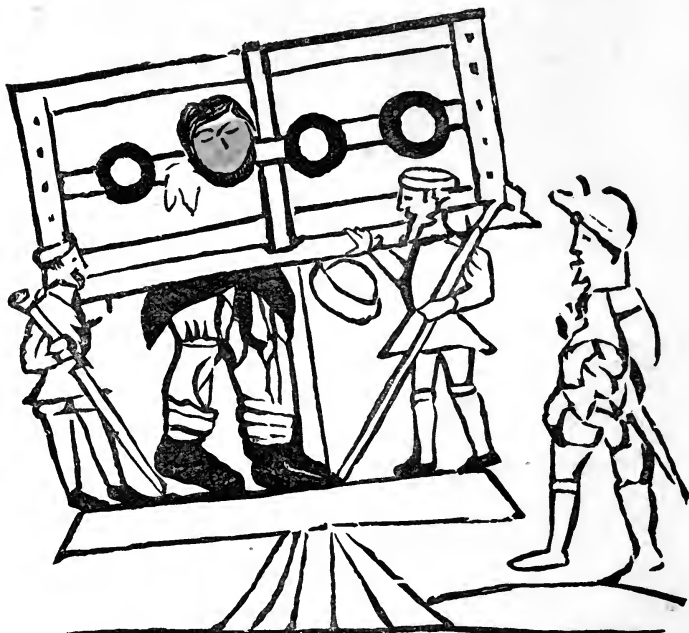


{ A whyp is a whysker, that wyll wrest out blood, [1f 80, bk]
 Of backe and of body, beaten right well.
 Of all the other it doth the most good,
 Experience techeth, and they can well tell.



¶ O dolefull daye ! nowe death draweth nere,
 Hys bytter styng doth pearce me to the harte.

I take my leaue of all that be here,
 Nowe piteously playing this tragicall parte.
 Neither stripes nor teachinges in tyme could conuert,
 wherefore an ensample let me to you be,
 And all that be present, nowe praye you for me.




¹ ¶ This counterfet Cranke, nowe vew and beholde,
 Placed in pyllory, as all maye well se :
 This was he, as you haue hard the tale tolde,
 before recorded with great suttylte,
 Ibused manye with his inpiete,
 his lothsome attyre, in most vgly manner,
 was through London caried with dysplayd banner.²

¹ B. omits this stanza and has inserted the following lines under the cut.

This is the figure of the counterfet Cranke, that is spoken of in this boke of Roges, called Nycholas Blunt other wyse Nycholas Gennyngs. His tale is in the xvii. lefe [pp. 55-6] of this booke, which doth shoue vnto all that reades it, woundrous suttell and crafty deseit donne of *and* by him.

² This verse is omitted in the edition of 1573; also the wood-cut preceding it.

 Thus I conclude my bolde Beggars booke,
That all estates most playnely maye see,
As in a glasse well pollyshed to looke,
Their double demeaner in eche degree.
Their lyues, their language, their names as they be,
That with this warning their myndes may be warmed,
To amend their mysdeedes, and so lyue vnharmed.

FINIS.

¶ Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Faulcon
by Wylliam gryffith. Anno Domni. 1567.¹

¹ B. adds 'the eight of January'. (This would make the year 1568 according to the modern reckoning. Harman's 'New Yeares day last past, Anno domini 1567', p. 86, must also be 156 $\frac{7}{8}$.)

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery.

[*Lansdowne MS. 98, leaf 210.*]

A sermon made by Parson Haben vppon a mold hill at Hartely Row,¹ at the Comaundment of vij. theves, whoe, after they had robbed him, Comaunded him to Preache before them.

I Marvell that euerye man will seme to dispraise theverye, and thinke the doers thereof worthy of Death, when it is a thinge that Cometh nere vnto vertve, and is vsed of all men, of all sortes and in all countryes, and soe comaunded and allowed of god himselve; which thinge, because I cannot soe sapiently shewe vnto you a² soe shorte a tyme and in soe shorte a place, I shall desire you, gentle theves, to take in good *parte* this thinge that at this tyme Cometh to minde, not misdoubtinge but you of *your* good knowledge are able to ad more vnto the same then this which I at this tyme shall shewe vnto you. ffirst, fortitude and stoutnes, Courage, and boldnes of stomacke, is Compted of some a vertue; which beinge graunted, Whoe is he then that will not Iudge theves vertuous, most stoute, most hardye? I most, withoute feare. As for stealinge, that is a thinge vsuall:—whoe stealeth not? ffor not only you that haue besett me, but many other in many places. Men, Woemen, *and* Children, Riche and poore, are dailye of that facultye, As the hange

¹ MS Rew. Hartley Row is on the South-Western road past Bagshot. The stretch of flat land there was the galloping place for coaches that had to make up time.

² *in*

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery.

[MS. Cott. Vesp. A xxv. leaf 53.]

A sermon of parson Hyberdyne which he made att the commande-
mente of certen theves, after thay had Robbed hym, besydes
hartlerowe, in hamshyer, in the felde, ther standinge vpon a
hyll where as a wynde myll had bene, in the presens of the
theves *that* robbed hym, as followithe.

the sermon as followethe

I greatly mervell *that* any man wyll presume to dyspraise
theverie, and thynke the dooeres therof to be woorthy of deathe, con-
syderinge itt is a thyng that cumithe nere vnto vertue, beinge vsed
of many in all contries, And commendid *and* allowed of god hym
selfe; the *which* thinge, by-cause I cannot compendiously shew vnto
yow at soo shorte a warnyng *and* in soo sharpe a wether, I shall
desyer yow, gentle audiens of theves, to take in good *parte* thes
thynges that at thys tyme cumythe to my mynde, not mysdowtyng
but *that* yow of yowre good knowledge are able to add mutch more
vnto ytt then this *which* I shall nowe vtter vnto yow. fyrst, forti-
tude, *and* stowtnes of corage, *and* also bowldnes of minde, is com-
mendyd of some men to be a vertue; *which*, beinge grawnted, who
is yt then *that* wyll not iudge theves to be vertused? for thay be of
all men moste stowte *and* hardy, *and* moste *withowte* feare; for
thevery is a thyng moste vsuall emonge all men, for not only yow
that be here presente, but many other in dyuerse places, bothe men
and wemen *and* chyltren, rytche and poore, are dayly of thys facultye,

man of Tiborne can testifye. That it is allowed of god himselfe, it is euident in many storyes of the Scriptures. And if you liste to looke in the whole Course of the bible, you shall finde that theues haue bin belouid of god. ffor Iacobe, when he Came oute of Mesopotomia, did steale his vnclcs lambes; the same Iacobe stale his brotner Esawes blessing; and that god saide, "I haue chosen Iacob and refused Esawe." The Children of Isarell, when they came oute of Egippe, didd steale the Egippsians Iewells and ringes, and god comaunded the[m] soe to doe. David, in the dayes of Aheme-l[e]ch the preiste, came into the temple and stole awaye the shewe bread; And yet god saide, "this is a man accordinge to myne owne harte." Alsoe Christe himsellfe, when he was here vppon earth, did take an asse, a Colte, which was none of his owne. And you knowe that god saide, "this is my nowne sone, in whome I delighte."

Thus maye you see that most of all god delighteth in theues. I marvell, therefore, that men can despise *your* lives, when that you are in all poynts almost like vnto Christe; for Christ hade noe dwellinge place,—noe more haue you. Christe, therefore, at the laste, was laide waite for in all places,—and soe are you. Christe alsoe at the laste was called for,—and soe shall you be. He was condemned,—soe shall you be. Christe was hanged,—soe shall you be. He descended into hell,—so shall you. But in one pointe you differ. He assendid into heaven,—soe shall you never, without gods mercye, Which god graunte for his mercyes sake! Toe whome, with the *sonne* and the holye goste, be all honour and glory for euer and euer. Amen!

After this good sermon ended, which Edefied them soe muche, Theye hadd soe muche Compassion on him, That they gave him all his mony agayne, and vij s more for his sermon.

as the hangman of tyboorne can testyfy: and that yt is allowed of god hym selfe, as it is euydente in many storayes of [the] scriptures; for yf yow looke in the hole cowrse of the byble, yow shall fynde that theves haue bene beloued of gode; for Iacobe, whan he came owte of Mesopotamia, dyd steale his vnclē labanes kyddes; the same Iacobe also dyd steale his brothe[r] Esaues blessing; *and* yett god sayde, "I haue chosen Iacobe *and* refused Esau." The chyldren of ysraell, whan they came owte of Egypte, dyd steale the egyptians iewelles of syluer and gowlde, as god commawnded them soo to doo. Davyd, in the days of Abiather the hygh preste, did come into the temple *and* dyd steale the hallowed breede; *and* yett god saide, "Dauid is a mañ euen after myne owne harte." Chryste hym selfe, whan he was here on the arthe, did take an asse *and* a cowlte that was none of hys; *and* yow knowe that god said of hym, "this is my beloued soone, in whome I delighte." thus yow may see that god delightithe in theves. but moste of all I marveill that men can dispyse yow theves, where as in all poyntes almoste yow be lyke vnto chryste hym selfe: for chryste had noo dwellynge place; noo more haue yow. chryste wente frome towne to towne; *and* soo doo yow. chryste was hated of all men, sauynge of his freendes; and soo are yow. chryste was laid waite vpon in many places; *and* soo are yow. chryste at the lengthe was cawght; *and* soo shall yow bee. he was browght before the iudges; *and* soo shall yow bee. he was accused; *and* soo shall yow bee. he was condempned; *and* soo shall yow bee. he was hanged; *and* so shall yow bee. he wente downe into hell; *and* soo shall yow dooe. mary! in this one thyng yow dyffer frome hym, for he rose agayne *and* assendid into heauen; *and* soo shall yow neuer dooe, withowte godes greate mercy, which gode grawnte yow! to whome *with* the father, *and* the soone, *and* the hooly ghoste, bee all honore and glorie, for euer *and* euer. Amen!

Thus his sermon beinge endyd, they gaue hym his money agayne that thay tooke frome hym, *and* ij^s to drynke for hys sermon.

finis.



[The parts added to HARMAN'S CAUEAT to make]

THE

Groundworke of Conny-catching ;
the manner of their Pedlers-French, and the meanes
to understand the same, with the cunning slights
of the Counterfeit Cranke.

Therein are handled the practises of the *Visiter*,
the *Fetches*
of the *Shifter* and *Rufflar*, the *deceits* of their *Doxes*, the *deuises*
of *Priggers*, the names of the base *lopyering* *Tosels*, and
the meanes of every *Blacke-Art-mans* shifts, with
the reproofe of all their diuellish
practises.

Done by a Justice of Peace of great authoritie, who hath
had the examining of diuers of them.



Printed at London by Iohn Danter for William Barley, and are to
be sold at his shoy at the hyper end of Gracious streete,
ouer against Treden-hall, 1592.

[leaf 2]

To the gentle Readers health.

Gentle reader, as there hath beene diuers bookes set forth, as warnings for all men to shun the craftie coossening sleights of these both men and women that haue teamed themselues Conny-catchers ; so amongst the rest, bestow the reading ouer of this booke, wherin thou shalt find the ground-worke of Conny-catching, with the manner of their canting speech, how they call all things in their language, the horrible coossening of all these loose varlots, and the names of them in their seuerall degrees,

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>First, The Visiter.</i> | 12. <i>A Dommerar.</i> |
| 2. <i>The Shifter.</i> | 13. <i>A Dronken Tinkar.</i> |
| 3. <i>The Rufflar.</i> | 14. <i>A Swadder, or Pedler.</i> |
| 4. <i>The Rogue.</i> | 15. <i>A Iarkeman & Patrico.</i> |
| 5. <i>The wild Rogue.</i> | 16. <i>A demander for glinmar.</i> |
| 6. <i>A prigger of Prauncers.</i> | 17. <i>The baudy Basket.</i> |
| 7. <i>A Pallyard.</i> | 18. <i>An Autem Mort.</i> |
| 8. <i>A Frater.</i> | 19. <i>A walking Mort.</i> |
| 9. <i>An Abraham man.</i> | 20. <i>A Doxe.</i> |
| 10. <i>A freshwater Marriner, or
Whipiacke.</i> | 21. <i>A Dell.</i> |
| 11. <i>A counterfeit Cranke.</i> | 22. <i>Kinchin Mort.</i> |
| | 23. <i>A Kinchin Co.</i> |

All these playing their coossenings in their kinde are here set downe, which neuer yet were disclosed in anie booke of Conny-catching.

[leaf 2, back] A new kind of shifting sleight, practised at this day by
some of this Cony-catching crue, in Innes or vittualling
houses, but especially in Faires or Markets,
 which came to my hands since the im-
 printing of the rest.

Whereas of late diuers coossening deuises and deuilish deceites
 haue beene discouered, wherby great inconueniences haue beene
 eschewed, which otherwise might haue beene the vtter ouerthrowe of
 diuers honest men of all degrees, I thought this, amongst the rest,
 not the least worthie of noting, especially of those that trade to
 Faires and Markets, that therby being warned, they may likewise be
 armed, both to see the deccit, and shun the daunger. These shifters
 will come vnto an Inne or vittailing house, that is most vsed in the
 towne, and walke vp and downe; and if there come any gentleman
 or other, to lay vp either cloke, sword, or any other thing woorth the
 hauing, then one of this crue taketh the marks of the thing, or at
 least the token the partie giueth them: anone, after he is gone, he
 likewise goeth forth, and with a great countenance commeth in againe
 to the mayde or seruant, calling for what another left: if they doubt
 to deliuer it, then hee frets, and calles them at his pleasure, and tels
 them the markes and tokens: hauing thus done, hee blames their for-
 getfulnes, and giues them a couple of pence to buy them pinnes,
 bidding them fetch it straight, and know him better the next time,
 wherewith they are pleasd, and he possest of his pray. Thus one
 gotte a bagge of Cheese the last Sturbridge Faire; for in such places
 (as a reclaimd fellow of that crue confessed) they make an ordinary
 practise of the same.

[*The Pedler's French* follows, taken word for word from Harman's
 book, p. 82-7 above.]

An honest youth, not many yeares since, seruant in this City, had
 leaue of his master at whitson-tide to see his friends, who dwelt some
 fifty miles from London. It hapned at a Country wake, his mother
 and hee came acquainted with a precise scholler, that, vnder colour
 of strickt life, hath bin reputed for that hee is not: hee is well

known in Paules Churchyard, and hath beene lately a visiting in Essex; for so he presumes to tearme his cosening walks: and therefore wee will call him here a Visiter. This honest seeming man must needs (sith his iourney lay to London) stay at the yong mans mothers all the holy daies: where as on his desert hee was kindly vsed; at length, the young man, hauing receiued his mother's blessing, with other his friendes giftes, amounting to some ten poundes, was to this hypocrite as to a faithful guide committed, and toward London they ride: by the way this Visiter discourses how excellent insight he had in Magick, to recouer by Art anything lost or stolne. Well, to sant Albons they reach; there they sup together, and, after the carousing of some quarts of wine, they go to bed, where they kindly sleepe,—the Visiter slyly, but the young man soundly. Short tale to make—out of his bed-fellow's sleeue this Visiter conuaid his twenty Angels, besides some other od siluer, hid it closely, and so fell to his rest. Morning comes—vp gets this couple—immediatly the money was mist, much adoo was made; the Chamberlaine with sundry other seruants examined; and so hot the contention, that the good man, for the discharge of his house, was sending for a Constable to haue them both first searcht, his seruants Chests after. In the meane time the Visiter cals the yong man aside, and bids him neuer grieue, but take horse; and he warrants him, ere they be three miles out of towne, to helpe him to his money by Art, saying:—"In these Innes ye see how we shall be out-faced, and, beeing vnknowne, how euer we be wrongd, get little remedy." The yong man, in good hope, desired him to pay the reckoning, which done, together they ride. Being some two miles from the towne, they ride out of the ordinary way: there he tels this youth how vnwilling hee was to enter into the action, but that it was lost in his company, and so forth. Well, a Circle was made, wondrous words were vsed, many muttrings made: at length hee cries out,—“vnder a greene turfe, by the East side of an Oake; goe thither, goe thither.” This thrice he cryed so ragingly, as the yuong man gest him mad, and was with feare almost beside himself. At length, pausing, quoth this Visiter, “heard ye nothing cry?” “Cry!” said the yong man, “yes; [leaf 5, back] you cride so as, for wise ten pound, I would not heare ye

again." "Then," quoth he, "'tis all well, if ye remember the words." The yong man repeated them. With that this shifter said, "Go to the furthest Oke in the high-way towards S. Albons, and vnder a greene turfe, on the hither side, lyes your mony, and a note of his name that stole it. Hence I cannot stirre till you returne; neyther may either of our horses be vntide for that time: runne yee must not, but keepe an ordinary pace." Away goes the yong man gingerly; and, being out of sight, this copesmate takes his cloke-bag, wherein was a faire sute of apparel, and, setting spurres to his horse, was, ere the Nouice returned, ridde cleane out of his view. The yong man, seeing himselfe so coossened, made patience his best remedie, tooke his horse, and came to London, where yet it was neuer his lucke to meet this visiter.

A SHIFTER.

A Shifter, not long since, going ordinarily booted, got leaue of a Carrier to ride on his owne hackney a little way from London, who, comming to the Inne where the Carier that night should lodge, honestly set vp the horse, and entred the hal, where were at one table some three and thirty clothiers, all returning to their seuerall countries. Vsing, as he could, his curtesie, and being Gentleman-like attirde, he was at all their instance placed at the vpper end by the hostesse. After hee had a while eaten, he fel to discourse with such pleasance, that all the table were greatly delighted therewith. In the midst of supper enters a noise of musitions, who with their instruments added a double delight. For them hee requested his hostesse to laye a shoulder of mutton and a couple of capons to the fire, for which he would pay, *and* then mooued in their behalfe to gather. Among them a noble was made, which he fingring, was well blest; for before he had not a crosse, yet he promist to make it vp an angel. To be short, in comes the reckoning, which (by reason of the fine fare *and* excesse of wine) amounted to each mans halfe crown. Then hee requested his hostesse to prouide so many possets of sacke, as would furnish the table, which he would bestow on the Gentlemen to requite their extraordinary costs: *and* iestingly askt if she would

make him her deputie to gather the reckoning ; she graunted, and he did so : and on a sodaine, (faining to hasten his hostesse with the possets) he tooke his cloke, and, finding fit time, hee slipt out of doores, leauing the guestes and their hostesse to a new reckoning, and the musitians to a good supper, but they paid for the sauce. This iest some vntruly attribute to a man of excellent parts about London, but he is slandered : the party that performed it hath scarce any good qualitie to liue. Of these sort I could set downe a great number, but I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered.

[Then follows Harman's book, commencing with a Ruffelar, p. 29. The woodcut of Nicolas Blunt and Nicolas Geninges (p. 50, above) is given, and another one representing the Cranke after he was stripped and washed. The volume ends with the chapter "Their vsage in the night," p. 76-8 above,—the woodcuts and verses at the end of Harman's book being omitted in the present *Groundworke of Conny-catching*. The last words in the latter are, "And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten to burne him, and all that he hath."]

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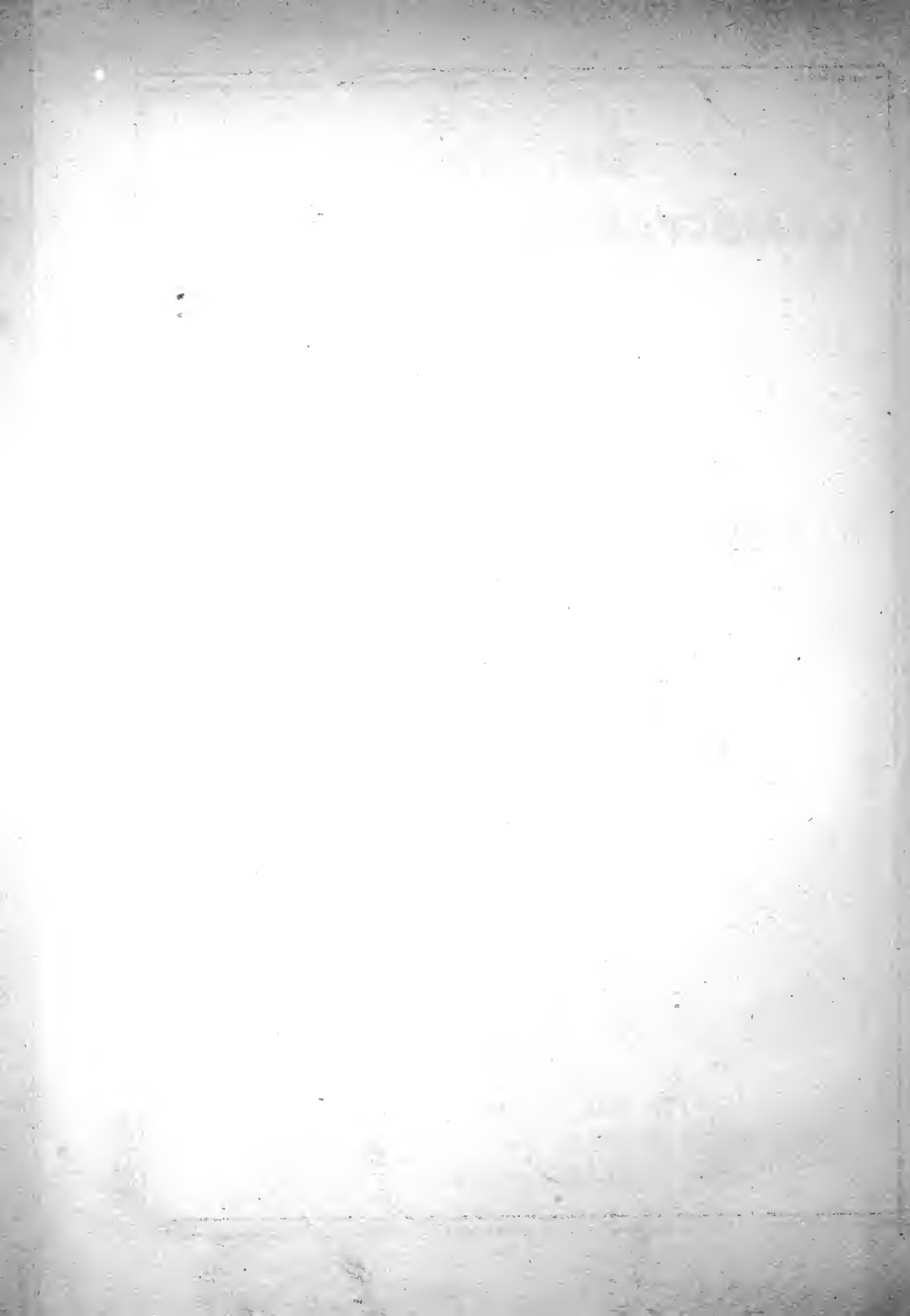
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Harrison's Description of England.

A.D. 1577—1587.



PART III. THE SUPPLEMENT, § I.



111

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*, ETC.

PART III. THE SUPPLEMENT, § 1:

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

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The New Shakspeare Society

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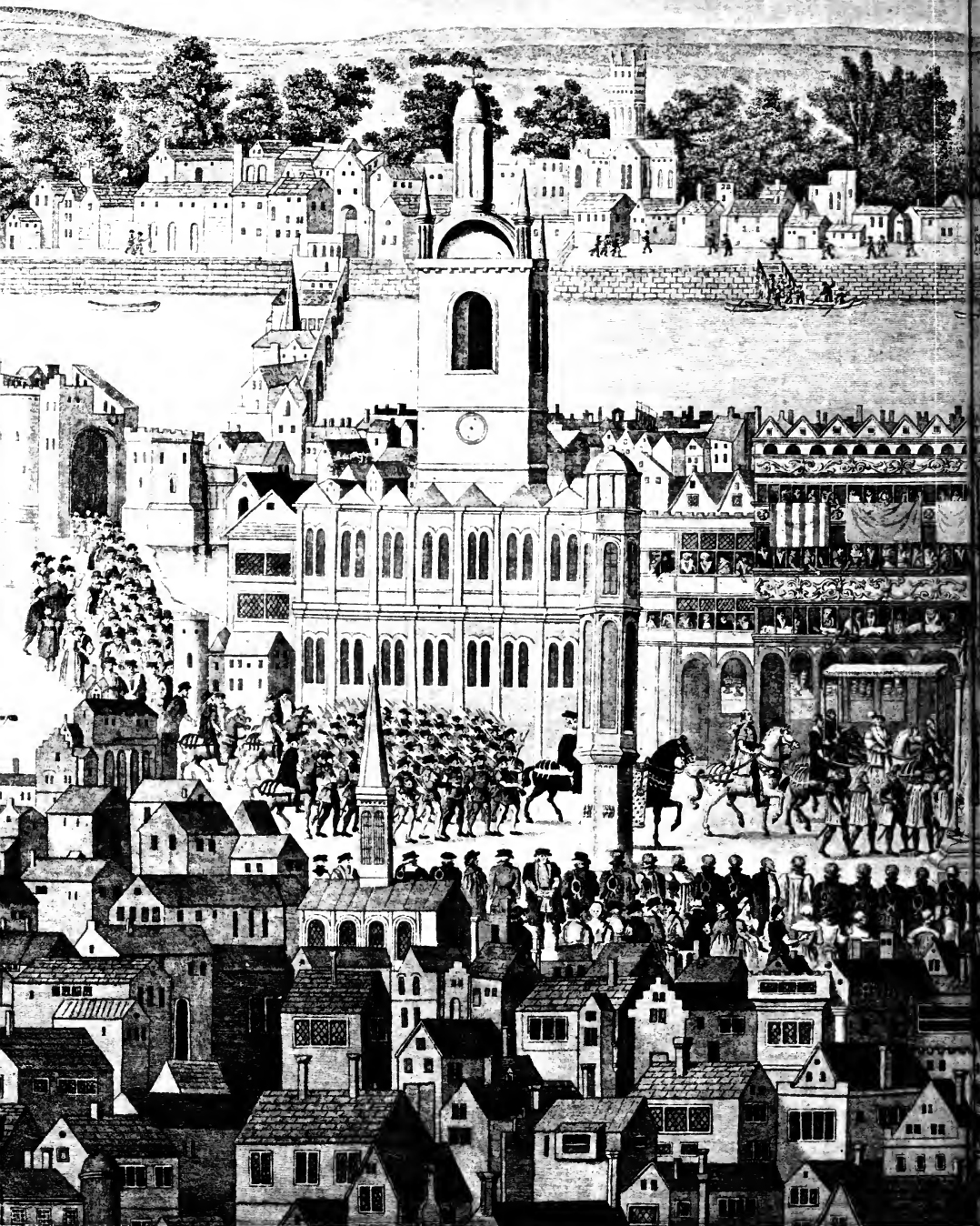
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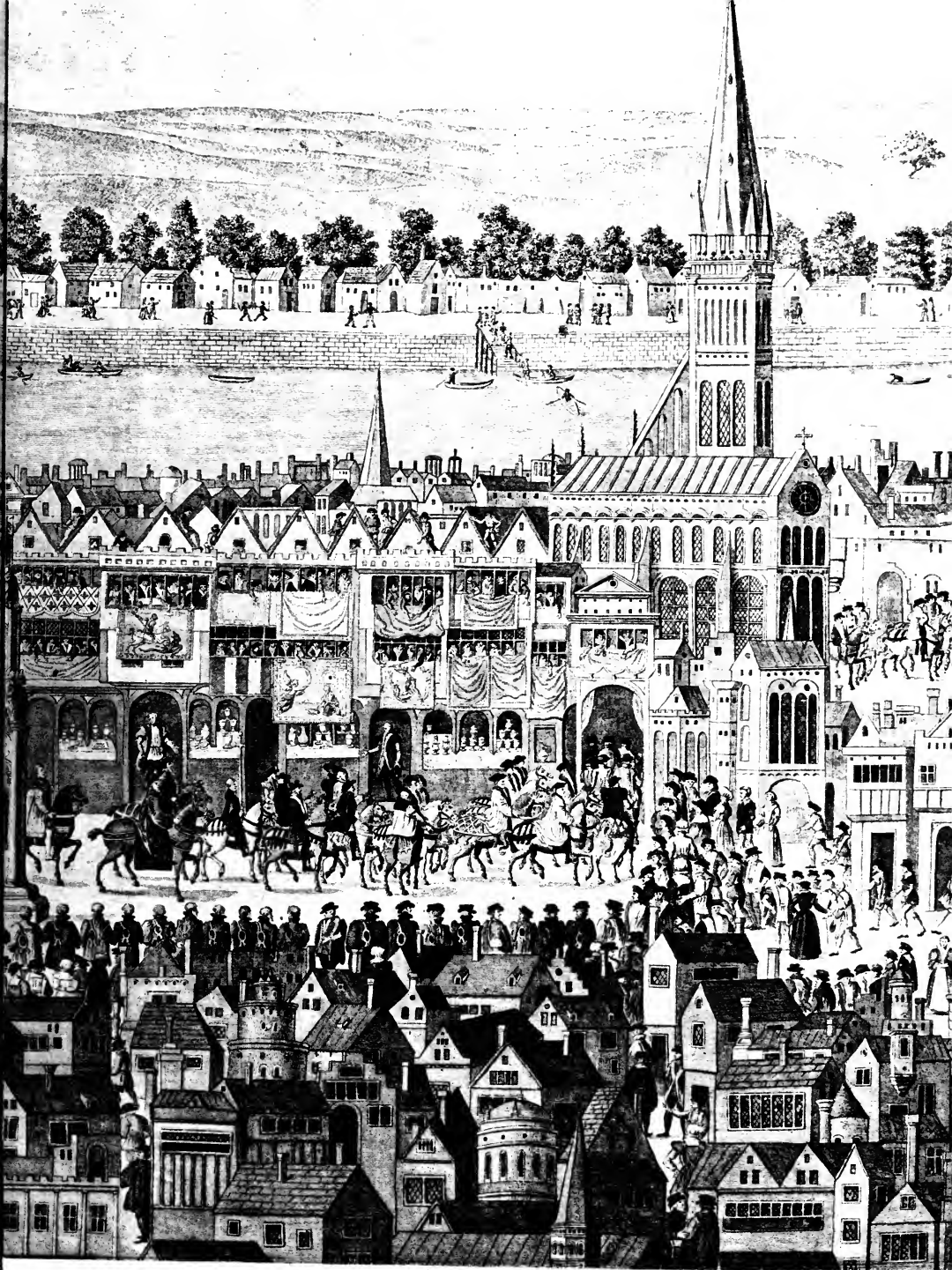
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1
IV



London Bridge. Bow Church. The Standard. Goldsmiths' Row. The C.
THE PROCESSION OF K. EDWARD VI. FROM THE
Before his Co



Cheapside: "The Beauty of London."

St. Paul's.

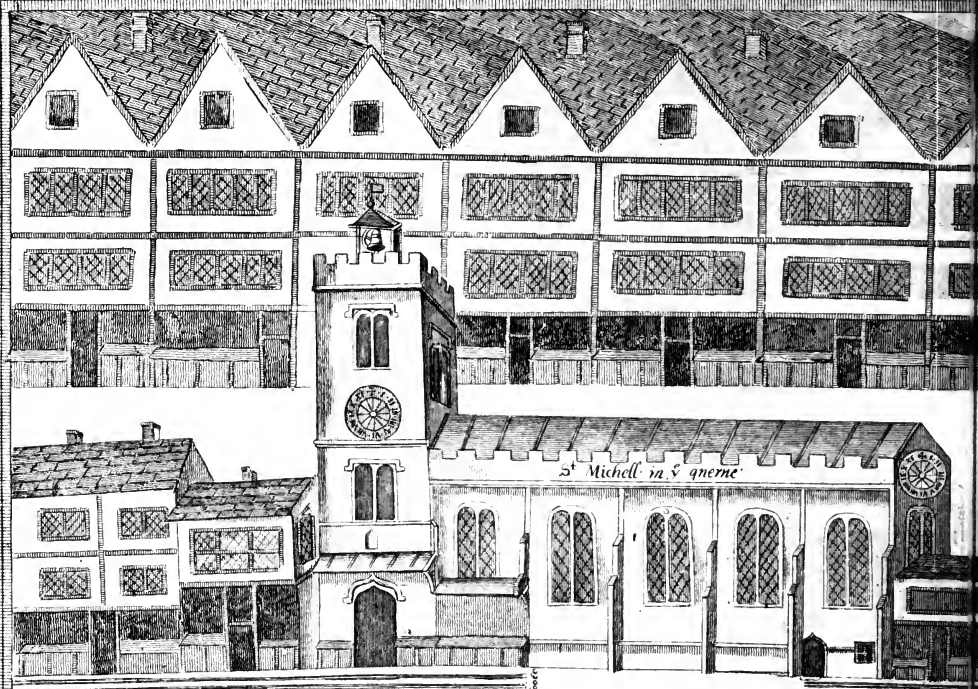
OWER TO WESTMINSTER, ON FEBRUARY 19TH, 1546-7,
ation on February 20th.



IV 2

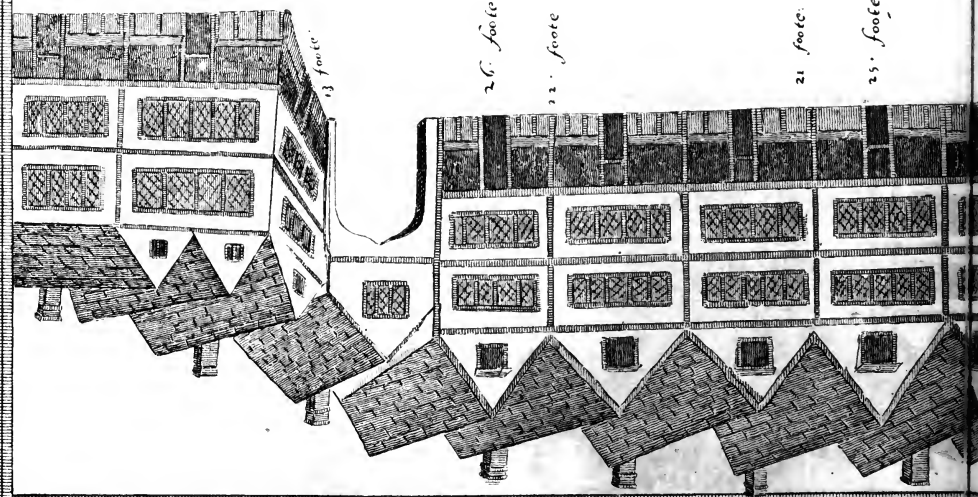
NORT

WEST



Con^d pipes 33 foote

Paternoster rowe



15. foote

13 foote

26. foote

11. foote

21. foote

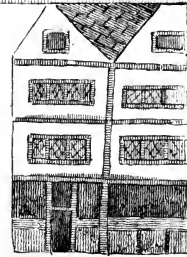
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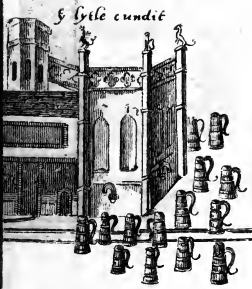
The principal Objects are the antient Church of S'Michael in the Querne, the Little Conduit, and S'Pauls Gate, situated at the East End, and North East

WEST -
AS IT APPEARETH
From a Drawing, at the
London, Published 17. May, 1611.

THE

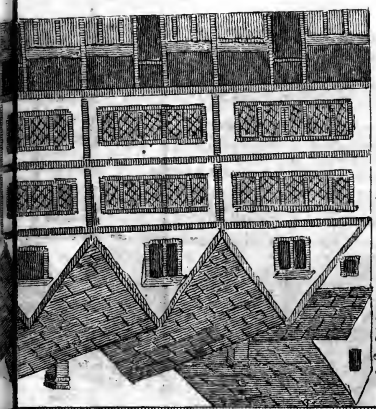


fofter lane

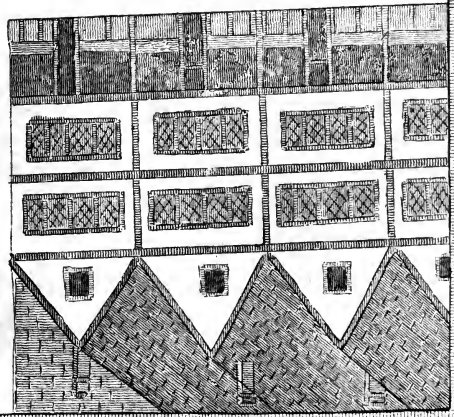


Con. pipes.

EAST



The Old Change.

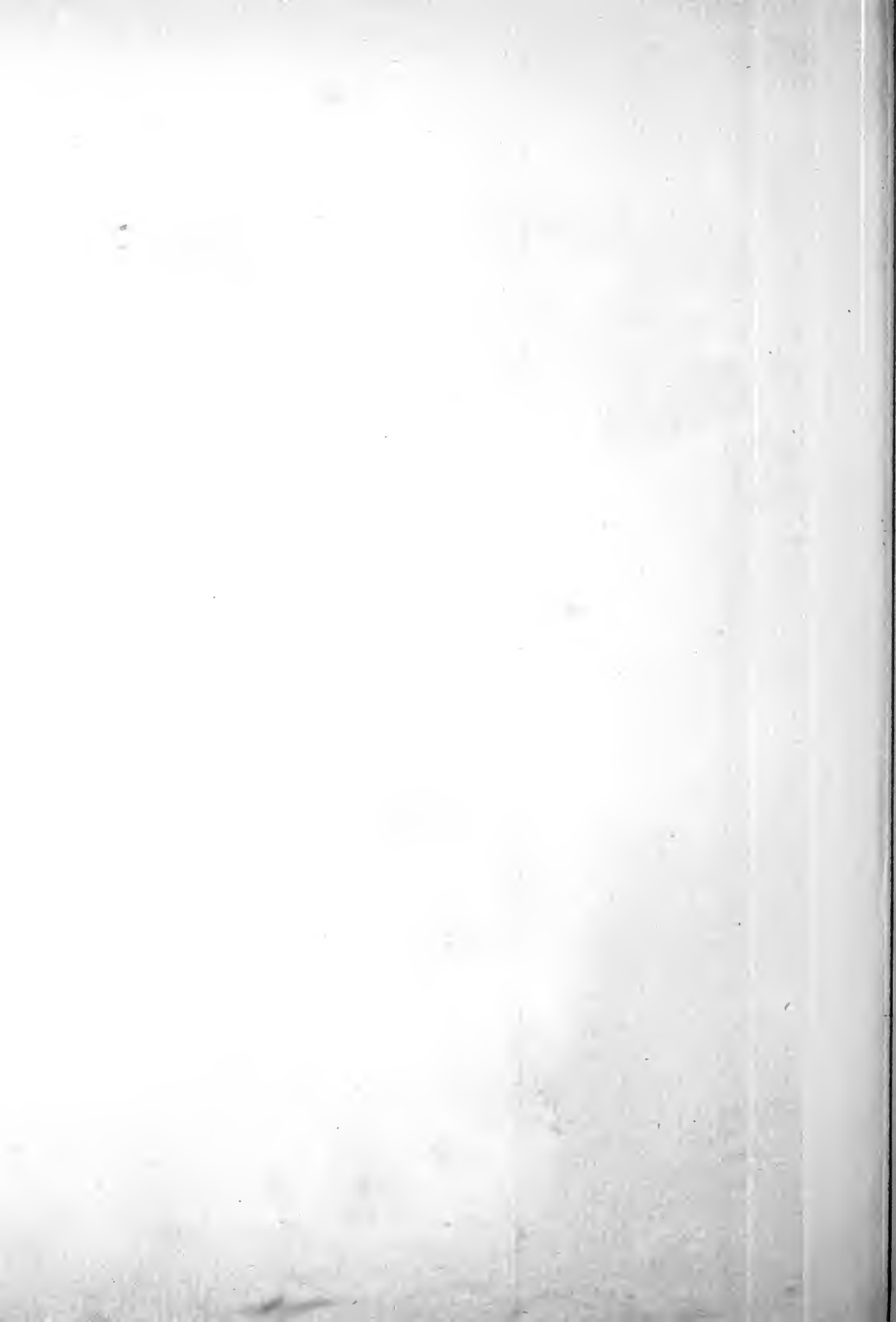


THE

HEAP,
 THE YEAR 1585.
 period, by R. Treswell.
 W. Wilson, N. 59, Cornhill.

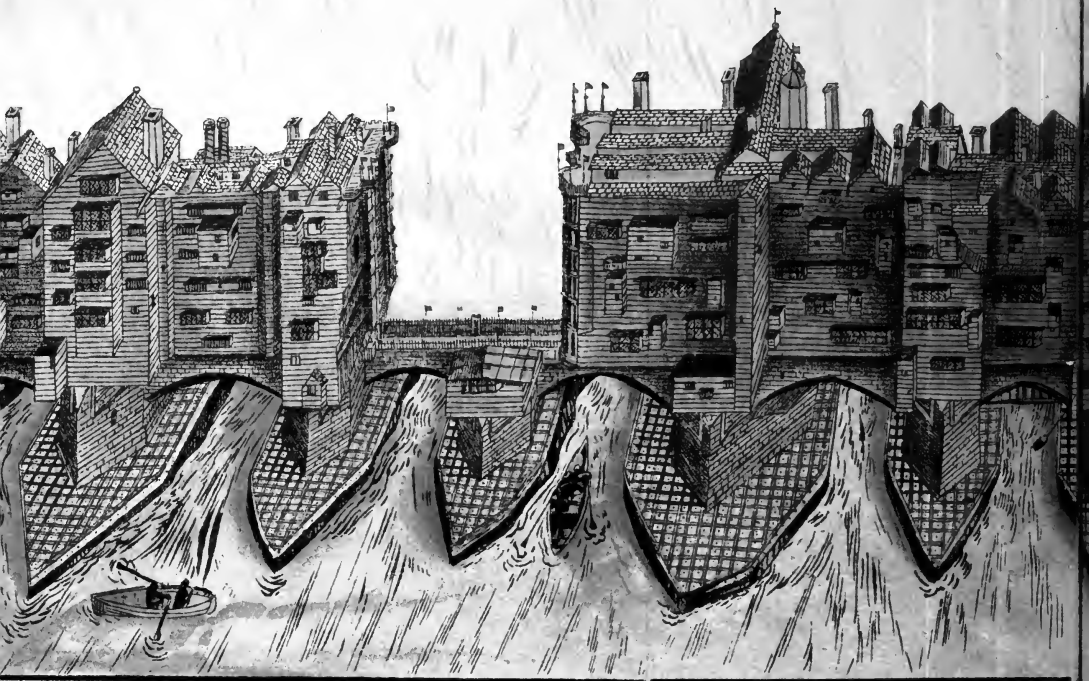
Corner of Paternoster Row. — Those Structures, destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, have not been rebuilt, but their Sites occupied by the Public Streets.

W. Wilson, N. 59, Cornhill.



12/3

This plot is Series 6, No. 9.



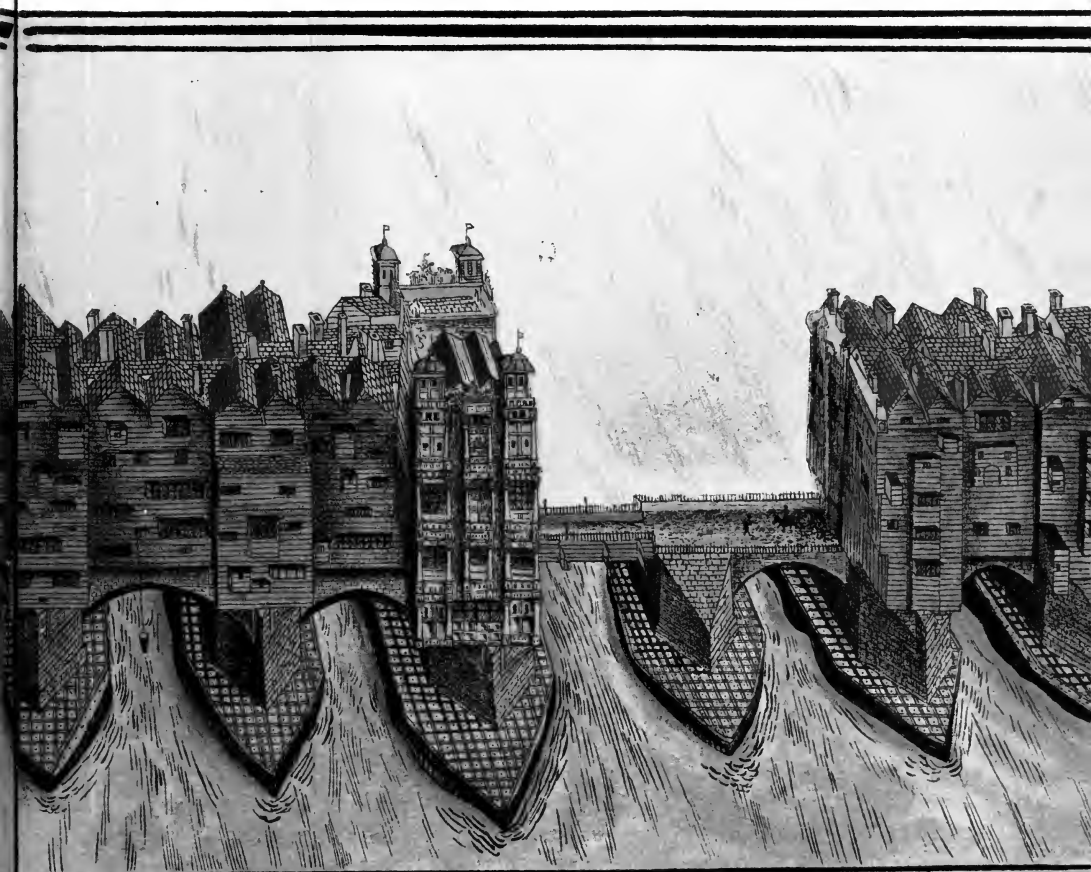
OLD LONDON

as SHAKSPERE saw it

AFTER 1576, WHEN THE TRAITORS' HEADS WERE REMOV'D TO THE SKY

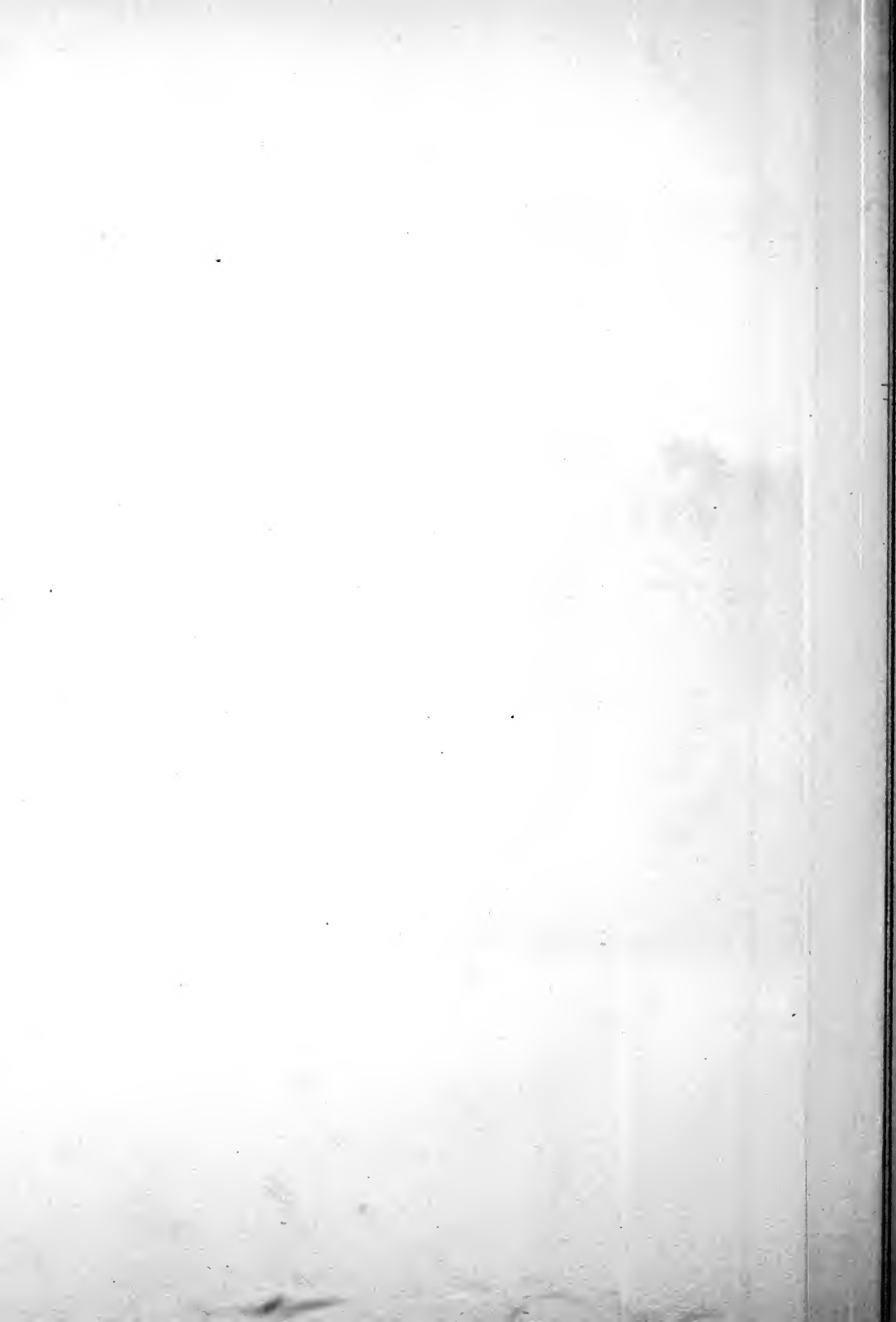
The earliest genuine full view, from a unique drawing in Pepys's Collection

for the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY, 1881, by W. G. R.



ONDON BRIDGE

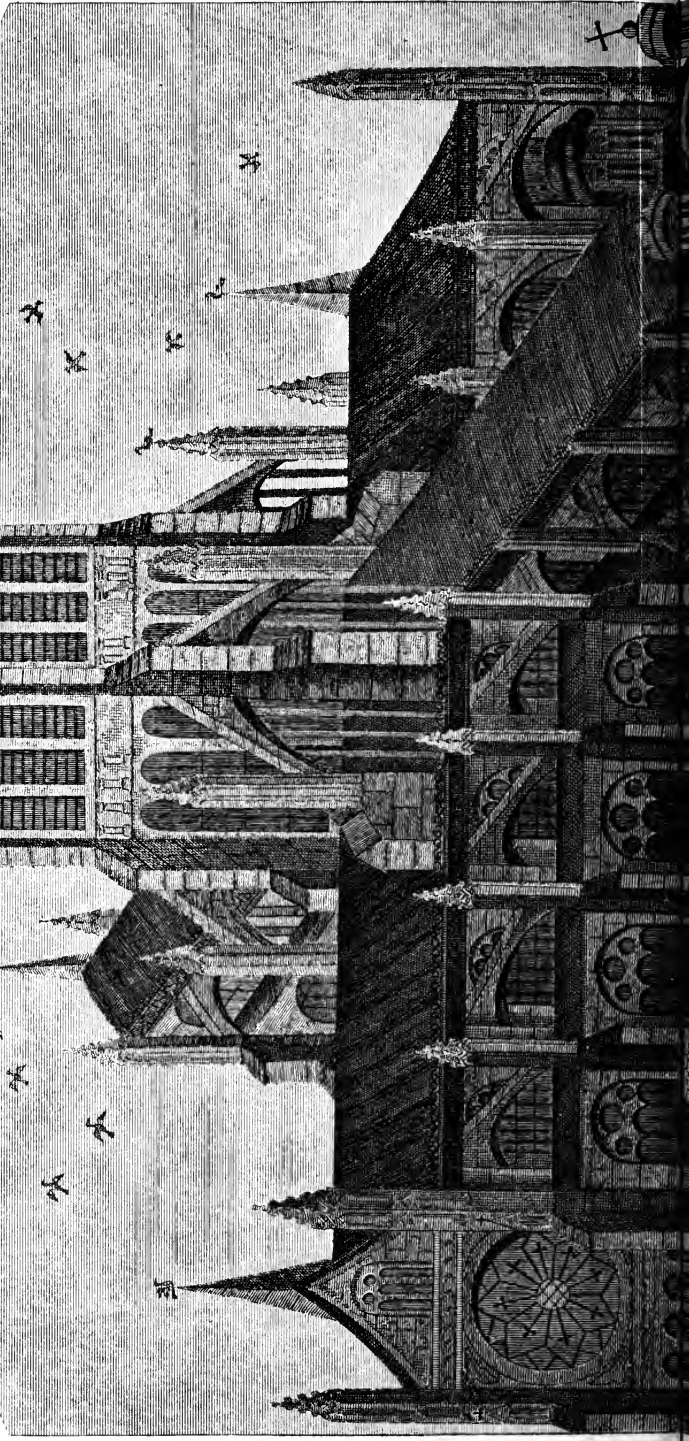
it about 1600, A.D.,
SOUTHWARK GATE: SEE HARRISON'S DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND, ed. Furnivall. Pt. I. p. 17
Section in Magdalen College, Cambridge, traced, & photo-chromo-lithograph
by W. Griggs, Elm House, Hanover St. Peckham, S. E.



4
C.D.
/

ING, 4. IS IT TYME FOR YOVRSELVES (O YEE) TO RE

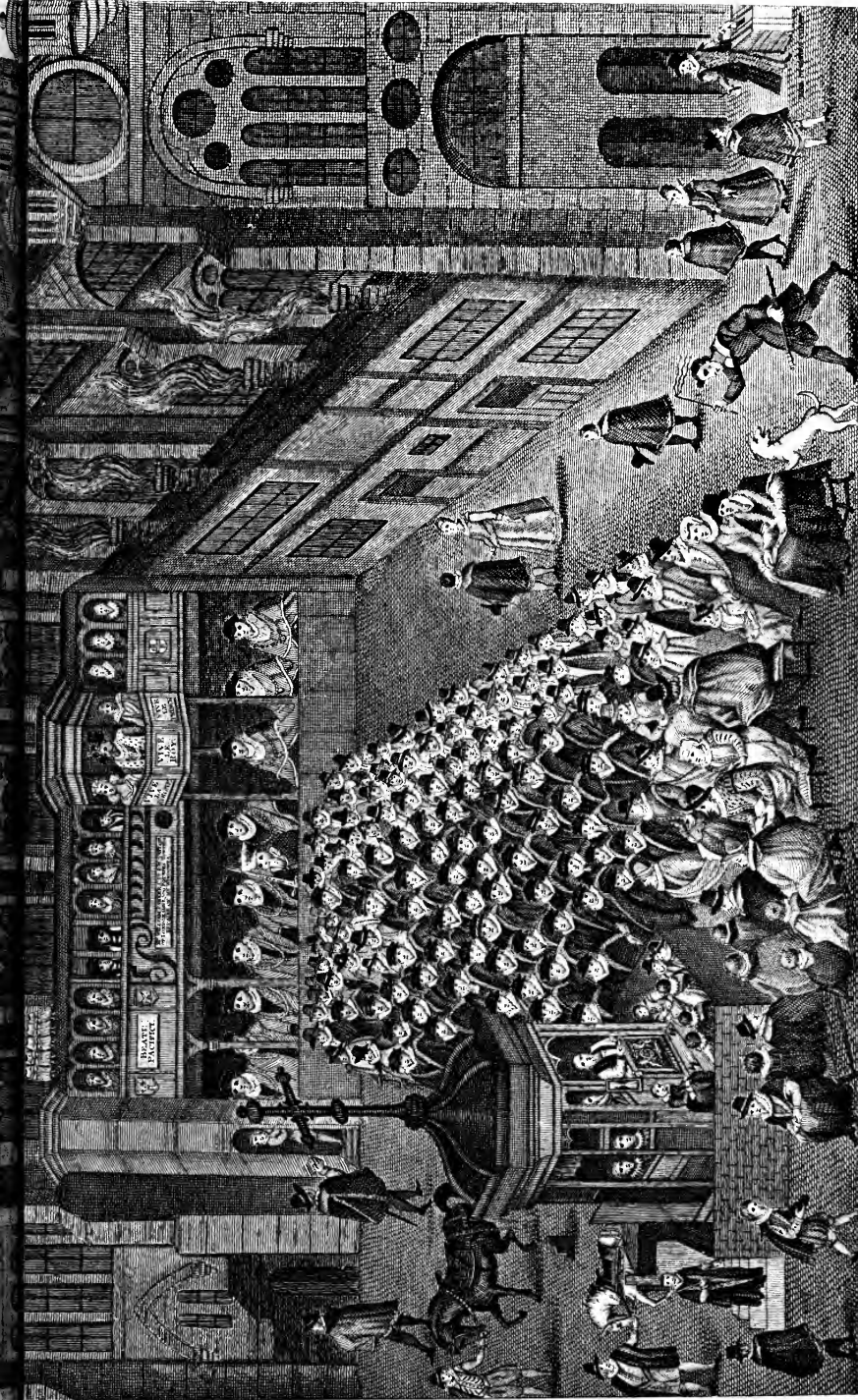
THAT THE LORDS HOUSE SHOU' D BE BUILT 3. THEN CAME THE WORD OF THE LORD BY HAGGAI THE PROPHETT SAYING,



PEOPLE SAIE, THE TYME IS NOT YET COME

WELL IN YOUR SEILED HOUSES, & THIS HOUSE, I YE WASTE,

HAGGAI CHAP: I: V: 2: THVS SPEAKETH THE LORD OF HOSTS THE

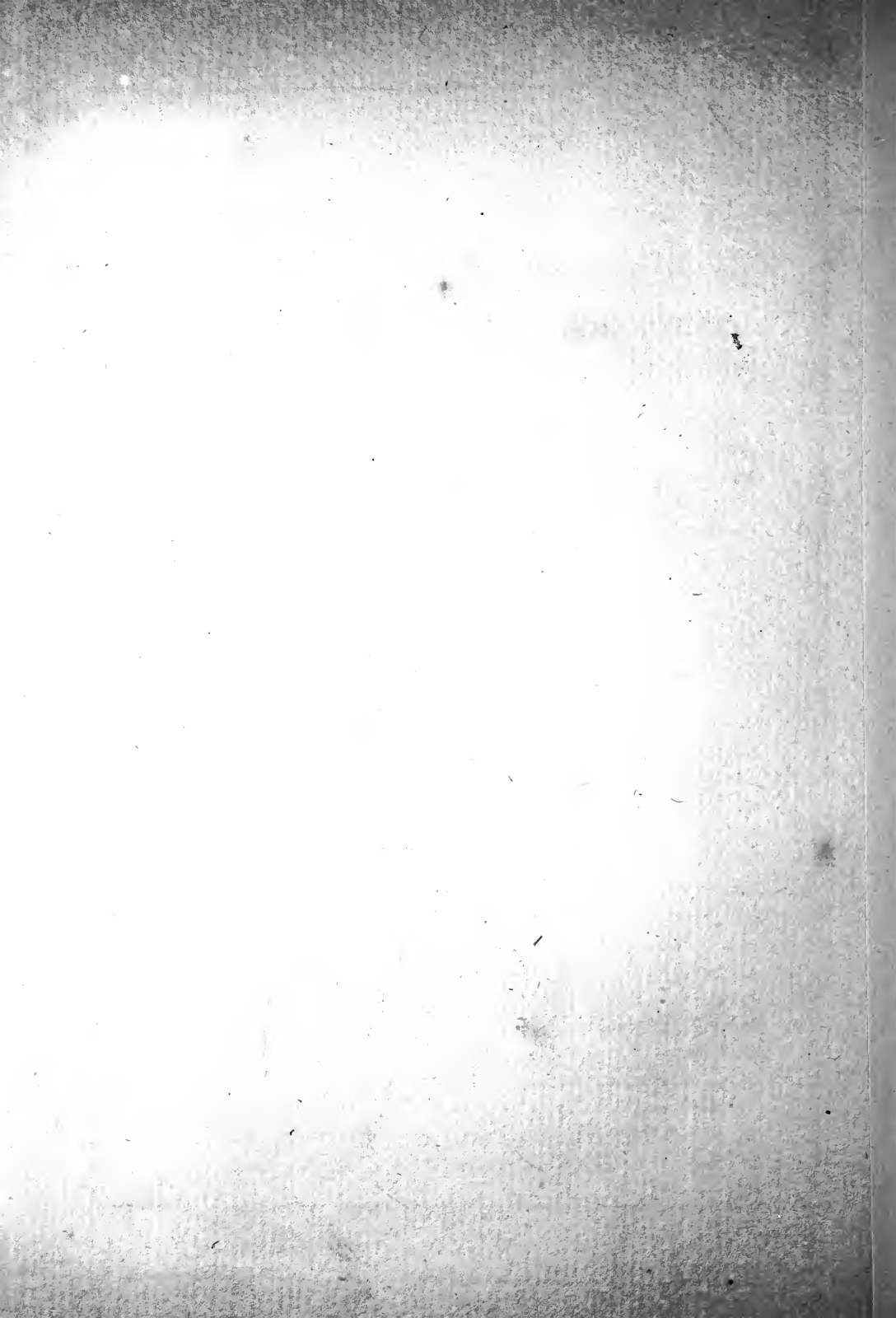


IT IS WRITTEN; MY HOUSE IS THE HOUSE OF PRAYER; &c;

ST. PAUL'S CROSS.

An accurate Edition, the only Carved Copy that remains of this Ancient and Curious Object, as it appeared on Sunday the 29th of March 1750, at which time, it was visited by King, James the 1st King, Queen, and Charles, Prince of Wales; attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops, Officers of State, Nobility, Ladies &c. &c. Who were received with great Magnificence by Sir William Cockaine Lord Mayor of London, assisted by the Court of Aldermen, Recorder &c. When a most excellent Sermon was preached from a text purposely selected in the Majesty's Chapel, Old Church by Mr. In D'John King Arch-
deacon of London, recommending the speedy reparation of the venerable Cathedral of St Paul which, with its magnificent Tower and incomparable of Houses are supported by the Brick and oak, &c. &c.

This Print is Engraved from an Original Drawing in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries at London.



TEMPORARY FORETALK TO *HARRISON*,
PART III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The artist has uzed the frequent license of his craft in representing the Tower as so close to London Bridge, and Bow Church—St. Mary le Bow with its central turret¹—in the same line as the Bridge. (His fancy Bridge should be compar'd with the real one as shown by the colord Pepys lithograf.) Bankside, Southwark,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Well, after Nonesuch House cums the wooden Drawbridge, still raisable in Shakspeare's time¹ to let masted or big boats thro'; and then the solitary walker and the horse and cart crossing Londonwards. At the Southern end of the next block, and separated from the Southwark Tower and Gate or Traitors' Gate by the 3rd arch from the Southwark side, was the 'beautiful and chargeable piece of work, and having all its fabric above the Bridge formed of timber,' which Thomson (*Chronicles of L. Br.*, p. 246-7, 250-1) describes from Stow as built seemingly at the same time as the Southwark Tower or Gate, from Aug. 28, 1577, to Sept. 1579. He says, "The structure consisted of four circular turrets, connected by curtains, and surmounted by battlements, containing a great number of transom casements; within which, having their roofs and chimneys rising above the Tower, were several small habitations, whilst beneath was a broad covered passage; the building itself projecting considerably over each side of the Bridge, the width of the carriage-way at this part being about 40 feet."—p. 250-1.

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

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

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

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

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

All the historical and other cram about the old Bridge I must leave readers to get up from its *Chronicles* and the known Histories of London. Ever since I read about the Pepys view of it in Thomson—and that may be over 30 years ago—I wanted to see it and have it copied; and ever since I saw it, some 13 years ago, my desire to get it reproduced was strengthened. At last, thro Mr. A. S. B. Miller of the Cambridge University Library, and the Rev. F. Gunton of Magdalen, Pepys Librarian, a chance was given me. Photographing was tried, but the old vellum and the faded colours were too much for the camera—tho its failure was not so complete as in the attempt to take the Andrea del Sarto picture in the Pitti Palace at Florence, which inspired Browning's touching poem cald by the painter's name.—There was nothing for it but to send Mr. Griggs's son up to Cambridge, and let him, in the few hours daily that Mr. Gunton could spare, make a careful facsimile¹ of the Pepys drawing, and then fotograf that on to the stone, and print it in 13 tints. This Mr. Griggs has done, and he and we may be congratulated on the result. Our warmest thanks are due to Mr. Gunton for his kindness, and to Mr. Miller for his good offices, in thus securing the publication, for the first time, of one of the most eagerly sought for and valuable representations of the Old Bridge, so long one of the wonders of England, which Chaucer, Shakspeare, Milton, Cromwell, and all our Worthies must have crost, and which we can now see as Shakspeare saw it.

The original is rightly describ'd by Thomson (*Chronicles*, p. 259) as a "very old drawing . . . a most fair and interesting view of the Western side, as it appeared about the time of Elizabeth, or James I., delicately drawn with a pen, slightly shaded, coloured and gilded, but all faded by time, and nearly worn out by having been folded in two, from the continual friction of the surfaces. It measures about $24\frac{1}{4}$ inches, by $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches; and is now contained in the portfolio marked '*London and Westminster*, I. 246, 247, C.' As the Bridge is represented with the Northern end in a perfectly entire state, it must have been drawn anterior to the great conflagration which destroyed it [the N. end] in 1632-33. . . From the minute and careful manner in which it is drawn, it may certainly be esteemed as peculiarly authentic."

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

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

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

F. J. FURNIVALL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Crosse in
Cheape
repaired.

11

Harrison's Description of England.

A.D. 1577—1587.

11

APPENDIX II.

NOTES

ON ENGLISH HOUSES IN SHAKSPERE'S TIME.

By W. NIVEN,

AUTHOR OF 'OLD WARWICKSHIRE HOUSES,' ETC.

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

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

Of the dwellings of the peasant, very little has been told us by
HARRISON II. D

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

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

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

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

divided into cottages, but they often owe their preservation to this change; for when they have remained the residence of their owners, it has rarely happened that, through so many generations, they have escaped being enlarged and improved out of all recognition. Houses of this class built during Elizabeth's reign were not, as a rule, fortified in any way. The necessity for such protection had ceased, and though we may often find a house of this date surrounded by a moat, it will probably be found that it occupied the site of an older building. The lesser manor-house, or ordinary *hall-house*, often consisted only of a simple parallelogram under one roof, which was perhaps broken by gables in front; or it may have had small wings at its extremities, with a projecting porch in the centre. A court-yard was often enclosed in front of the house by walls, with an arched entrance opposite the porch or chief entrance, of which a good specimen remains at Bredon's Norton, co. Worcester; or the enclosure was partly flanked by stabling or other outbuildings. In addition to the rooms contained in the better sort of farm-house and esquire's house, there were here often a private dining-room, buttery, pantry, cellar, state bed-chamber, and frequently, upon the upper floor, a long and narrow *gallery*, sometimes partly formed in the roof, and which seems to have been used for exercise and games, and was a delight for children in wet weather. Sometimes they contained a family portrait-gallery, as at Stanford, Worcester,¹ and in the large houses the gallery was developed to great dimensions. Of the class we are now considering there is a good instance at Meer Hall, near Droitwich, a timber building. Architectural treatment and decoration become more noticeable in houses of this class. The exterior was generally plain, except that prominence was often given at this time to the entrance doorway or porch by the application of one of the newly-imported 'orders.' The windows were still divided with mullions and transoms, and glazed in small leaded squares or lozenges, with coats of arms in painted glass in the windows of some of the chief rooms. Of the internal decoration Harrison² tells us: 'The wals of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherin either diuerse histories, or hearbes, beasts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seeled with oke of our owne, or wainscot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the rooms are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close

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

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

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

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

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

The gate-houses of Henry VIII.'s time were particularly splendid. They were commonly placed, as at Hengrave, in the centre of the chief front, and were often ennobled with lofty turrets, both on the outer and inner sides of the front building. That at Coughton, Warwick,² is a

² *Illustrations of Old Warwickshire Houses*, 1878, by W. Niven.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In reviewing the general character of the English Renaissance of

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

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

¹ Upon the plan is written:

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

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

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

* J. Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*.

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

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

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

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

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

THE HOUSES ILLUSTRATED.

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

CHARLECOTE.

1. GENERAL VIEW. 2. THE PORCH.

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

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

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

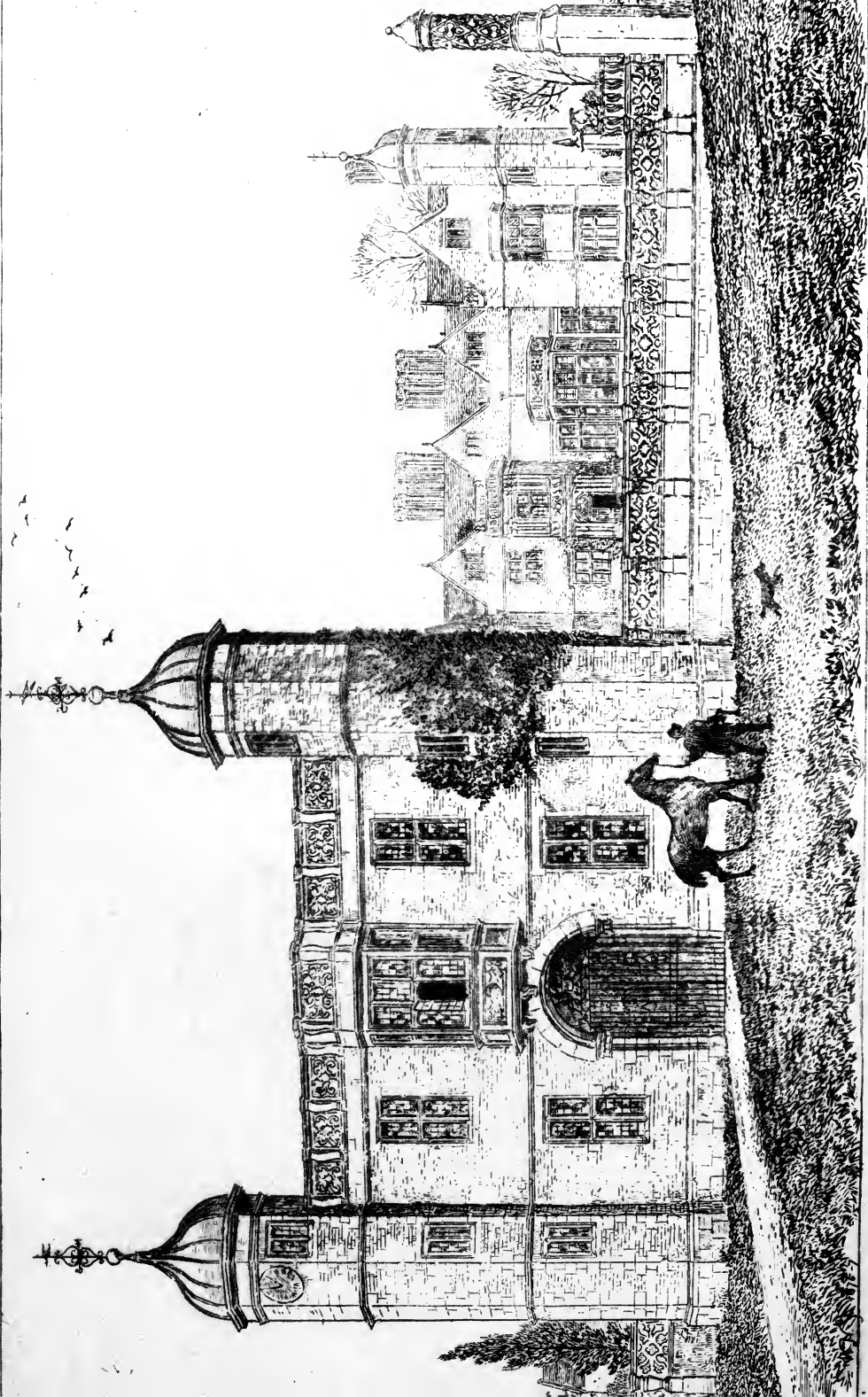
THE HALL, LITTLE WOLFORD.

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

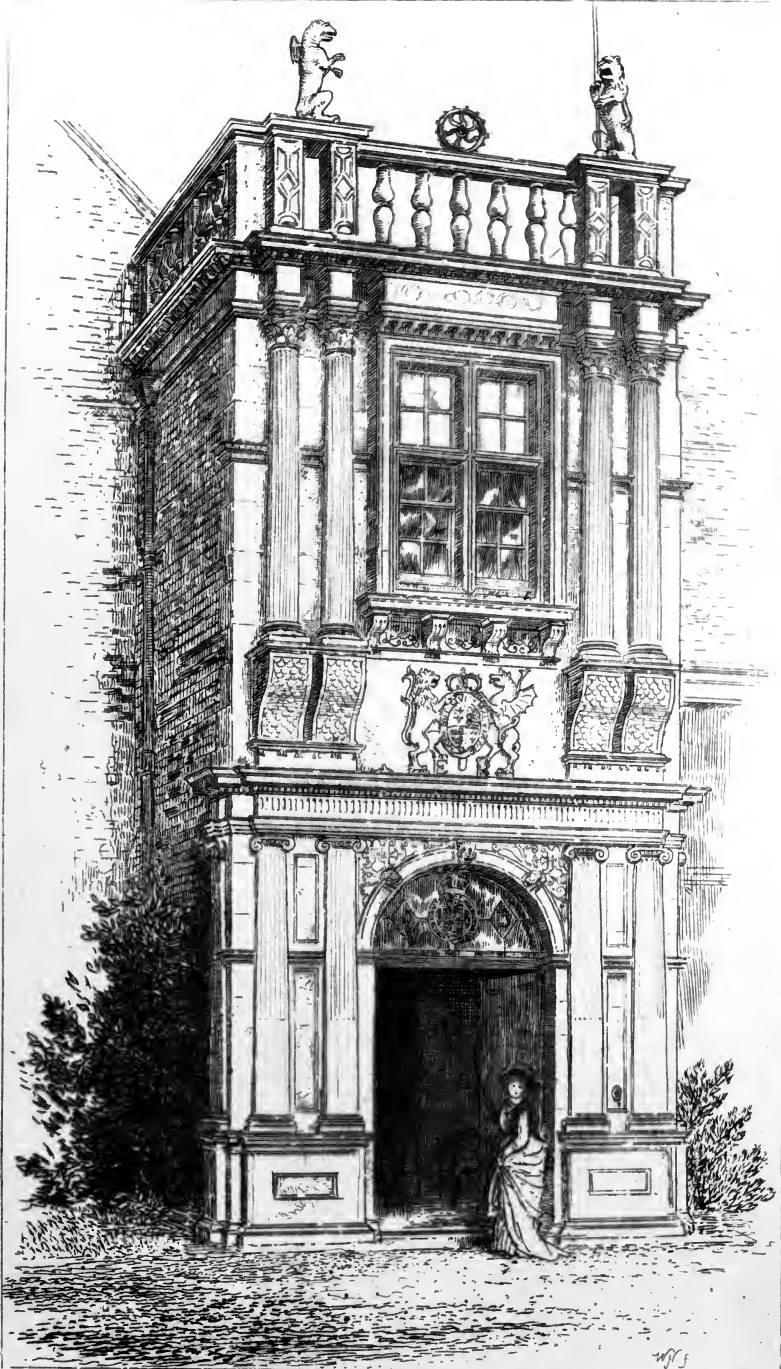
MANOR HOUSE, MIDDLE LITTLETON.

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

¹ Nash's *Hist. of Worcestershire*.

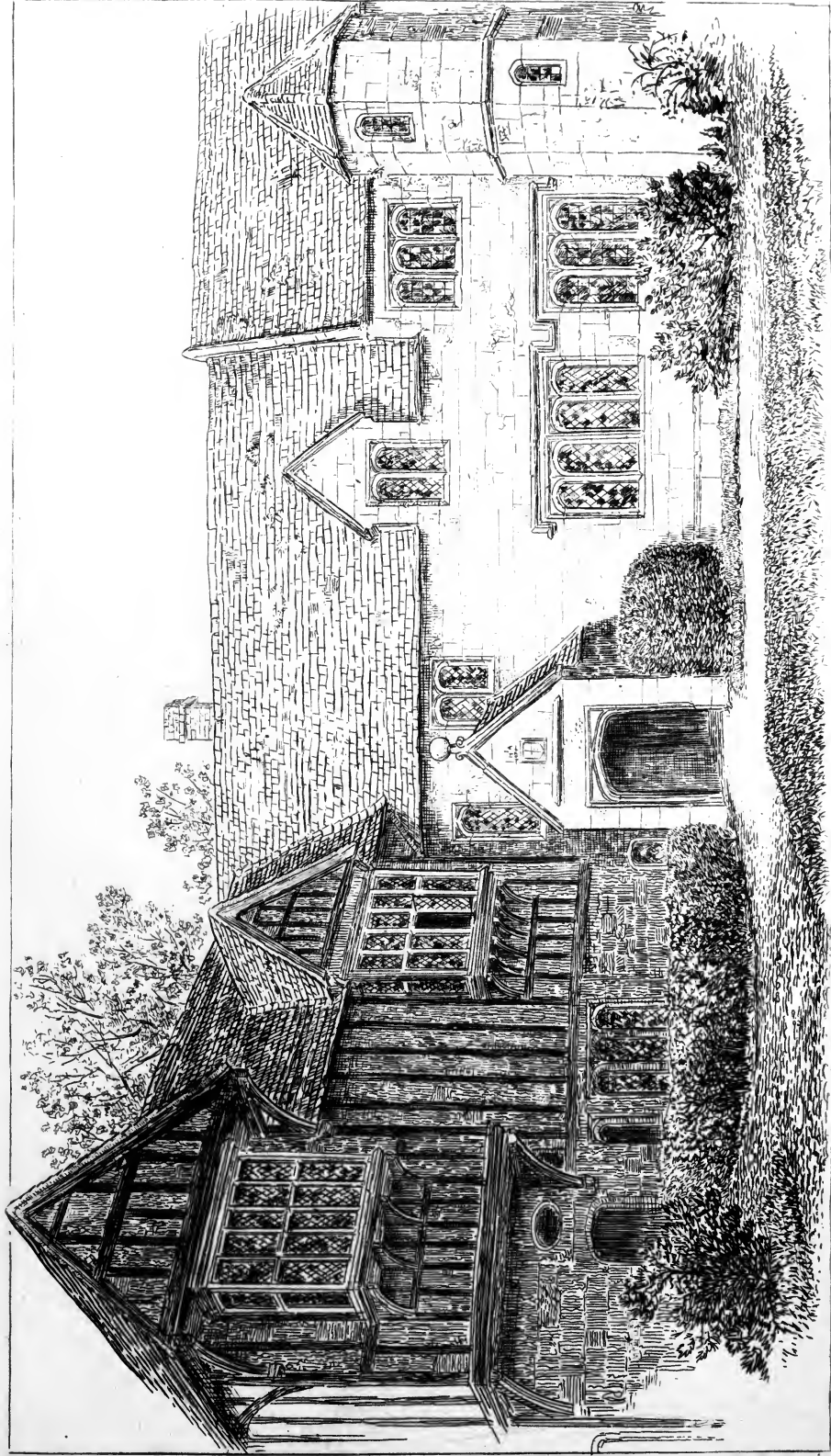




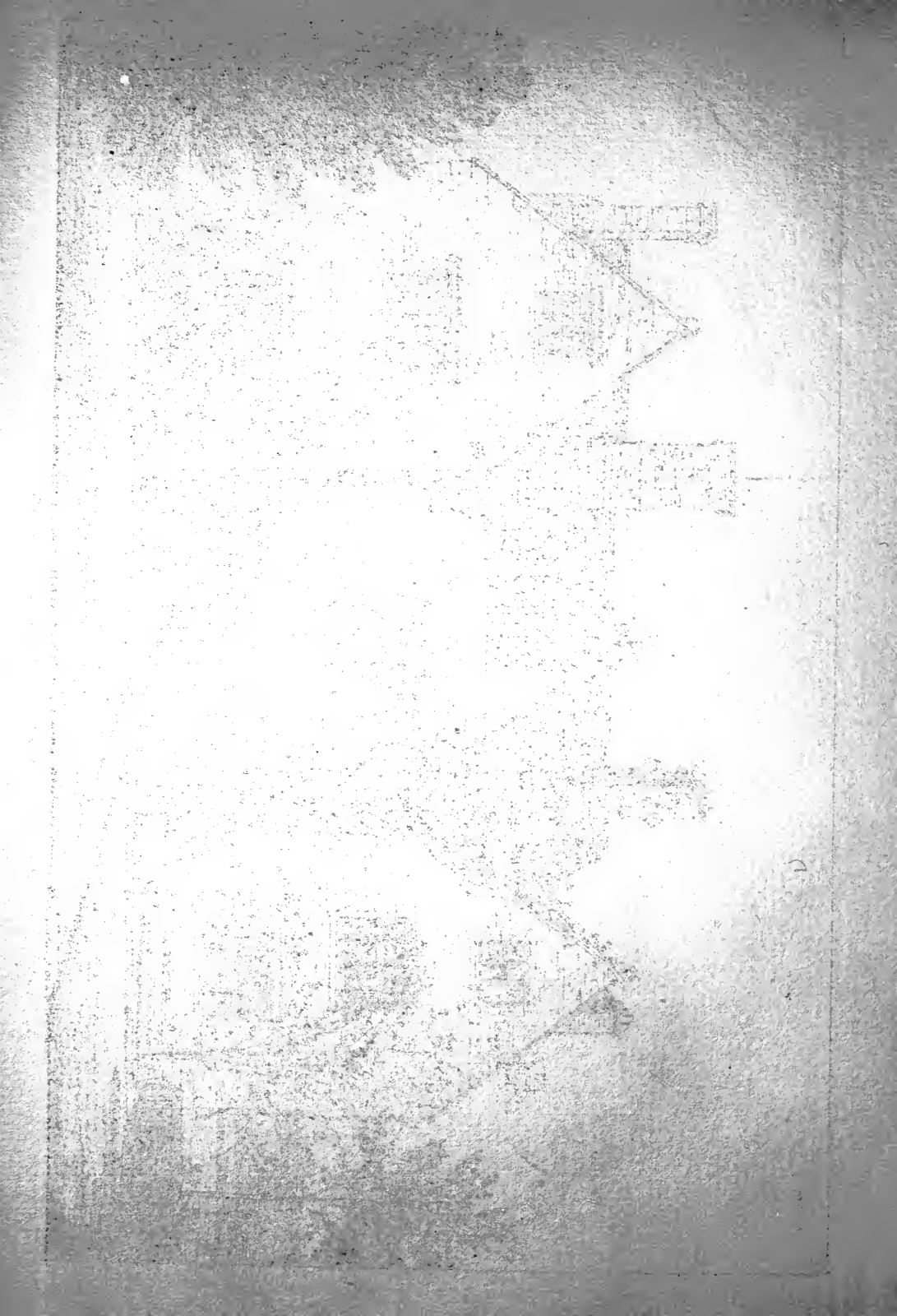


CHARLECOTE HALL *The Porch*

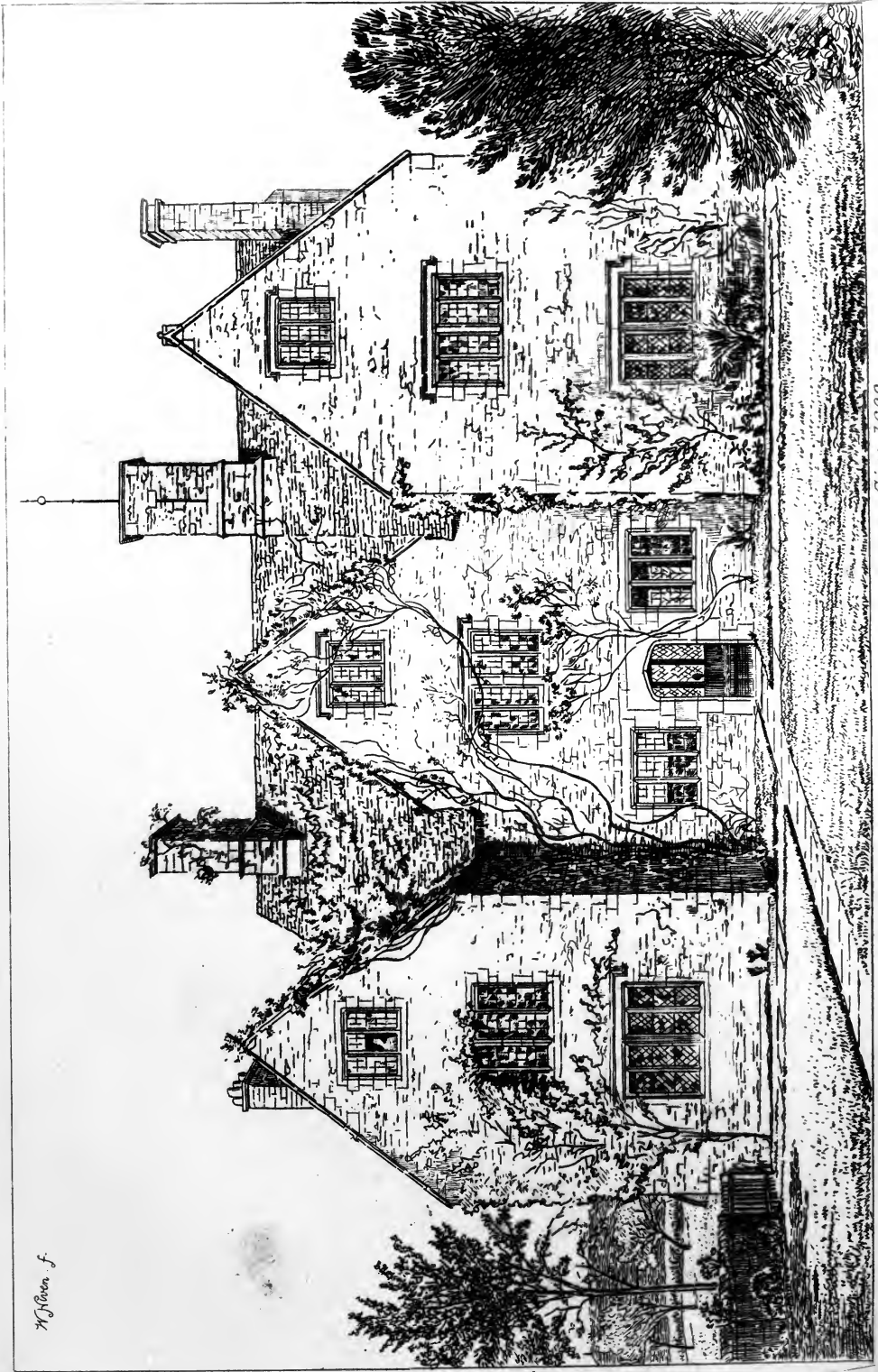




LITTLE WOLFORD, WARWICK, the Hall, 16th cent. with later additions.



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H. Raven. f.

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



PART III. SUPPLEMENT.

FOUR CHAPTERS OF
HARRISON'S FIRST BOOK,
WITH BITS FROM
CHURCHYARD, NORDEN, CORYAT,
FYNES MORISON, ETC.



SUPPLEMENT.

EXTRACTS FROM HARRISON'S FIRST BOOK, &C.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Chap. 18. <i>Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland</i>, p. 127.</p> <p>2. Chap. 19. <i>Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland</i>, p. 151.</p> <p>3. Chap. 20. <i>Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons</i>, p. 149.</p> <p>4. Chap. 24. <i>Of the maruels of England</i>, p. 155.</p> | <p>5. <i>Extracts from</i>,
 <i>a. Churchyard's Challenge</i>, 1593,
 p. 167, and
 <i>β. Manners of Men</i>, 1594, p. 173.
 <i>γ. Norden's Surveyors Dialogue</i>,
 1608, p. 174.
 <i>δ. Fynes Moryson's Itinerary</i>, 1617,
 6. <i>Notes</i>. [p. 197.
 7. <i>Hindwords</i>.
 8. <i>Index</i>.</p> |
|--|--|

Of the aire, and foyle, [and commodities]

of¹ *this Iland*.¹

[leaf 37, ed. 1577.]

Cap. 18.²

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

[*The aire of Britaine.*]

Is as good as any other land's,

and so is the situation of our Iland.

¹— Britaine ed. 1577.

² Chap. 13 (1st Book), ed. 1577.

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

[*The soile.*]

Is very fruitful,

but fitter for
grazing than
tilling.

3 fourths are
pasture, 1 fourth
arable.

The old Britons
were nomads.

[*Criacht.*]

Some Welsh
land is as good
as English. No
Scotch is.

The foile of Britaine is such, as by the testimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience also of such as now inhabit the same, is verie fruitfull; [and such in deed as bringeth forth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue need, and yet it selfe (it fond niceness were abolished) needlesse of those that are dailie brought from other places. Neuertheless it is] more inclined to¹ feeding and grasing,² than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reason whereof the countrie is woonderfullie replenished with neat, and all kind of cattell: and such store is there also of the same in euerie place, that the fourth part of the land is scarce manured for the prouision and maintenance of graine. Certes this fruitfulness was not vnknowne vnto the Britons long before *Cæsars* time, which was the cause wherefore our predecessors liuing in those daies in maner neglected tillage, and liued by feeding and grasing onelie. The grasers themselues also then dwelled in moouable villages by companies, whose custome was to diuide the ground amongst them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie [(a thing much like to the Irish *Criacht*)] till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remooue further, and seeke for better pasture. And this was the British custome [as I learne] at first. It hath bene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither so fruitfull as that of England, neither the foile of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the most part³: otherwise, there is to good ground in some parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the best of Scot-

¹—¹ but yet more inclined to the. 1577. ² of the cattle. 1677.

³ if it be taken for the most part. 1577.

land be scarce comparable to the meane¹ of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scottish dooth faile in some respect, so dooth it surmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yeeld fourth like commodities.

[But where our ground is not so good as we would wish, we haue (if need be) sufficient helpe to cherish our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull, For beside the compest that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, doouehouses, or cities and great townes: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of so great force, that if it be cast ouer a peece of land but once in three score years, it shall not need² of anie further compeeting. Hereof also dooth *Plinie* speake, *lib. 17. cap. 6, 7, 8*, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth vpon the earth by the space of fourefcodd yeares: infomuch that it is laid vpon the same but once in a mans life, whereby the owner shall not need to trauell twise in procuring to commend and better his soile. He calleth it *Marga*, and making diuerse kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth sometime a hundred foot deepe, and farre better than the scattering of chalke vpon the same, as the *Hedui* and *Pictones* did in his time, or as some of our daies also doo practise: albeit diuerse doo like better to cast on lime, but it will not so long indure, as I haue heard reported.]

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

For manure, we haue Dung,

and White Marl, a dressing of which lasts 60 years.

[*Marle.*]

Plinie praises our Marl,

and the French Marl more.

Marling is better than chalking land.

Lime is used too.

Plentie of riuers.

Hilles.

Shooters Hill in Kent.

¹ best,

² orig. nees.

fide of the Iland westward, vntill it come to Cornewall.¹
 Like vnto these also are the Crowdon hils, which [though
 vnder diuers names (as also the other] from the Peke)
 doo run into the borders of Scotland. What should I
 speake of the Cheuiot hilles, which reach² twentie miles
 in length? of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which
 go from (*) to (*) miles at the least in length? [of the
 Cle hilles in Shropshire, which come within foure miles
 of Ludlow, and are diuided from some part of Worcester
 by the Leme?] of the Crames in Scotland, and of our
 Chiltren, which are eightene miles at the least from one
 end of them³ [which reach from Henlie in Oxfordshire
 to Dunstable in Bedfordshire, and] are verie well replen-
 ished with wood [and corne?] notwithstanding that the
 most part yeeld a sweet short graffe, profitable for sheepe.
 Wherein albeit they of Scotland doo somewhat come be-
 hind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompensed,
 not onelie with plentie of quarries (and those of fundrie
 kinds of marble, hard stone, and fine alabafter) but also
 rich mines of metall, as shall be shewed hereafter.

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

The Cheviot Hills.
 [(*) *Here lacks.*]
Cle Hills.
Chiltern Hills.
Down-grass for sheep.
Scotland has
quarries and
mines.
Winds.
Building.
 We unluckily
 build in vallies,
 to get out of
 the wind.
Foreigners build
on hills,
to keep cool.

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

not so farre as the highest, or else becommeth not so strong as when it is reflected vpon¹ the lower soile.²

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

The pasture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie³ of the soile, whereby in most places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattell with speed, or yeeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yellowest butter and finest cheese are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the winters water in long season) there the grasse is spearie, rough, and

*Husbandrie
amended.*

Our soil has
improvd
lately,

by the care of
farmers,

my time-
fellows,

especially in
Wales,

where most folk
once were
thieves.

Pasture.

It is mostly
fine and rich.

¹ to

² mountayne

³ situation

Our best
pasture land is
in Cardigan.

verie apt for bushes: by which occasion it commeth¹ nothing so profitable vnto the owner [as the other]. The best pasture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the pasture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheefe. I speake of² [the same] which is to be found in the mountaines there, where the hundred part of the grasse growing is not eaten, but suffered to rot on the ground, whereby the foile becommeth matted, and diuerse bogges and quicke moores made withall in long continuance: because all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. [If it be to be accompted good foile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morrow find it hidden and ouergrown with grasse: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheles, such is the fruitfulness of the afore-said countie, that it farre surmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batableness with Italiae, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wickedness of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and draine of hell: so that whereas they were wont to saie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie speake it; whereas we know by experience that the foile of Italie is a noble foile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodnesse.]

It's as fertile as
Italy, the

Paradise of the
World,

and the
Sink of Hell.

Medowes.

Land-meads.

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

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

¹ becommeth

² that

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

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

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

though you get thrice or twice as much of it.

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

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

I can't set down all their gammon.

The yeeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate folowing. Through out the land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane¹ and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of [rie or] wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yeeld commonlie [sixteene

Corne.

¹ common

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

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

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

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

and we beat the Flemish hops..

A man by

12 acres of hops has cleared 135. 6s. 8d. (A mark was 13s. 4d.)

or] twentie bushels, an acre of barlie fix¹ and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like [foure or] fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, sowed together, tares and otes (which they call bulmong), rie and wheat [named miscelin], here is no place to speake, yet their yeeld is neuerthelesse much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. [And yet is not this our great foison comparable to that of hotter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increase which *Eldred Danus* writeth of in his *De imperie Iudæorum in Aethiopia* surmounteth, where he faith that in the field neere to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Gosan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barleie growing dooth yeeld an hundred kernels at the least vnto the owner.

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

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

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

Cattell.

Our Oxen 'll
bang the world.

So 'll our Sheep,

and our Goats.

Our Rabbits
are very fat,
specially at

*Meall and
Disnege.*

But as I meane to intreat of these things more largelie hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation² wanteth, and that is wine the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negligence of our countriemen (especiallie of the south partes) who doo not inure the same to this commoditie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes³ [almost for pleasure & shadow, much lesse then the plaine]³ fields or feuerall vineyards [for aduantage and commoditie.] Yet of late time some haue assaied to deale for wine, [as to your lordship also is right well knowen.] But sith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard,

Unhappily we
grow no

Wine.

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

¹—1 so plentifullye indued with so ample and large commodities.

² Country.

³—3 eyther in the fields.

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

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

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

If it be true, that where wine dooth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this Iland heretofore, first the charter that *Probus* the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one sufficient testimonie. And that it did grow here, [beside the testimonie of *Beda lib. 1. cap. 1.*] the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of some parsons and vicars in Kent, [elsewhere,] besides the records of fundrie futes, commensed in diuerse ecclesiasticall courts, both in Kent,¹ Surrie, [&c:] also the inclosed parcels almost in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witness² [as also the plot which we now call east Smithfield in London giuen by *Canutus* sometime king of this land, with other soile there about vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighton Guild. The truth is (saith *John Stow* our countrie man, and diligent traueller in the old estate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Port foken ward, and giuen in time past to the religious house within Algate. Howbeit first Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Essex, constables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion from the said house, vntill the reigne of

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

abbey vine-
yards, and East
Smithfield
(which

John Stow, our
London anti-
quary, says is
now Portfoken
Ward, &c.),

¹ Kent and

² proofe

king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie also was in the first times of the Normans called *Le Ile¹ des vignes*. And good record appeereth, that the bishop there had yearelie three or foure tunne at the least giuen him *Nomine decimæ*, beside whatfoeuer ouer-summe of the liquor did accrue to him by leases and other excheats whereof also I haue seene mention.] Wherefore our foile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were so exceeding short, that [in August and September] the moone, which is ladie of moifture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wise shine long inough vpon the fame: a verie meere toie and fable right worthie to be suppressed, [because experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rhenish wines.]

The time hath beene also that wad, [wherwith our countrie men died their faces (as *Cæsar* saith) that they might seeme terrible to their enimies in the field (and also women & their daughters in law did staine their bodies & go naked, in that pickle to the sacrifices of their gods, coueting to resemble therein the Ethiopians, as *Plinie* saith *li. 22. cap. 1.*)] and [also] madder haue beene (next vnto our tin and woolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find also that rape oyle hath beene made within this land. But now our foile [either] will [not or at the least wise may not] beare ³either wad or madder³: [I saie] ⁴not that the⁴ ground is not able so to doo, but that we are negligent, [afraid of the pilling of our grounds,] and carelesse of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the fame of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may saie of flax, which by law ought to be sown in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or lesse: but I see no successe of that good and wholesome law,⁵ sith it is rather contempt-

which was formerly a vineyard.

The Ile of Ely was call'd the Ile of Vines.

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

Woad and madder sometime in Englande.²

The Britons staine themselves with woad.

Rape oyle.

We don't now grow woad or madder.

Flaxe

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

¹ orig. *lle*. ² wad. Madder. Rape, in F. J. F.'s copy, ed. 1587.

³—³ neyther of these

⁴—⁴ not for that

⁵ estatute

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

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

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

[*Eleg.* 2.]

Euentus varios res noua semper habet.

But verie manie let not to affirme², that ³[the greedie corruption of the promoters on the one side, facilitie in dispensing with good lawes, and first breach of the same, in the lawmakers & superiours, & priuat respects, of their establishment, on the other, are the greatest causes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies so redie to offend without anie facultie one waie, as they are otherwise to presume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken.]³ But as in these things I haue no skill, so I⁴ wish that fewer licences for the priuat commoditie but of a few were granted ⁵[(not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorable

[*Principes longè
magis exemplo
quàm culpa pec-
care solent.*]

Fewer Licenses
should be grant-
ed for the bene-
fit of indivi-
duals,

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

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

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

increafed) & that euerie one which by feede friend-
 fhip (or otherwife) dooth attempt to procure oughts
 from the prince, that may profit but few, and proue
 hurtfull to manie, might be at open affizes and feffions
 denounced enimie to his countrie and common-wealth
 of the land.

and the hurt of
 the people.

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

Glass, ſciſſors,

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

They worke
 harder than the
 idler fighting
 Saxons and
 Normans.

If it were requiſit that I ſhould ſpeake of the fundrie
 kinds of mould, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are
 diuerſe forts (red, blue, blacke and white) alſo the red
 or white ſandie, the lomie, roſellie, grauellie, chalkie
 or blacke, I could ſaie that there are ſo manie diuerſe
 veines in Britaine, as elſe where in anie quarter of like
 quantitie in the world. Howbeit this I muſt needs
 confeſſe, that the ſandie & cledgie doo beare¹ [great]
 ſwaie: but the claie moſt of all, as hath beene,
 and yet is alwaies ſeene & felt through plentie and
 dearth of corne. For if this latter [(I meane the claie)]
 doo yeeld hir full increaſe [(which it dooth commonlie
 in drie yeares for wheat)] then is there generall plentie:
 whereas if it faile, then haue we ſcarſitie, according to
 the old rude verſe ſet downe of England, but to be vnder-
 ſtood of the whole Iland, as experience dooth confirme:

Of Clay, and
 other
 Earths.

Most of ours
 are clay and
 ſand.

In dry ſeaſons
 the clay yeilds
 well; in wet
 ones, nothing,

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

and we sing
'wellaway!'

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

Vallies.

The vales of
White Horse,

Whitehart,
Ringdale, &c.,
as Leland says.

Fennes.

Some are from
10 to 30 miles
long: the
Girwies 60.

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

I might here intreat¹ of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horffe, another of Eouefham, ²[commonlie taken for the granarie of Worcesterfhire,]² the third of Ailefbirie that goeth by Tame, the rootes of Chilterne hils,³ to Donstable, Newport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckingham, Birtane parke, &c. Likewife⁴ of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemoore in Dorsethire. [The fift of Ringdale or Renidale, corruptlie called Kingtaile, that lieth (as mine author faith) vpon the edge of Essex and Cambridgeshire,] and also the Marshwood vale: but for so-much as I know not well their feuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their description.⁵ In like sort it should not be amisse to speake of our fennes,⁶ [although our countrie be not so full of this kind of foile as the parties beyond the seas, to wit, Narbon, &c: and thereto of] other pleafant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great store of [corne and] fine fodder for neat and horffes in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but also of no small compasse and quantitie in ground. For some of our fens are well knownen to be either of ten, twelue, sixteene, twentie, or thirtie miles in length, that of the Girwies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) [Wherein also Elie the famous Ile standeth, which is feuen miles euerie waie, and wherevnto there is no accessse but by three causies, whose inhabitants in like sort by an old priuilege may take wood, sedge, turfe, &c; to burne: likewise haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houses of custome,

¹ intreat also

²—² noted to be twelue or thirteene miles in compasse,

³ and so to

⁴ And likewise

⁵ description at this time

⁶ and other

and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetoufneffe hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, afwell in the faid Ile as moft other places of this land]

Finallie, I might difcourfe in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the foiles [Commons.] for the benefit of fuch poore, as inhabit within the compaffe of their manors. But as the [true intent of the giuers is now in moft places defrauded, in ſo much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the fame, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, fo the] tractation of them belongeth rather to the fecond booke. Wherefore¹ I meane not at this prefent to deale withall, ²but referue² the fame wholie vnto the due place whileft I go forward with the reft; [fetting downe neuertheleffe by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

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

Two old praifes of England.

*Illa quidem longè celebris splendore, beata,
Glebis, lacte, fauis, supereminet infula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cuius ab ore
Profluit oceanus, &c.* And a little after.
*Teftis Lundoniaratibus, Wintonia Baccho,
Herefordia grege, Worcestria frugeredundans,
Batha lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria pisce,
Eboraca fyluis, Exceftria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Ceftria Gallis,
Ciceftum Norwagenis, Dunelmia præpinguis,
Teftis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Teftis Eli formosa fitu, Doncaftria visu, &c.*

¹ 60

²—² reserving

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

Chap. 19.²

Some folk say
 the Saxons
 made our Four
 High Ways.

But they are
 weak in the
 knees,

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

the Romans
 made these
 Ways.

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

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, doo affirme, that this diuision of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should apperteine vnto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since³ the Romanes gaue vs ouer: [and herevpon they inferre, that Wattling street was builded by one Wattle from the east vnto the west.] But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of these streets it selfe shall easilie declare, whereof some parcelles, after a fort, are also fet downe by *Antoninus*; and those that haue written of the feuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peradventure not in so direct an order as they were at the first established. For my part, if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpose, make a large confutation of diuerse of their opinions concerning these passages, [and thereby rather ascribe the originall of these waies to the Romans than either the British or Saxon princes.] But sith I haue spent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, [and that I see great cause (notwithstanding my late alledged scruple) wherfore I should hold with our *Galfride* before anie other;] I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and saie what I maie for the better knowledge of their courses, proceeding therein as followeth.

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

¹ Lande

² Chap. 12.

³ sith

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

had 4 great
Highways made
from sea to sea,

and protected
travellers.

But no tracks
of these ways
are now known;

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

(Euen now land-
lords lessen
commons

to get rents out
of cottages built
on them.)

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

his workmanship, and the higher ground ouer-grow their rising crefts. He indued them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whofoeuer should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wife, neere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by freendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie prouided in those cases were¹ due vnto the offenders. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the [Ikenild].²

made fresh acts
against robbers.

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

The Fosse runs
from Totness

to Bristol,

Tetbury,

Cirencester,

Coventry and
Lincoln.

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

¹ are

² Ychenild

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

The Watlingfreet [begun (as I said) by Dunwallo, *Watling street* but finished by Gutheline, of whome it is dire&lie to be called Gutheline freet, though now corrupted into Watlingfreet,] beginneth at Douer in Kent, and so runs from Dover to London, stretcheth through the middest of Kent vnto London, and so fourth (peraduenture by the middest of the citie) vnto *Verolanium* or Werlamcester, now saint Albons, St Alban's, where, in the yeare of grace, one thousand five hundred thirtie & one, the course thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell wherwith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eighteenc foot broad, and about ten foot deepe, and stoned in the bottome [in such wife] as [I haue noted] afore, and peraduenture also on the top: but these are gone, and the rest remaine equall in most places, [and leuell] with the fields. The yelow grauell also that was brought thither in carts two thousand yeeres passed, remained there so fresh and so strong, as if it had beene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yeeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the west side. And a little by south of this place, where the priorie stood, is a long thorough fare vpon the said freet, meetly well builded (for low housing) on both sides. After this [it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell faith) to Caxton, and so to Huntingdon, & then forward, still winding in and out till] it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leiceftershire toward Luggie, but also passeth from Castleford to Stamford, and so The Watling Street then runs to Caxton and Stamford. fourth by¹ west of Marton, which is [but] a mile from Torkefeie.

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

¹ by the

(I don't think it went by Atherston, tho' the Fosse may have done so.)

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

Thence, as Leland says, to

Pomfret,

Aberford,

York,
and Borough-
bridge.

(Maiden Castle was on the side of Watling St.)

The next tidings that we heare of the Watling-freet, are¹ that it goeth thorough [or neere by] the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice [also] of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it passeth hastilie ouer Castelford bridge to Aberford, which is fise miles from thence, and where are most manifest tokens of this freet² (and his broad crest) [by a great waie together, also]² to Yorke, to Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge,³ where on the left hand thereof stood certeine monuments, or pyramides of stone, sometimes placed there by the [ancient] Romanes. These stones (saith *Leland*) stand eight miles west from Bowis, and almost west from Richmond [is] a little thorough fare called Maiden castell, situate [apparantlie] vpon the side of this freet. And here is one of those pyramides or great round heapes, which is three score foot compasse in the bottome. There are other also of lesse quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are

¹ is
²—² way and his broad crest.—B. Mus. copy, 1587. (The text above is from F. J. F.'s copy.)

³ Borowbrig

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

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

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

Thence to
Caterick.

Appleby,
Brougham,

west of Penrith,
Carlisle,

and Cathness.

Erming street

runs from St.
David's to
Southampton,

and meets the
Fosse near
Cirnecester.

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

It was nam'd
from the Icenés

who dwelt in
Stafford or
Worcester.

Our present
Roads in Clay
counties are

bad in winter.

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

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

How roads get
rotten.

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

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

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

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

to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noifome for fuch as trauell by the fame. Sometimes alfo, and that verie often, thefe daies works are not imploied vpon thofe waies that lead from market to market, but ech furueior amendeth fuch by-plots & lanes as feeme beft for his owne commoditie, and more eafie paffage vnto his fields and paftures. And whereas in fome places there is fuch want of ftones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to feeke them farre off in other foiles: the owners of the lands wherein thofe ftones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no fmall commoditie by raifing the fame to exceffiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another caufe wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewife to be confidered of, that the trees and bufhes growing by the ftreets fides; doo not a little keepe off the force of the funne in fummer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs fhould continuallie be kept fhort, and the bufhes not fuffered to fpread fo far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would alfo be remedied, and manie a flough proue hard ground that yet is deepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I fpeake not. But this I know by experience, that wheras fome ftreets within thefe fiue and twentie yeares haue beene in moft places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the traueller might either efcape the theefe, or fhift the mier, or paffe by the loaden cart without danger of himfelfe and his horffe; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or fix and twentie at the moft, which is another caufe alfo whereby the waies be the worfe, and manie an honeft man encombred in his iourneie. But what fpeake I of thefe things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iuft redrefse, becaufe the error is fo common,

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

very high prices are charged for ftones;

the roadside trees and bufhes are not rightly crompt and kept back;

or many a slough 'ud be hard road.

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

to 12, 20, or 26.

The fault is common,

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

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

Of the generall constitution of the
bodies of the Britons.

Chap. 20.¹

Our folk are
tall, strong,
fair, and bold.

SUCH as² are bred in this Iland are men for the
most part of a good complexion, tall of
 stature, strong in bodie, white of colour, and
thereto of great boldness and courage in the warres.
[As for their generall comeliness of person, the testi-
monie of Gregorie the great, at such time as he saw
English captiues sold at Rome, shall easilie confirme
what it is, which yet dooth differ in fundrie shires and
foiles, as also their proportion of members, as we may
perceiue betweene Herefordshire and Essex men, or
Cambridgeshire and the Londoners for the one, and
Pokington and Sedberrie for the other; these latter
being distinguished by their noses and heads, which
commonlie are greater there than in other places of the
land. As concerning the stomachs also of our nation
in the field, they haue alwaies beene in souereigne
admiration among forren princes:] for such hath beene
the estimation of our souldiers from time to time, since
our Isle hath beene knowne vnto the Romans, that
wherefoeuer they haue serued in forren countries, the
cheefe brunts of seruice haue beene reserued vnto³
them. Of their conquests and bloudie battels woone
in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our histories are
full: & where they haue beene ouercome, the victors
themselues confessed their victories to haue beene so
deerelie bought, that they would not gladlie couet to

But some shire
men differ:

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

Englishmen's
bravery has
always been
admird by
foreigners.

¹ This is Cap. 14, Bk. I, in ed. 1577.

² Those that

³ for

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

Scotchmen also
are as brave:

they've always
begun the
quarrels with
us.

Leland noting fomewhat of the constitution of our bodies, saith these words [grounding (I thinke vpon *Aristotle*, who writeth that such as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and strength of bodie than skilfulnesse or wisdom.)] The Britons are white in colour, strong² of bodie, [and full of blood,] as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where [the soile is not so fruitfull, and therefore the people not so feeble: whereas] contrariwise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, more [nice, delicate,] fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & some so blacke in deed as anie crow or rauen. Thus saith he. Howbeit, as those [which are bred in fundrie places of the maine,] doo³ come behind vs in constitution of bodie, so [I grant, that] in pregnancie of wit, nimblenesse of limmes, and politike inuentions, they generallie exceed vs: notwithstanding that otherwise these gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into meere subtiltie, instabilitie, vnfaithfulnesse, & crueltie. [Yet *Alexander ab Alexandro* is of the opinion, that the fertilest region dooth bring forth the dullest wits, and contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in mine opinion, the most fertile soile dooth bring forth the proudest nature, as we may see by the *Campanians*, who (as *Cicero* also saith) had *Penes eos ipsum domicilium superbiae*. But nether of these opinions do iustlie take hold of vs, yet hath it

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

while Southern
folk are weaker
and darker,

and craftier, I
say.

*Non armis sed
ingenio vincuntur
Angli.*

The richest soil
brings forth the
proudest nature.

¹ and strong

² these men doo

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

But that's not
likely.

[*Non vi sed vir-
tute, non armis
sed ingenio, vin-
cuntur Angli.*]

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

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

¹ We therefore dwelling neere the North

² and others

increase our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with singleness of mind, sincerelie and plainlie, without anie [such] suspitious fetches in all our dealings, [as they commonlie practife in all their affaires,] then are our countrimen to be accompted [wife and] vertuouſ. But if it be a vice to colour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe, and hollow behaiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wiſedome: then are *Comineus* and his countrimen¹ to be reputed vicious, [of whome this prouerbe hath of old time bene vſed as an eare marke of their diſſimulation, *Galli ridendo fidem frangunt.*]

We deal with folk more frankly and plainly too.

The French are crafty and vicious,

break faith and laugh at you,

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

hold that lying is needfull for living.

We incline to phlegm, are ſtrong and ſincere,

and excell other nations.

¹ companie

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

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

As to French bravery,

don't trust a Frenchman's account of himself.

We treat strangers well,

and give em the same privileges as ourselves

At 60 we begin to get old,

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

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

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

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

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

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

as we get towards our journey's end.

Corpses don't rot fast here,

but can be recognizd after 4 or 5 days.

Our comeliness continues long.

English women after 40 are not so wretched-looking as French ones.

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

But our poorer women

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

neglect their
children's
education
shamefully,

and don't cor-
rect them in
their youth.

their children (wherein their husbands also are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, doo oftentimes come to confusion, which (if anie correction or discipline had bene vsed toward them in youth) might haue prooued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good seruice and industrie.] I could make report likewise of the naturall vices and vertues of all those that are borne within this Iland, but as the [full] tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to fet forth [the .fame,] so will I giue place to other men that list to take it² in hand. Thus much therefore of the constitutions of our bodies: and so much may suffice.

* * * * *

Of the maruels of

England.

Chap. 24.³

Lies about the
Wonders of
England.

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

Men who've
written for lucre
have lied too.

¹ thereof. ² the same (B. M. copy, 1587, omits 'take').

³ This is Cap. 18, Book 2, in 1577 ed.

my part¹ [I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our *Demetrius*, of whom *Plutarch* speaketh in his oracles (if those bookes were written by him, for some thinke that *Plutarch* neuer wrote them, although *Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8.* dooth acknowledge them to be his) which *Demetrius* left fundrie treatises behind him, conteining woonderfull things collected of our Iland. But sith that in my time they are found to be false, it should be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beleue, that infernall spirits can die and giue vp their ghofts like mortall men? though *Saxo* feeme to consent vnto him in this behalfe. In speaking also of the out Iles, he saith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie desolate Ilands, whereof some are dedicated to the Gods, some to the noble Heroes. I failed (saith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie neere hand, onelie to see and view the same, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet such as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holinesse. During the time also that I remained in the same, it was vexed with great storme and tempest, which caused me not a little doubt of my safe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cause should be of this so great and sudden mutation of the aire? they answered, that either some of the Gods, or at the least of the Heroes were latelie deceased: for as a candle (saith they) hurteth none whilest it burneth, but being slenderlie put out, annoieth manie with the filthie fauour: so these Gods, whilest they liued, were either not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceased, they so mooued the heauens and aire, that much mischeefe dooth infue estfoones vpon the same.

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

So has our

Demetrius, in his treatises on the Wonders of Britain.

Who can believe his story about an ile beyond Britain:

that a great storm there

was caused by the death of a God or Hero?

Demetrius was crand too about Saturn lying in a dead

¹ part therefore

sleep, and
Briareus watch-
ing him.

Gervase of Til-
bury too tells a
foolish tale

about Wandle-
bury Hills,

of a Spirit
that 'ud tilt
with men: how

Osbert of Barn-
well

chargd and
unhorst the
Spirit,

drove him away,

and carrid off
his black horse,

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

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

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

bootes to be pulled off, which his freends saw to be full of bloud spilled in the voiage. But let who so list beleue it, sith it is either a fable deuised, or some diuulish illusion, if anie such thing were doone. And on mine owne behalfe,] hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpose here to set downe no more than either I know my selfe to be true, or am credible informed to be so, by such godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to speake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to discredit¹ themselves by lieng. In writing therefore of the woonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rarenesse amongst the common sort, are taken for the foure miracles and woonders of the land.

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

*Foure woonders
of England.*

The first of these is a vehement and strong wind, which issueth out of the² hilles called the Peke, so violent and strong, that [at] certeine times if a man doo cast his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it issueth, it driueth the same backe againe, hoising it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this also *Giraldus* speaketh.

I. A strong
wind from
the Peak,

which 'll blow a
cloak out of a
caue.

The second is the miraculous standing or rather hanging of certeine stones vpon the plaine of Salisburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to saie the truth, they may well be woondered at, not onelie for the manner of position, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but also for their greatnesse & strange³ maner of lieng of some of them one vpon another, which seemeth to be with so tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their present ruine. How and when these stones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is most likelie, that they were raised there by the Britons, after the slaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banquet, which Hengist and his Saxons prouided for them, where

II. Stonehenge.

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

¹ defile

² certaine

³ strong

they were also buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led away as captive. I have heard that the like are to be seen in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learn. The report goeth also, that these were brought from thence, but by what ship on the sea, and carriage by land, I think few men can [fancie] imagine.

They're supposed to have been brought from Ireland.

III. Chedderhole.

The third is an ample and large hole under the ground, which some call *Carcer Acoli*,¹ but in English Chedderhole, whereinto many men have entered & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the passage is large and nothing noisome: so diverse that have adventured to go into the same, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither see anie other thing than pretie riuers and streames, which they often crossed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summerfetshire, and thence the said waters run till they meet with the second Ar² that riseth in Owkie hole.

There's no end to it.

IV. Dispersion of clouds on certain Western hills.

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

Rock of Barrie,

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

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

¹ Eoli

² aye

³ viz

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

Chester River,
which changes
its channel
every month.

Snowdon Lakes.

One bears a
moveable island;
the other has
fish with only
one eye.

Petrifying Well
at Knaresbro',

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

Leland saw near
the Nid in
Yorkshire a
Dropping Well

that turned into
stone all things
cast into it.

Petrifying wells
and ground
near Bath.

Alderley stones

mile from Kingswood, are stones daile found, perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oysters, which some dreame haue¹ lien there euer since the flood. In the cliffs betweene the Blacke head and Tewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images gilded, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vsed. Howbeit, because it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I doo not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongst our woonders. Maister² Guise had of late, and still hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Gloucestershire, where certeine okes doo grow, whose rootes are verie hard stone. And beside this, the ground is so fertile there (as they saie) that if a man hew a stake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth,³ it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. [Siluecester towne also is said to containe fourefcore acres of land within the walles, whereof some is corne-ground (as *Leland* saith) and the graine which is growing therein dooth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vanisheth away & becommeth altogether vnprofitable.] Is it any wonder (thinke you) to tell of fundrie caues neere to Brougham, on the west side of the riuer Aimote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of household cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increase the number of maruels verie much by a rehearfall of other also. For we haue manie of the like, as one neere⁴ faint Affaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Vendrath Vehan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and sandie ground vnder their feet, and other else-where. But sith these things

like cockles and big oysters.

A Cornish Cave,

where things look gilded.

Gloucester oaks with stony roots.

Any stake 'll take root there.

Silchester corn,

which *Leland* says is fine till it's ready to cut, and then goes to nothing.

Caves near Brougham,

with rooms, &c.,

cut out of the rock.

Other rooms in rocks.

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

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

In the parish of Landfarnam in Wales, and in the side of a stonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie seats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned.

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

As for the huge stone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie parish, and of the notable carcasse that is affirmed to lie vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here:

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

yet were it well doone to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to see what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reuerence. There is also a poole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mountains in Brecknockshire, where (as is said) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanfeie, which hath such a propertie, that it will breed no fish at all, & if anie be cast into it, they die without recouerie: [but this peradventure may grow through the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it selfe.]

A Pool in Logh Taw

There is also a lin¹ in Wales, which in the one side beareth trowts so red as samons, and in ² the other, which is the westerlie side, verie white and delicate. [I heare also of two welles not far from Landien, which stand verie neere together, and yet are of such diuersitie of nature, that the one beareth sope, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogether of contrarie qualities. Which is not a litle to be mused at, considering (I saie) that they participate of one soile, and rise so nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a stone not farre from faint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or such like thing: and being raised vp, a man may stirre it with his thumbe; but not with his shoulder or force of his whole bodie.]

kills all fish put into it.

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

2 Wells near Landien,

1 bearing soap, the other not.

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

A Stone near St. Davids

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

¹ Linne

² on

Wells in Stony Stratford and Wales for tempering tools. A Welsh well inland, that ebbs and flows twice a day, as the sea flows and ebbs.

Winifred's Well grows sweet-scented moss.

Intermittent streams at

Henley, Croydon, &c.

Langley Park, Kent.

Hell-kettles.

There are 3 Devil's Kettles at Darlington,

where spirits are said to have been heard to yell.

edge toole that is quenched in the same. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the parish of Kilken) which is of maruellous nature, [and much like to another well at Seuill in Spaine:] for although it be six miles from the sea, it ebbeth and floweth twife in one daie; alwaies ebbing when the sea dooth vse to flow, and in flowing likewise when the sea dooth vse [to] ebbe; wherof some doo fable, that this well is ladie and mistresse of the ocean. Not farre from thence also is a medicinable spring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof dooth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the head of the smeller is maruelloufflie refreshed. Other welles [and water-courses] we haue likewise, which at some times burft out into huge sreames, though at other seasons they run but verie softlie, whereby the people gather some alteration of estate to be at hand. [And such a one there is at Henleie, & an other at Croidon; & such a one also in the golden dale beside Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common sort imagine manie things.] Some of the greater sort also giue ouer to run at all in such times, wherof they conceiue the like opinion. [And of the same nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleie parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable historie in an ancient chronicle that I saw of late.] What the foolish people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthie the rehearfall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceiued of them may grow into contempt, I will saie thus much also of those pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little pooles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile distant from the These banks which the people call the Kettles of hell,¹ or the diuels Kettles, as if he should seeth foules of sinfull men and women in them. They adde also, that the spirits haue oft beene heard to crie and yell about them, with

¹ Kettes

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

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

Halidon Crosses,

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

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

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

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

Our Chemists
make it of more
virtue than fern
seed.

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

Of Tideswell,
Derbyshire.

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

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

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

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

- | | |
|---|--|
| I Mufe why youth, or age of gentle blood,
Borne vnto wealth, and worldly worship heere:
In London long, confumes both land and good,
That better were, at home to make good cheere.
In London fill, they finde all vittells deere,
Hoift vp a height, to bring our purfes low,
And fend men home, with empty bags yee know. | <p>I I wonder why
rich youth stay in
London where
victuals are dear.</p> <p>4</p> <p>7</p> |
| The freetes with fields, may neuer matched be,
For all sweete aire, at will abroad we finde:
What is it then, in London that they fee.
But Countrey yeeldes, and better glads the minde.
Perhaps ſome fay, the people are fo kinde:
An ^d curteous to, in ſtately ciuill Towne,
As men thereby, wins credite and renowne. | <p>London ſtreets
can't match with
the fields.</p> <p>11</p> <p>Perhaps the
people are kind
and courteous.</p> <p>14</p> |
| Firſt for they ſeeme, in Citty freſh and fine,
Moſt gay to eie, and gallant as a roſe:
But ſhall a man, for pleaſure of his eien,
And pompe or pride, of painted goodly cloes,
He fees abroad, at home his credite loſe.
Our Elders did, not ſo delight in trafhe,
And tempting toyes, that brings a man in laſh. | <p>They ſeem freſh
and gay;</p> <p>18</p> <p>but will a man for
gay clothing loſe
his credit at
home?</p> <p>21</p> |
| For when they came, to London there to ſtay,
They ſent fat beeuies, before them for their ſtore:
And went ſometimes, a ſhooting all the way.
With all their traine, and houſhold that is more:
Yet were they not, at no leſſe charge therefore: | <p>Our elders ſent
fat beef before
them to London,
but it coſt them
juſt as much.</p> <p>25</p> |

- Kept house in Ins, and fedde the poor thereby,
That in hard world, may now for hunger die. 28
- They didn't tarry
to gamble ; They taried not, in Towne to card and dice,
Nor follow long, lewd lusts that lothsome are:
Which breedes rebuke, and fosters secrete vice.
And makes tame birds, to fall in Satan's snare, 32
- they loved plain
robes : They loude plaine robes, but hated purfes bare,
Made much of men, gaue neighbors beefe and bred,
Yet left their aires, great wealth now they are dead. 35
- their care was to
keep a good
house, Their care was still, to keepe good house and name,
Spend they might spare, yet spare where cause they found,
And librall be, when bounty purchast fame.
And let floud runne, where water did abound. 39
- and spend for
virtue's sake. Not bent in braues, great hauocke for to make.
But drawne and moude, to spend for vertues sake. 42
- They gave much
to the poor. Gaue much to poore, that craude an almes at gate,
Kept buttry dore, for straungers open fill :
Made neighbours eate, that earely came or late,
By which they wonne, the Countreys great good will, 46
Could serue the Prince with coudit men and skill :
With their owne charge, and pors a rare thing now,
That feelde is feene, with loue and power throw. 49
- They raised no
rents, They raifd no rents, to make the tenant whine,
Nor clapt no yoke on friendly neighbours necke:
Nor made poor folke, find fault with cutthroat fine.
But had the hearts, of people at a becke, 53
As we haue now, our seruants vnder checke.
O how plaine men, would follow Landlord than.
Like swarmes of Bees, when any warres began. 56
- who were glad to
follow them to
the wars. Yea glad was he, that might with maister goe,
Though charge and wife, he left at home behinde,
In this fine world, the manner is not so.
Hard handling makes, men shew another minde, 60
Then loyall loue, made mens affection blinde.
Now can they see, and will doe what they list.
Cast of like Hawkes, come when they please to fift. 63
- What a change
you young
masters find ! What change finde you, yong maisters in these daies,
What hath drawn backe, the forward minds of men :
What makes fomtime, prest fouldier run his waies.
What makes this world, much worfe then world was then,
I dare not now, expresse the cause with pen. 68
But lay your hands, vpon your brest and winke.
And you shall gesse, what of these thinges I thinke. 70

<p>Gay golden robes, and garments powned out, Silke laide on filke, and fitched ore the same : Great losse and play, and keeping reuell route, With groffer knackes, I list not now to name, Hath by abuse, brought world cleane out of frame, And made them rich, and prowld, that borne were bare. Yet liues by lust, and sale of paltry ware.</p>	<p>74 77</p>	<p>Gay clothing and loose living have done it.</p>
<p>Our fathers wore, good frees to keepe them warme, And kendall greene, in fommer for a show : Might better to, take trifles for a farme. Then these that now, in silkes and veluets goe, The former age, made tenants duety know : To Landlords all, and so their cates they sold, As much for loue as now they sell for golde.</p>	<p>81 84</p>	<p>Our fathers drest in frieze and Kendal green. You wear silks and veluets.</p>
<p>Now is the case and custome altered cleane, The tenant he, in deede will part from nought : For landlords weale, nor losse by him a beane, Nor sell him thing, that is not dearely bought, At tenants hand, what euer may be fought, Beares double price, as though the farmer might, Liue on himselfe, and set his Landlord light.</p>	<p>88 91</p>	<p>Now the case is altered: the tenant sells to the landlord at double price.</p>
<p>This breedes contempt, in vassall past all cry, And makes the Lord, racke vp his rents a height : And take great fines, you see wherefore and why. And lode the backes of Farmers with great weight. This makes wise men, vse many a craft and sleight. To punish churles, and pinch them neere the bone, That doth small good, yet all would haue alone.</p>	<p>95 98</p>	<p>This makes landlords rack rents, and wise men use craft.</p>
<p>Why plead they want, where plenty is great store, And God hath blest, the earth with fruite and graine : They say because, they charged are so fore. To pay such rent, and take such toile and paine. Well well there doth, a fault in both remaine. The one will not, let nought in market fall, The other still, in London spendeth all.</p>	<p>102 105</p>	<p>There are faults on both sides.</p>
<p>Like one that flings, more water in the seas, Or casts away, his gold where it is lost : The Gentleman, is seldome well at ease. Till that he ride, to London all in post. And vp and downe, the dice and cards be toft. When he a while, about the streets doth rome, He borrowes pence, at length to bring him home.</p>	<p>109 112</p>	<p>The Gentleman is seldom at ease till he rides to London,</p>
<p>O faieth the boy, or girle that keeps the barre, This man is free, and francke where ere he goes,</p>		<p>where he is praised by barmaids for</p>

- his liberality. And spends as much, as doth a man of warre,
That comes from spoile, and conquest of his foes, 116
Cries fill the pot, the ebbing water flowes.
The cheucks are here, we haue inough to spend,
Set all agog, vntill bad world amend. 119
- Such lads were better asleep at home. O Lord how foone, a man is ore his shooes,
That wades and steps, in freamer or water deepe :
How foone from towne, in cuntry we haue newes,
That some spends all, for they can nothing keepe, 123
If such lads were, at home in bed a sleepe.
Twere better sure, then lie in London thus,
Vpon the score, or like bankrouts iwus. 126
- What fine sights and fine things there are in London ! Fine shops and fights, fine dames and houses gay,
Fine wares fine words, fine sorts of meat is there,
Yea all is fine, and nothing grosse they fay.
Fine knaks costs much, costs spoils vs euery where 130
Spoile is a worme, that wealth away will weare,
A cancker crept, in Court for some mens crosse,
That eats vp lands, and breeds great lacke and losse. 133
- Expense, debt, and disgrace wait on all these. Expence and spoile, waits hard on braueries heeles,
With daily debt, and daunger of disgrace :
A crue of Dickes, as world went all on wheelles,
With swashing Tom, and goodman Maple face, 137
In fundry cloakes, and thred bare lineries bace,
That neuer ware, ne badge, nor signe of thrift.
But certaine signes and shoues they liue by shift. 140
- Then come thought, and care, and sighs. And in the necke, of al this retchles band,
Comes thought and care, in sad and mourning weeds,
And fore forethinkes, that he hath fold his land.
Or laide to gage, good leafes and old deedes. 144
No better fruite, we reape of ill fowne feedes,
But heauy fighes, or pricking thiftels bare,
That doth destroy, good ground where ere they are. 147
- Wife and babes go hungry three times a-week. Spoile brings home plagues, to wife & children both,
When husband hath, at play fet vp his rest :
Then wife and babes, at home a hungry goeth,
(Thrice euery weeke) where feld good meat is drest. 151
With rusty broach, the household all are blest.
For potched eggs, in good howre be it spoke :
Must for a shift, make kitchin chimney smoke. 154
- A device to keep poor Kate in health. A fine deuise, to keepe poor kaett in health,
A pretty toy, to mocke an Ape withall :
No matter much, though wife haue little wealth.
Shee hath for neede, a messe of creame at call, 158

A trim young boy, to tosse and tirl the ball,
A cocke a hen, and pretty pus or catte,
And at a pinch, a great deale more then that, 161

Gay gownes and geare, God wot good store inough,
And faire milke maids, as dainty as a Doe,
That fares as well, as bob that holds the plough,
Yea cheere in bowles, they haue fometime ye know :
Sweete whay and cruds, a bancket for a Croe, 166
Such rule thee keepes, when husband is farre of,
Whiles children weeps, that feeds on hard browne lofe.

Milkmaids fare
as well as
plowmen.

Thinke you these things, nips not the pye croft neere,
And rubs the gaule, that neuer will be whole :
The maister may, keepe reuell all the yeere,
And leaue the wife, at home like silly foule. 172
What recke of that, who lifts may blow the cole,
Though some doe starue, and pine away with want.
Young lusty lads, abroad liues all astant. 175

The master may
reuel all the
year, and leave
the wife at home
to starue.

Some come to Court, to breake vp house at home,
Such keeps a cloake, vntill a rainy day :
Some weaues their yarne, and cloth in other loeme,
At tabling house, where they may freely play : 179
Some walk to Pauls, wher some maks many a fray
The greatestt fumme, are sworne to spend and spoile,
And royt runne, at large in euery soile. 182

Some come to
court ;

some gamble,
some quarrel at
Paul's.

Great cheere is turnd, at home to empty dishe,
Great bounty lookes, like barefoote beggers bag,
Great hardnes brings, to boord ne flesh nor fishe,
Great haft to giue, comes limping lame and lag. 186
Great shew men make, of house but thats a brag.
For if ten daies, at home they keepe great fare,
Three months abroad, for that they absent are. 189

Great cheer is
turnd to empty
dishes at home.

England was cald, a librall countrey rich,
That tooke great ioy, in spending beefe and bred :
In deede this day, the countrey spendeth mich,
But that expenfe, stands poore in little sted : 193
For they finde nought, where hounds and hawks are fed,
But hard colde pofts, to leane at in great lacke :
Who wants both foode, and clouts to cloth their backe.

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

Almes deedes are dead, and conscience waxeth cold,
World scrats and scrapes, pluckes flesh and fell from bone,
What cunning heads, and hands can catch in hold,
That couetous mindes, doth seeke to weld alone, 200
The poore complaynes, and makes a greeuous mone.

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

	The rich heares all, and keepes all safe in fist, As all were his, to spend it as he list.	203
Spend on; a reckoning must come.	Well spend on still, a reckning must bee made, When hee doth call, that fendes you all the store: You will be taught, to vse another trade, Or in the end, full dearly paie therefore	207
I wish you well, and find no fault.	I wish you well, you can desire no more. Waie all my wordes, as you haue reason still, I find no fault, but speakes this of good will.	210
To you, my friend, none of this applies.	And you deare friend, that in Rockfauage dwell, For whom I haue, these verses heere set down: To you no peece, of this Discourse I tell, For you lie not, at charge so long in towne, As others doe, that are of like renowne. Your house at home, you hold in better fort, Then thousandes doe, the world doth so report.	214 217

FINIS.

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

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

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

* * *	* * *	
" Brauery still beggeth, Coms from Gods bleffing, A practice of late, Who goes from court gate, Landlords lacks liuing They looke for a bee, Great rents runs to ruffs, Yong heires comes after, Leafes and lordships, Old auntient demaynes, The Sun puts away, So my yong mayfter, Hauock runs on head, And many wants bread, Muck makes men mizers, The leffe do they spend, Good turns are fo frang[e], The best fort do find, Makeshift the micher, Craft rubs out a life, With shuffling of cards, Both money and time, Loffe chafeth the mind, Breaketh good credit, Who learns not to cog, For with fine foyfting	where fountaine doth run, vnto the warme funne. the thriftles tryes now, vnto the playne plow. (what pity is that) and catch but a gnat, and hides him in hafte, and cryes out on waft. are drown'd in gold lace, confumes a great pace. that Father did get, drops quickly in det. and looks not behind, that beares a good mind. the richer they are, and worfe will they fare." they can not be had, their fortune but bad. thinks not of amending, with borrowing and lending, and trotting of bones, are loft all at once. and alters the cace, and brings great difgrace. muft leaue off to play, men catch what they may.	Bravery still begs amongst plenty. 4 Landlords lack livings. 8 Heirs complain of waste. Demesnes consume. 12 Young men get into debt. Many want bread. Money is wasted in gambling. Cheating is rife.
* * *	* * *	
Figboyes with a windles, Darlings do dandle, Hellhounds waxe wyly, Driues a-drift daily, So thousands are fpoyled, When that with full bags,	drawes Deer to the bow, their babes even fo. to bite eare they barke, by cofenage in darke. before they fee day, falfe theeves runs away.	28 Thousands are plunderd. 32

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

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

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

John Stow.

*Wheat at
twelue pence
the quarter.*

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

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

*Rents of
land, and
prices of
things grow
together.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Charitie to
free bond-
men.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Tenants are
now in con-
ceit more
free, then
in former
times.*

*Auncient
bondage.*

*Every in-
ferior estate
is condi-
tionall.*

*Villaines,
& Niefes.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bayly. You like not inclosures then.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Socome.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. *Wild Fowl.* p. III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bayly. How meane you downward?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Alder good
to make
piles.*

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

*Firre tree
lien in the
ground
since the
flood.*

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

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

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

where discretion and industrie sway the mindes of the inhabitants : and I doe not a little maruaile, that husbandmen and Farmers doe not imitate this, for their owne families, and to sell to their poore neighbors, as in some places they begin, to their great profit. I haue also obserued in many places, where I haue had occasion to trauaile, that many croftes, toftes, pightes, pingles, and other small quillits of land, about farme houfes, and Tenements, are suffred to lie together idle : some ouergrowne with nettles, mallowes, thistles, wilde tezzels, and diuers other vnprofitable weedes, which are fat and firtile : where if the farmer would vse the meanes, would growe fundry Many waste grounds might yeeld profite. commodities, as *hempe*, and *mustard seede*, both which are Hempe. Mustard-seed. so strong enemies to all other superfluous, and vnprofitable weedes, as they will not suffer any of them to growe,

where they are sowne. The hempe is of great vse in a farmers house, as is found in *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Suffex*, *Dorset*, and in many places in *Somerfet*, especially about *Burport*, and *Lime*, where the people doe find by it great aduantage, not only for cordage for shipping, but also for linnen, and other necessaries about a house. So is also the *flaxe*, which is also sowne in many places, where Flaxe.

good hufwiues endeouour their wits, wills, and hands to that commodious and profitable course, and the *flaxe* will like well enough in a more light and gentle, and leaner soile, then the hempe. And indeede there is not a place so rude, & (p. 208) vnlikely, but diligence and discretion may conuert it to some profitable end : and among many other commodities, I maruaile, men are no more forward in planting of *Apple trees*, *Pearre trees*, *Crab-stockes*, and such like *Apple trees*. in their hedges, betweene their fields, as well as in Orchards : a matter praise worthy, and profitable to the planter, and to the common wealth, very beneficiall.

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

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

commoditie, euen in their remote hedge-rows. And although some few be loft, fith the rest come so easly, so fully, and so freely, a good mind will not grudge at a wayfaring passenger, taking for his refec-tion, and to qualifie the heete of his trauell, an apple or a peare: for the remnant will content the well conditioned owner. For I haue knowne, that (all the stolen allowed) the fruite thus disperfedly planted, haue made in some little Farmes, or (as they call them in *Syder. Perry.* those parts) *Burgaines*, a tunne, two, three, foure, of *Syder*, and *Perry*, which kind of drinke resembling white wine, hath with-out any further supply of ale, or beere, sufficed a good housholder and his family, the whole yere following, and sometmes hath made of the ouerplus twenty nobles, or ten pounds, more or lesse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hay boot, what it is. *Sur.* I take it not: it is for hedging stufte, namely, to make a dead hedge or raile, to keep cattle from corne or grassè to be mowne.

Hedge-boote and hay-boote, the difference. *Bayly.* What difference is there beetweene *hay-boote* and *hedge-loote*?

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

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

Sur. I see the hedges lye very vnhusbandly: a true note of few good husbands: for he that will suffer his hedges to lye open, and his houfes vncovered, neuer put a good husbands hand to his head. Quicke-fet hedges are most commendable, for they increase & yeeld

Dead hedges deuoure. profit and supply, to repaire decayed places: but dead hedges or hayes deuoure and spend, and yet are feldome secure.









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