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Britaine, by William Harrison et al.

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**HOLINSHED'S**  
**CHRONICLES**  
*ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,*

AND

*IRELAND.*

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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THE  
FIRST AND SECOND VOLUMES  
OF  
**CHRONICLES,**

COMPRISING

- 1 The description and historie of England,
- 2 The description and historie of Ireland,
- 3 The description and historie of Scotland:

FIRST COLLECTED AND PUBLISHED

BY

**RAPHAELL HOLINSHED,  
WILLIAM HARRISON, AND OTHERS:**

*Now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular  
note and worthie memorie)*

TO THE YEARE 1586,

By JOHN HOOKER aliàs VOWELL Gent.

AND OTHERS.

WITH CONUENIENT TABLES AT THE END OF THESE VOLUMES.

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HISTORIE PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRINÆ.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**THE CHRONICLES OF HOLINSHED** having become exceedingly scarce, and, from their Rarity and Value, having always brought a high Price whenever they have appeared for Sale, the Publishers have thought they should perform an acceptable Service to the Public by reprinting them in a uniform, handsome, and modern Form.

It cannot now be necessary to state the Importance and interesting Nature of this Work. The high Price for which it has always sold, is a sufficient Testimony of the Esteem in which it has been held. Holinshed's Description of Britain is allowed to contain the most curious and authentic Account of the Manners and Customs of our Island in the Reign of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, in which it was written. His History of the Transactions of the British Isles, during these Periods, possesses all the Force and Value of contemporary Evidence, collected by a most skilful Observer; and the peculiar Style and Orthography in which the Work is written, furnish a very interesting Document to illustrate the History of the English Language.

The original Edition of the Chronicles of Holinshed, it is well known, was published by their Author in a mutilated State. A Number of Pages, which had obviously been printed with the rest of the Work, were found to be omitted, except in a few Copies obtained by some favoured Persons. In the present Edition, these Castrations are faithfully restored; and in order that the Purchaser may depend upon finding an exact as well as a perfect Copy, it has been a Law with the Publishers, not to alter a single Letter, but to print the Work with the utmost Fidelity from the best preceding Edition, with the Author's own Orthography, and with his marginal Notes. The only Liberty taken, has been to use the Types of the present Day, instead of the old English Letter of the Time of Elizabeth.

The Publishers submit to the Public this Edition of a curious and valuable Chronicle of our History, with a confident Hope, that it will gratify both the Historical Student and the General Reader. If it meet with the Reception which they anticipate, they will be encouraged to select some others of the rarest and most important of our ancient Chronicles, and reprint them, in like Manner, for the Convenience and Gratification of the Public.

TO THE  
RIGHT HONORABLE, AND HIS SINGULAR GOOD LORD AND  
MAISTER,

*S. WILLIAM BROOKE KNIGHT,*

LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, AND BARON OF COBHAM, ALL INCREASE OF  
THE FEARE AND KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, FIRME OBEDIENCE TOWARD HIS PRINCE,  
INFALLIBLE LOUE TO THE COMMON WEALTH, AND COMMENDABLE RENOWME  
HERE IN THIS WORLD, AND IN THE WORLD TO COME LIFE EUERLASTING.

Having had iust occasion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme last passed, and being earnestlie required of diuers my freends, to set downe some breefe discourse of parcell of those things, which I had obserued in the reading of such manifold antiquities as I had perused toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the first verie loth to yeeld to their desires: first, for that I thought my selfe vnable for want of skill and iudgment, so suddenlie & with so hastie speed to take such a charge vpon me: secondlie, because the dealing therein might prooue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatise: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earnest studie of histories, as iudging the time spent about the same, to be an hinderance vnto my more necessarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the ministerie. But when they were so importunate with me, that no reasonable excuse could serue to put by this traueil, I condescended at the length vnto their yrkesome sute, promising that I would spend such void time as I had to spare, whilst I should be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon some thing or other that should satisfie their request; and stand in lieu of a description of my Countrie. For their parts also they assured me of such helps as they could purchase: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie successe, I went in hand withall, then almost as one leaning altogether vnto memorie, sith my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in sunder. In this order also I spent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes insuing, being inforced thereto I say by other businesses which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and absent my selfe from my charge, though in the meane season I had some repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not so great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers hast would suffer. One helpe, and none of the smallest that I obtained herein, was by such commentaries as *Leland* had sometime collected of the state of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of sundrie volumes: secondlie, I gat some knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from sundrie places & shires of England, but so discordant now and then amongst themselues, especiallie in the names and courses of riuers and situation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole discourse of such points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or secretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, choosing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one desirous to set forth the truth absolutelie, or such things in deed as were most likelie to be true. The last comfort arose by mine owne reading of such writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in speaking wherof, if I should make account of the successe, & extraordinarie cōming by sundrie treatises not supposed to be extant, I should but seeme to pronounce more than may well be said with modestie, & say farder of my selfe than this Treatise can beare witnes of. Howbeit, I refer not this successe wholie vnto my purpose about this Description, but rather giue notice thereof to come to passe in the penning of my Chronologie, whose crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the processe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the substance of that which is here declared, I must needs confesse that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordship haue consideration of the barbarous composition shewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, sith there is no man of any so slender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, disorder, and euill disposition of matter comprehended in the same. Certes I protest before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choise of stile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatise in such precise order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it sufficient, truelie and plainelie to set forth such things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten sepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peradventure the slacknesse shewed herein can better testifie: but howsoever it be done, & whatsoever I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the rest, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatise of mine will prooue a spur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choise of matter to handle the selfe same argument, if in my life time I doo not peruse it againe. It is possible also that your Honour will mislike hereof, for that I



haue not by mine owne trauell and eyesight viewed such things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I must needs confesse, that vntill now of late, except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles forthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuerthelesse in my report of these things, I vse their authorities, who either haue performed in their persons, or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before) whatsoever is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offense at my rash and retchlesse behaiour vsed in the composition of this volume, and much more that being scrambled vp after this maner, I dare presume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordships hands. But when I consider the singular affection that your Honour dooth beare to those that in any wise will trauell to set foorth such profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to such a one as hath so manie and sundrie waies benefited me that otherwise can make no recompense, I can not but cut off all such occasion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, such as it is, and so penned as it is, vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in anie wise acceptable, I haue my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnancie to be seene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularlie to describe this Ile of Britaine; so I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amisse. As for the curious, and such as can rather euill faoueredlie espie than skilfullie correct an error, and sooner carpe at another mans dooings than publish any thing of their owne, (keeping themselues close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common sort) I force not what they saie hereof: for whether it doo please or displease them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and such as are of experience to consider of my trauell, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatise, of whome my seruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompense, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almighty God preserue your Lordship in continuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue and learning) and the rest of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wish farder increase of his holie spirit, vnderstanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

*Your Lordships humble seruant  
and houshold Chaplein.*

W. H.

¶ THE NAMES OF THE AUTHORS

FROM WHOME THIS

*HISTORIE OF ENGLAND*

IS COLLECTED.

---

A.

Aelius Spartianus.  
Aelius Lampridius.  
Asserius Meneuensis.  
Alfridus Beuerlacensis.  
Aeneas Syluius Senensis.  
Auentinus.  
Adam Merimouth with additions.  
Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.  
Albertus Crantz.  
Alexander Neuell.  
Arnoldus Ferronius.  
Annius Viterbiensis.  
Amianus Marcellinus.  
Alliances genealogiques des Roys &  
Princes de France.  
Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.  
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme  
Paradin.  
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.  
Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum  
Meir.  
Antonius Sabellicus.  
Antonius Nebricensis.  
Aurea Historia.

B.

Biblia Sacra.  
Beda venerabilis.  
Berosus.  
Brian Tuke knight.  
Blondus Forliuiensis.  
Berdmondsey, a Register booke belonging  
to that house.

C.

Cæsars Commentaries.  
Cornelius Tacitus.  
Chronica Chronicorum.  
Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales  
belonging to the Abbey there.  
Chronicon Io. Tilij.  
Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to  
that colledge, although compiled by  
some Northernman, as some suppose  
named Otherborne.  
Chronicles of S. Albon.  
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales  
belonging to that house.  
Chronica de Teukesburie.  
Claudianus.  
Chronicon Genebrard.  
Chroniques de Normandie.  
Chroniques de Britaine.  
Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis  
Sauage.  
Continuation de Historie and Chroniques  
de Flanders by the same Sauage.  
Couper.  
Cuspianus.  
Chronica Sancti Albani.  
Caxtons Chronicles.  
Carion with additions.

Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to  
an house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.  
Dion Cassius.  
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Edmerus.  
Eusebius.  
Eutropius.  
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written  
to hir, conteining much good matter for  
the vnderstanding of the state of this  
realme in hir time, wherein hir praise  
is not pretermitted, and so hath  
obtained by reason thereof that title.  
Enguerant de Monstrellet.  
Eulogium.  
Edmund Campian.

F.

Fabian.  
Froissart.  
Franciscus Tarapha.  
Franciscus Petrarcha.  
Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.  
Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Gviciardini Francisco.  
Guiciardini Ludouico.  
Gildas Sapiens.  
Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of  
Monmouth.  
Giraldus Cambrensis.  
Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.  
Galfridus Vinsauf.  
Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.  
Guilielmus Thorne.  
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs  
Gisburnensis.  
Geruasius Dorobernensis.  
Geruasius Tilberiensis.  
Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus  
Normaniæ.  
Guilielmus Rishanger.  
Guilielmus Lambert.  
Georgius Lillie.  
Guilamme Paradin.

H.

Higinus.  
Henricus Huntingtonensis.  
Henricus Leicestrensis.  
Hector Boece.  
Historie Daniou.  
Historia Ecclesiastica Magdeburgensis.  
Henricus Mutius.  
Historia quadripartita seu quadrilogium.  
Hardings Chronicle.  
Halles Chronicle.  
Henricus Bradshaw.  
Henricus Marleburgensis.  
Herodianus.  
Humfrey Luyd.

I.

Iohannes Bale.

Iohannes Leland.  
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.  
Iulius Capitolinus.  
Iulius Solinus.  
Iohannes Pike with additions.  
Iohannes Functius.  
Iohn Price knight.  
Iohannes Textor.  
Iohannes Bodinus.  
Iohannes Sleidan.  
Iohannes Euersden a Monke of Berry.  
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a  
Florentine.  
Iohannes Baptista Egnatius.  
Iohannes Capgraue.  
Iohannes Fourden.  
Iohannes Caius.  
Iacob de Voragine Bishop of Nebio.  
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a  
pamphlet of the warres in Scotland,  
during the time that Monsieur de  
Desse remained there.  
Iohn Fox.  
Iohannes Maior.  
Iohn Stow, by whose diligent collected  
summarie, I haue beene not onelie  
aided, but also by diuers rare  
monuments, ancient writers, and  
necessarie register bookes of his,  
which he hath lent me out of his own  
Librarie.  
Iosephus.

L.

Liber constitutionum London.  
Lucan.  
Lælius Giraldus.

M.

Marianus Scotus.  
Matthæus Paris.  
Matthæus Westmonaster. aliàs Flores  
historiarum.  
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Mons. de Langey.  
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.  
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus.  
Nennius.  
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Orosius Dorobernensis.  
Osbernus Dorobernensis.  
Otho Phrasingensis.

P.

Pausanias.  
Paulus Diaconus.  
Paulus Aemilius.  
Ponticus Virunius.  
Pomponius Lætus.  
Philip de Cumeins, aliàs M. de Argenton.  
Polydor Virgil.  
Paulus Iouius.  
Platina.  
Philippus Melancthon.  
Peucerus.  
Pomponius Mela.

R.

Rogerus Houeden.  
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Cestrensis the  
author of Polychronicon.  
Radulfus Cogheshall.  
Radulfus Niger.  
Register of the Garter.  
Records of Battell Abbey.  
Richardus Southwell.  
Robert Greene.  
Radulfus de Diceto.  
Robert Gaguin.  
Rodericus Archiepiscopus Toletanus.  
Records and rolles diuerse.

S.

Strabo.  
Suetonius.  
Sigebertus Gemblacensis.  
Sidon Appollinaris.  
Simon Dunelmensis.  
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Trebellius Pollio.  
Thomas More knight.  
Thomas Spot.  
Thomas Walsingham.  
Titus Liuius de Foroliuisijs de vita Henrici.  
5.  
Titus Liuius Patauiensis.  
Thomas Lanquet.  
Thomas Couper.  
Taxtor a Monke of Berry.  
Theuet.  
Thomas de la More.  
Tripartita Historia.

V.

Vvlcatus Gallicanus.  
Volfgangus Lazius.

W.

Whethamsted, a learned man, sometime  
Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.  
William Harrison.  
William Patten of the expedition into  
Scotland. 1574.  
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Besides these, diuers other bookes and treatises of historicall matter I haue seene  
and perused, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

---

# REGVM ANGLIÆ

## SERIES & CATALOGUS.

Wil. Conqu.  
Wil. Rufus.  
Henricus 1.  
Stephanus.  
Henricus 2.  
Richardus 1.  
Ioannes.  
Henricus 3.  
Eduardus 1.  
Eduardus 2.  
Eduardus 3.  
Richardus 2.  
Henricus 4.  
i Henricus 5.  
Henricus 6.  
Eduardus 4.  
Eduardus 5.  
Richardus 3.  
Henricus 7.  
Henricus 8.  
Eduardus 6.  
Phil. & Mar.  
Elisabeth.

Conquestor, Rufus, prior Henricus,  
Stephanúsque,  
Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde  
Richardus,  
Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde:  
Eduardus primus, Gnatúsque, Nepósque  
sequuntur:  
His infœlicem Richardum iunge  
secundum:  
Henricus quartus soboles Gandavi  
Ioannis,  
Præcedit Gnato quinto, sextóque Nepoti:  
Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida  
Richardus,  
Septimi & Henricus octauus clara  
propago:  
Eduardus sextus, regina Maria,  
Philippus:  
Elisabeth longos regnet victura per  
annos,  
Seráque promisso fœlix potiatur olympto.

---

## CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON

THOMÆ NEWTONI CESTRESHYRIJ.

Loydus.  
Lelandus.  
Prisius.  
Stous.  
Holinshedius.  
Lambardus.  
Morus.  
Camdenus.  
Thinnius.  
Hallus.  
Vocalis aliàs  
Hookerus.  
Graftonus.  
Foxius.  
Harrisonus.  
Hardingus.  
Gildas.  
Staniherstus.  
Beda.  
Neuillus.  
Flemingus.  
Parkerus.

Gramine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge,  
metallis,  
Lacte, feris, armis, vrbibus, arte, foris,  
Quæ viget ac floret generosa Britannia, quæque,  
Obruta puluereo squalluit ante situ:  
Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem,  
Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.  
Et quod blæsa hominum mutilarat tempore  
lingua,  
Illud habet rectum pumice tersa nouo.  
Loydus in hac pridem gnauus prolusit arena,  
Lelandus, Prisius, Stous, Holinshedius,  
Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,  
Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harrisonus,  
Hardingus, Gildas, Staniherstus, Beda, Neuillus,  
Doctáque Flemingi lima poliuit opus:  
Nec te cane senex, magne ô Parkere, silebo,  
Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.  
Omnibus his meritò est laus debita & optima  
merces,  
Quòd patriæ accendant lumina clara suæ.  
Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longæua senectus,  
Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.

---

AN  
HISTORICALL DESCRIPTION  
OF  
THE ILAND OF BRITAIN;  
WITH A BRIEF REHERSALL OF  
THE NATURE AND QUALITIES OF THE PEOPLE OF  
ENGLAND,  
AND  
SUCH COMMODITIES AS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE  
SAME.

*COMPREHENDED IN THREE BOOKES, AND WRITTEN BY W. H.*

---

**A TABLE OF SUCH CHAPTERS AS ARE CONTEINED IN THE  
FIRST BOOKE  
OF THIS DESCRIPTION.**

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## CHAPTER I.

Noah first diuided the earth among his sonnes.

We read that the earth hath beene diuided into thrée parts, euen sithens the generall floud. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and bestowed it vpon his three sons, Japhet, Cham, and Sem, preserued with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of them such portions thereof as to him séemed good, and neuerthesse reteining the souereigntie of the whole still vnto himselfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how those seuerall parts were bounded, and from whome they tooke such names as in our times are attributed to each of them. Certes the words, Asia, Europa, and Africa, are denominations giuen but of late (to speake of) vnto them, and it is to be doubted, whether sithens the time of Noah, the sea hath in sundrie places wonne or lost, added or diminished to and from each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the same westerlie regions of late discovered (and now called America,) was the third part (counting Asia for the second) or the selfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike thither in their times, supposed to be dissolved and sunke into the sea: as by their writings appeereth.

The diuision of the earth not yet certainlie knowne.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Asia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuision of the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge Iland that lieth east of the Atlantike sea, and whereof the first is diuided from the second by Tanais (which riseth in the rocks of Caucasus, and hideth it selfe in the Meotine moores) and the Ocean sea; and the last from them both by the Mediterrane and red sea, otherwise called Mare Erythræum. But now all men, especially the learned, begin to doubt of the soundnes of that partition; bicause a no lesse part than the greatest of the thrée ioined with those Ilands and maine which lie vnder the north and Southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the same, are found out and discovered by the diligence of our traueillers. Hereby it appeereth, that either the earth was not exactlie diuided in time past by antiquitie; or els, that the true diuision thereof came not to the hands and notice of their posteritie, so that our ancestors haue hitherto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darkenesse, and were vtterlie ignorant of the truth of that whereabout they indeuoured to shew their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some peece of this confusion also is to be found amongst the ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithstanding their large conquests) did sticke in the same mire with their successors, not being able (as appeereth by their treatises) to deliuer and set downe the veritie. For Salust in his booke De bello Iugurthino cannot tell whether Africa be parcell of Asia or not. And with the same scruple Varro in his booke De lingua Lat. is not a litle incumbred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is diuided into Asia and Europa: so that Africa is excluded and driuen out of his place. Silius also writeth of Africa, (as one not yet resolued wherevnto to leane,) that it is;

Aut ingens Asiæ latus, aut pars tertia rerum.

Wherein Lucane lib. 9. sheweth himselfe to be far of another iudgement, in that he ascribeth it to Europa, saieng after this maner:

Tertia pars rerum Lybia: si credere famæ  
Cuncta velis, si ventos cœlúmque sequaris,  
Pars erit Europæ, nec enim plus littora Nili  
Quàm Scythicus Tanais primis à gradibus absunt.

The earth diuided into fiue parts, whereas *Belforest* hath but foure, in *Prefat. lib. 4.*

Whereby (I saie) we may well vnderstand, that in the time of Augustus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet resolued of the diuision of the earth. For my part, as I indeuour not to remooue the credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that may be redressed) so I thinke good to giue foorth a new diuision more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into fiue seuerall parcels, reteining the common diuision in the first three, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan streicts, and those Hyperborean Ilands which lie west of the line of longitude, of late discovered by Frobisher, and called by hir Maiestie Meta incognita: but likewise so manie Ilands as are within 180. degrees Westwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from those, which by this diuision are allotted vnto Asia, and the portion it selfe made equipollent with the same for greatnes, and far excéeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie so much in quantitie as they both vnited and laid together. The fift & last part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan streicts; & from Africa by the sea which passeth by the Cape of good hope; a countrie no lesse large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthie to be called the fift: howsoeuer it shall please the curious to mislike of this diuision. This also I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof doo not extend it selfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betwéene two seas, of which the later is vnder the South poole, and as I may call it a maine sea vnder the aforesaid pricke, yet is it not without sundrie Ilands also adjoining vnto it, and the inner most sea not destitute of manie, as by

Cape di bona Speranza.

The forme of the fift part.

experience hath béene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our describers of the earth haue made it such in their descriptions, as hath reached litle or nothing into the peaceable sea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuet and others, that it extendeth it selfe northwards into that trace, by no small number of leagues, euen in maner to the Equator, in so much that the westerlie part thereof from America, is supposed to reach northward so far from the Antartike article, as Africa dooth southwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no small portion of ground; & I maruell why not obserued by such as heretofore haue written of the same. But they excuse themselues by the ingratitude of the Portingals and Spaniards, who haue of purpose concealed manie things found out in their trauell, least they should séeme to open a gap by dooing otherwise, for strangers to enter into their conquests. As for those Ilands also which lie in the peaceable sea, scattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the lesser Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo, &c: with a number of other, I refer them still unto Asia, as before, so as they be without the compasse of 90. degrees eastward from the line of longitude, & not about 180. as I doo the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the said proportion, wishing so little alteration as I may: and yet not yeelding vnto any confusion, whereby the truth of the diuision should hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (speaking of our Iland) saith;

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos,

And some other authors not vnworthie to be read and perused, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with sundrie the like scattered in the north seas should be ascribed, because they excluded them (as you see) from the rest of the whole earth: I have thought good, for facilitie sake of diuision, to refer them all which lie within the first minute of longitude, set downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reason requireth: so that the aforesaid line shall henceforth be their Meta & partition from such as are to be ascribed to America; albeit they come verie neere vnto the aforesaid portion, & may otherwise (without prejudice) be numbred with the same. It may be that some will thinke this my dealing either to be superfluous, or to procéed from (I wot not what) foolish curiositie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardest of euerie attempt. But forsomuch as my purpose is to leaue a plaine report of such matter as I doo write of, and deliuer such things as I intreat of in distinct and vpriht order; though method now and then doo faile, I will go forward with my indeuour, referring the examination of my dooings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other doo conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane season therefore it shall suffice to say at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the rest of the Ilands as hir daughters, lieng east of the line of longitude, be still ascribed vnto Europa: wherevnto some good authours heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall situations also haue not amisse referred them.

Unto what portion  
Britaine is  
referred.

## CAP. II.

**How  
Britaine  
lieth from  
the maine.**

Britannia or Britain, as we now terme it in our English toong, or Brutania as some pronounce it (by reason of the letter y in the first syllable of the word, as antiquitie did sometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean sea, directlie ouer against that part of France which conteineth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greatest part of little Britaine, which later region was called in time past Armorica, of the situation thereof vpon the sea coast, vntill such time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by some of the Romane Emperours, or fleng thither from the tyrannie of such as oppressed them here in this Iland) did settle themselues there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the west side, on the north the maine sea, euen to Thule and the Hyperboreans; and on the east side also the Germane Ocean, by which we passe dailie through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miserablie afflicted betwéene the Spanish power and popish inquisition (as spice betwene the mortar and the pestell) but also into Germanie, Friezeland, Denmarke, and Norwaie, carrieng from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all such necessarie commodities as the seuerall countries doo yeeld: through which meanes, and besides common amitie conserued, traffike is mainteined, and the necessitie of each partie abundantlie reléueed.

**The  
longitude  
and latitude  
of this Ile.**

It conteineth in longitude taken by the middest of the region 19. degrees exactlie: and in latitude 53. degrés, and thirtie min. after the opinions of those that haue diligentlie obserued the same in our daies, and the faithfull report of such writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatises to be perpetuallie remembred. Howbeit, whereas some in setting downe of these two lines, haue seemed to varie about the placing of the same, each of them diuerslie remembering the names of sundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to haue their seuerall courses: for my part I haue thought good to procéed somewhat after another sort; that is, by diuiding the latest and best chards each way into two equall parts (so neere as I can possiblie bring the same to passe) wherby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerlile and Newcastell vpon Tine, (whose longest day consisteth of sixteene houres, 48. minuts) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwike, Sheffield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is most easie and indifferent, and likeliest meane to come by the certeine standing and situation of our Iland.

**Longest day.**

Touching the length and bredth of the same, I find some variance amongst writers: for after some, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the farthest part of Cornwall westwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathnesse by the Irish sea 800. Wherby Polydore and other doo gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. lesse than Cæsar dooth set downe, except there be some difference betwéene the Romane and British miles, as there is indeed; wherof hereafter I may make some farther conference.

**The compasse of  
Britaine.**

Martianus writing of the bredth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles, but Orosius hath 1200. in the whole compasse. Ethicus also agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the breadth he commeth short of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion in Seuro maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadest, of 289. and where it is narrowest, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the south coast to conteine 7000. furlongs, the second; to wit, à Carione ad Promontorium 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to consist of 42000. But in our time we reckon the breadth from Douer to Cornwall, not to be aboue 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathnesse, no more than 500. which neuertheless must be measured by a right line, for otherwise I see not how the said diuision can hold.

**The forme.**

The forme and fashion of this Ile is thrée-cornered, as some have deuised, like vnto a triangle, bastard sword, wedge, or partesant, being broadest in the south part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathnesse northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in maner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orchas in British Morwerydh, which is not aboue 30. miles ouer, as dailie experience by actuall trauell dooth confirme.

**Promontories  
of Britaine.**

The old writers giue vnto the thrée principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Iland, thrée seuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornwall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruisium, Nonantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiuesteum, Ocrinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leaue this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to seeke out their true places, wherof as yet I am in maner ignorant, I meane for the most part; bicause I haue no sound author that dooth leade mée to their knowledge.

**The distance  
from the  
maine.**

Furthermore, the shortest and most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) unto Calice a towne in

Picardie 1300. miles from Rome, in old time called Petressa and Scalas, though some like better of blacknesse where the breadth of the sea is not about thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and vsed for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realms, so it hath not beene vnknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part vsed these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuerse of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or some other places of the coast more toward the west, or betweene Hide and Lid; to wit, Romneie marsh, (which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to auoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrowe seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betweene the part of Holland also, which lieth néere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Sosimus saith; and besides him, diuers other writers, which being conuerted into English miles, doo yeeld 112. and foure od furlongs, whereby the iust distance of the nearest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, dooth certeinlie appéere to be much lesse than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto set downe.

## CAP. III.

**Dis,  
Samothes.**

In the diligent perusal of their treatises, who have written of the state of this our Island, I find that at the first it seemed to be a parcel of the Celtike kingdom, whereof Dis otherwise called Samothes, one of the sonnes of Japhet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long while called Samothes. Afterward in processe of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and each prince endeavoured to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the sonne of Neptune, Amphitrite surnamed Marioticus (because his dominions laie among the islands of the Mediterran sea, as those of Plutus did on the lower grounds neere unto shore, as contrariwise his father Jupiter dwelled on the high hills néerer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulnesse of soile here, made a voyage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the report that went of this Island, it was not long after yer he inuaded the same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers decease, and finallie changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did grow out of mind, and fall into vtter forgetfulness. And thus was this Island bereft at on time both of hir ancient name, and also of hir lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Japhet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeres and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appeere.

**Neptunus  
Marioticus.**

**The first  
conquest of  
Britaine.**

**Britaine  
under the  
Celts 341.  
yeares.**

Coropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Island, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetching the same ab Oibijs, or as he wresteth it, ab Albijs gallis. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gotthadamca liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Island should be called Vridania, Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, tanquam libera Dania, as another also dooth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta signifieth soile or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse doo often straie, because they wot not whither they go: euen so doo these men, whilst they seeke to extenuate the certeintie of our histories, and bring vs altogether to uncerteinties & their coniectures. They in like maner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, vnde Walli nisi a Gallis, or from some Spanish colonie, doo greatlie bewraie their oversights; but most of all they erre that endeouour to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Dioclesian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our historie, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust: but more of this hereafter.

**Neptune  
God of the  
sea.**

**The maner  
of dressing  
of ships in  
old time.**

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogether impertinent. Wherefore you shall vnderstand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of nauigation (as nauigation then went) he was reputed the most skilfull prince that liued in his time. And therefore, and likewise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as trauelled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to saile in his time (which were for the most part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they vsed to naile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and such like, and with such a kind of nauie (as they say) first Samothes, & then Albion arriued in this Island, which vnto me doth not seeme a thing impossible. The northerlie or artike regions, doo not naile their ships with iron, which they vtterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks together verie artificiallie with bast ropes, osiers, rinds of trées, or twigs of popler, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, sith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neuertheless are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime vsed in our Britaine, and couered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, lib. 7. cap. 56. as also botes made of rushes and réeds, &c. Neither haue I iust occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which sort Staurobates, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the first battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the riuer Indus, but to his losse, for he was ouercome by hir power, & his nauie either drowned or burned by the furie of hir souldiers.

**Lestriago.  
Janigenes  
were the  
posteritie of  
Noah in**

But to proceed, when the said Albion had gouerned here in this countrie by the space of seauen yeares, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the said Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and vpon this occasion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthie to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celts, that Lestriago and his issue (whom Osyris his grandfather had placed ouer the Janigenes) did exercise great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdom, but also in molestation of such princes as inhabited round about him in most intollerable

Italie.

maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in these his dooings by Neptune his father, who thirsted greatly to leaue his xxxiii. sonnes settled in the mightiest kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had already conceiued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatsoever, it would not be long yer they did by some means or other, not onely establish their seats, but also increase their limits to the better maintenance of themselves and their posteritie for euermore. To be short therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conspired and slaine the aforesaid Osyris, onely for that he was an obstacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his sonne, surnamed Laabin, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres against them all, and going from place to place, he ceased not to spoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among sundrie other ouercome the Lomnimi or Geriones in Spaine, and vnderstanding that Lestrigo and his sonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into those parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celts in his waie, he remained for a season with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he also married his daughter Galathea, and begat a sonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my said Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

Neptune had xxxiii. sonnes.

Lomnimi.  
Geriones.

Galathea.  
Galates, or  
Kelts.

Bergion.

Pomponius  
Mela cap. de  
Gallia.

Strabo, lib.  
4.

In the meane time Albion vnderstanding how Hercules intended to make warres against his brother Lestrigo, he thought good if it were possible to stop him that tide, and therefore sending for his brother Bergion out of the Orchades (where he also reigned as supream lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and sailed ouer into France. Being arriued there, it was not long yer they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betwéene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue lost the day, for that they were in maner wearied with long warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last viage that he had made for Spaine. Herevpon Hercules perceiuing the courages of his souldiours somewhat to abate, and seeing the want of artillerie like to be the cause of his fatall daie and present ouerthrowe at hand, it came suddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himselfe by throwing stones at his enimie, whereof there laie great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they so preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both slaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celts deliuered from an vsurper (that dailie incroched vpon him, building sundrie cities and holds, of which some were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other also euen in his owne kingdome on that side) and Lestrigo greatlie weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like sort it commeth, that Jupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Osyris) is feigned to throw downe stones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defense of his sonne: which came so thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile should haue descended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came so fast and with so great a violence.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus discomfited and slaine, yet the name that he gaue vnto this Iland died not, but still remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing héere in the 1116. before Christ, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onely changed it into Britaine (after it had bene called Albion, by the space of about 600. yeares) but to declare his souereigntie ouer the rest of the Ilands also that lie scattered round about it, he called them all after the same maner, so that Albion was said in time to be Britanniarum insula maxima, that is, The greatest of those Iles that beare the name of Britaine, which Plinie also confirmeth, and Strabo in his first and second bookes denieth not. There are some, which vtterlie denieng that this Iland tooke hir name of Brute, doo affirme it rather to be so called of the rich mettals sometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the same. Vibius Sequester also saith that Calabria was sometime called Britannia, Ob immensam affluentiam totius delitiæ atque vbertatis, that was to be found heerein. Other contend that it should be written with P (Pritannia.) All which opinions as I absolutelie denie not, so I willinglie leane vnto none of them in peremptorie maner, sith the antiquitie of our historie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the same cause I reiect them also, which deriue the aforesaid denomination from Britona the nymph, in following Textor (or Prutus or Prytus the sonne of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Creta daughter to Mars, and fled by sea from thence onely to escape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to rauish and make hir one of his paramours: but if I should forsake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elsewhere I haue made a more large rehearsall.

It is altogether impertinent, to discusse whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument seene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the West countrie (called Promontorium Herculis in old time) diuers of our British antiquaries doo gather great likelihood that he should also be here. But sith his presence or absence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to search

out whether the said monument was but some token erected in his honour of later times (as some haue beene elsewhere, among the Celts framed, & those like an old crible with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough skin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Irishmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but smallie auailable, and therefore I passe it ouer as not incident to my purpose. Neither will I spend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had beene sometime a parcell of the maine, although it should well séeme so to haue beene, bicause that before the generall floud of Noah, we doo not read of Ilands, more than of hils and vallies. Wherefore as Wilden Arguis also noteth in his philosophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie likelie that they were onelie caused by the violent motion and working of the sea, in the time of the floud, which if S. Augustine had well considered, he would neuer haue asked how such creatures as liued in Ilands far distant from the maine could come into the arke, De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7. howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the speedie and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited shortlie after the diuision of the earth. For I read that when each capteine and his companie had their portions assigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his posteritie, they neuer ceased to trauell and search out the vttermost parts of the same, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had seene and vewed their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It shall suffice therefore onelie to haue touched these things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpose, to proceed with the rest concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto most of the Gréeke for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to saie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the words of Aristotle in his De mundo, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithstanding that Brute, as I haue said, had changed the same into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

*Yet Timeus, Ephorus, and some of the Grecians, know the name Britannia, as appeareth also by Diodorus, &c. before the comming of Cesar.*

After Brutus I doo not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodosius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeouored, in the remembrance of the two aforesaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus saith. But as this deuise tooke no hold among the common sort, so it retained still the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and first of his reigne, gaue foorth an especiall edict, dated at Winchester, that it should be called Angles land, or Angel-landt, for which in our time we doo pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I haue to say, touching the seuerall names of this Iland, vtterlie misliking in the meane season their deuises, which make Hengist the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicause his ancestours descended from the Angles one of the sixe nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwise called Jutons, Vites, Gothes or Getes, and Vandals, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, bicause of Hengist the Saxon and his companie that first arriued here before anie of the other) and therto hauing now the monarchie and preheminece in maner of this whole Iland, called the same after the name of the countrie from whence he derived his originall, neither Hengist, neither anie Queene named Angla, neither whatsoever deriuation ab Angulo, as from a corner of the world bearing swaie, or hauing ought to doo at all in that behalfe.

**Of this opinion is Belforest, lib. 3. cap. 44.**

## CAP. IV.

- As few or no nations can iustlie boast themselues to haue continued sithence their countrie was first replenished, without any mixture, more or lesse, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whose manifold commodities haue oft allured sundrie princes and famous capteines of the world to conquer and subdue the same vnto their owne subiection. Manie sorts of people therefore haue come in hither and settled themselues here in this Ile, and first of all other, a parcell ] of the linage and posteritie of Japhet, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in processe of time, and after they had indifferentlie replenished and furnished this Iland with people (which was doone in the space of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repaired hither with a companie of his owne race procéding from Cham, and not onelie annexed the same to his owne dominion, but brought all such in like sort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miserable seruitude and most extreame thraldome. After him also, and within lesse than sixe hundred and two yeares, came Brute the sonne of Syluius with a great traine of the posteritie of the dispersed Troians in 324. ships: who rendering the like courtesie vnto the Chemminits as they had doone before unto the séed of Japhet, brought them also wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and dispossessing the peeres & inferior owners of their lands and possessions, he diuided the countrie among such princes and capteines as he in his arriual here had led out of Grecia with him.
- Samotheans.**
- Britains.  
Chemminits.**
- Romans.** From hencefoorth I doo not find any sound report of other nation whatsoever, that should aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the state of the land, vntill the Romane emperours subdued it to their dominion, sauing of a few Galles, (and those peraduenture of Belgie) who first comming ouer to rob and pilfer vpon the coasts, did afterward plant themselues for altogither neere vnto the shore, and there builded sundrie cities and townes which they named after those of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cesar where he writeth of Britaine of set purpose, but also elsewhere, as in his second booke a little after the beginning: for speaking of Deuiaticus king of the Swessions liuing in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightiest prince of all the Galles, but also to hold vnder his subiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his sonne Galba was afterward dispossessed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to say with how manie sorts of people we were dailie pestered, almost in euery steed. For as they planted their forworne legions in the most fertile places of the realme, and where they might best lie for the safeguard of their conquests: so their armies did commonlie consist of manie sorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confused mixture of all other countries and nations then liuing in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it best, because they did all beare the title of Romans, to reteine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were wofull ghests to this our Iland: sith that with them came all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all riot and excesse of behaiour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions; for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not seruitours.
- Scots.  
Picts.** How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spanish blood, should arriue here out of Ireland, & when the Picts should come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncerteine. For though the Scottish histories doo carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to saie fréelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue stolne in hither within the space of 100. yeares before Christ, than to haue continued here so long as they themselues pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to settle themselues also in Britaine; so the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and steale out of Ireland, and were finallie called in by the Meats or Picts (as the Romans named them, because they painted their bodies) to helpe them against the Britains, after the which they so planted themselues in these parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleansed of them. I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters; so they vsed commonlie to steale ouer into Britaine in leather skewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cesars time. For both Diodorus lib. 6. and Strabo lib. 4. doo seeme to speake of a parcell of the Irish nation that should inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans flesh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like sort dooth note the Redshanks and the Irish (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enimies of our nation, before the comming of Cæsar, as appeareth in his panegyricall oration, so that hereby it is found that they are no new ghestes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuersie dooth rest in the time of their first attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certainlie I maruell much whie they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I see perfectlie that this shift should be too grosse for the maintenance of their desired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons translated the word Scotus for Irish: whereby it appeareth that those Irish, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doo speake, are none other than those Scots, of whom Ierome



**Of the Picts.**

speaketh Aduersus Iouinianum, lib. 2. who vsed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate dishes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots so well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another prooffe that the Scots and Irish are all one people. They were also called Scoti by the Romans, bicause their Iland & originall inhabitation thereof were vnknowne, and they themselues an obscure nation in the sight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whatsoeuer Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter enterance, it is easie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redshankes and Pictones) that they were setled in this Ile long before the time of Seuerus, yea of Cæsar, and comming of the Scots. Which is prooffe sufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the same. So that the controuersie lieth not in their comming also, but in the true time of their repaire and aduerture into this Iland out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the North parts of our countrie, as the writers doo report) and from whence they came at the first into the aforesaid Ilands. For my part I suppose with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eie vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath sent out manie companies to inuade and spoile the same. It may be that some will gather, those to be the Picts, of whom Cæsar saith that they stained their faces with wad and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and feareful to their enimies; and so inferre that the Picts were naturall Britans. But it is one thing to staine the face onelie as the Britans did, of whom Propertius saith,

Nunc etiam infectos demum mutare Britannos,

And to paint the images and portraitures of beasts, fish and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial saith,

Barbara depictis veni Bascauda Britannis.

Certes the times of Samoths and Albion, haue some likelie limitation; and so we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Cæsar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finallie of the Flemmings, (who had the Rosse in Wales assigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when first the Picts, & then the Scots should come ouer into our Iland, as they were obscure people, so the time of their arriuall is as far to me vnknowne. Wherefore the resolution of this point must still remaine In tenebris. This neuerthelesse is certeine, that Maximus first Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperour, draue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finallie diuided their region betwéene the Britaines and the Picts. He denounced warre also against the Irishmen, for receiuing them into their land: but they crauing the peace, yéelded to subscribe, that from thence-foorth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and so much the more, for that they were pronounced enimies to the Romans, and disturbers of the common peace and quietnesse of their prouinces here in England.

**The hurt by  
forren aid.**

The Saxons became first acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they dailie practised vpon our coastes (after they had once begun to aduerture themselues also vpon the seas, thereby to seeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the West parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had already spoiled in most lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durst presume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were sent for by Vortiger to serue him in his warres against the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholie to our owne defense and regiment. Being therefore come vnder Hengist in three bottoms or kéeles, and in short time espieng the idle and negligent behauiour of the Britaines, and fertilitie of our soile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conquest of such as at the first they came to aid and succour. Herevpon also they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countrimen and neighbours, with their wiues and children into this region, so that within a while these new comings began to molest the homelings, and ceased not from time to time to continue their purpose, vntill they had gotten possession of the whole, or at the leastwise the greatest part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane season being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogether out of the Iland to séeke new habitations.

**Danes.**

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that succéded) came at the first onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end, being let in by the Welshmen or Britons through an earnest desire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no lesse plagued the one than the other, their fréends than their aduersaries, seeking by all meanes possible to establish themselues also in the sure possession of Britaine. But such was their successe, that they prospered not long in their deuisse: for so great was their lordlinesse, crueltie, and insatiable desire of riches, beside their detestable abusing of chast matrons, and yoong virgins (whose husbands and parents were dailie inforced to become their drudges and slaues, whilst they sat at home and fed like drone bées of the sweet of their trauell and labours) that God I say would not suffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he saw his time he remooued their yoke, and gaue vs liberty as it were to breath vs, thereby to see whether this his sharpe scourge could haue mooued vs to repentance and

**The  
Normans.**

amendment of our lewd and sinfull liues, or not. But when no signe thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vex vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our cuntrymen than the Danes, or more heauie and intollerable to our Iland than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newstria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, bicause the Danes which subdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: neuerthelesse, I suppose that the ancient word Newstria, is corrupted from West-rijc, bicause that if you marke the situation, it lieth opposite from Austria or Ost-rijc, which is called the East region, as Newstria is the Weast: for Rijc in the old Scithian toong dooth signifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-rijc, or Franc-reich, Westsaxon-reich, Ost saxon-reich, Su-rijc, Angel-rijc, &c, is else to be séene. But howsoeuer this falleth out, these Normans or Danish French, were dedlie aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betwéene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Bullen, and William Duke of Normandie, arriued in this land to visit him, & their freends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first footing that euer the French did set in this Iland, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

**The cause of  
the  
conquest by  
the  
Normans.**

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outragious demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and vpon occasion of the brall hapning at Douer (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogether in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English préest then liuing in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their disliking in manifest maner. Neuerthelesse, the Normans so bewitched the king with their lieng and bosting, Robert the Archbishop being the chéefe instrument of their practise, that he beléueed them, and therevpon vexed sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Goodwijn of Kent was the chéefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and fiue of his sonnes with him, wherevpon he goeth ouer the sea, and soone after returning with his said sonnes, they inuaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was readie to ioine with him in battell, it vtterlie refused so to doo: affirming plainelie, that it should be méere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarels: which answer entred so déeplie into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vpshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate. By this means therefore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who goeth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saued a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England vnto Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlfo of Lincolne, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselues, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Douer, bicause of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their harts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that brake out into a flame, so soone as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obtained, and to set his mischéefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certeine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Earle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogether false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of Iohn Stow my verie fréend, wherein he saith thus, "Alfredus incauté agens in aduentu suo in Angliam a Danis circumuentus occiditur." He addeth moreouer, that giuing out as he came through the cuntry accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recouer his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yéelded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the fame onelie of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Quéene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this broile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait upon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the

**Archbishop  
of Can.  
exiled, and  
the rest of  
the French.**

**Erle  
Goodwine  
slandered by  
the French  
writers.**

**The miserie  
of the  
English  
vnder the  
French.**

**The cause of  
our miserie.**

Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembred still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this Iland. After which obtained, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and ouerthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slaue than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthie businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Peere; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a pastime to such of them as contended in their brauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their gréedie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must needs obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vtterlie taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remooue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders. And this onelie I saie againe, bicause we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourable vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headbuowes in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behaiour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrés of English and Brittish were made slaues and bondmen, and bought and sold as oxen in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this Iland hath not onelie béene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vtterlie to haue beene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surnamed the saint, in his time, after greeuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latelie made Earle of Oxenford, sonne to Goodwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not haue béene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must néeds haue susteined the vttermost confusion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterlie haue perished among vs.

**In this voiage the  
said Harald  
buided  
Portaschith, which  
Caradoch ap  
Griffin afterward  
ouerthrow, and  
killed the garrison  
that Harald left  
therein.**

Thus we see how England hath six times beene subiect to the reproch of conquest. And wheras the Scots séeme to challenge manie famous victories also ouer us, beside gréeuos impositions, tributs, & dishonorable compositions: it shall suffice for answer, that they deale in this as in the most part of their historie, which is to seeke great honor by lieng, & great renowme by prating and craking. Indeed they haue doone great mischéefe in this Iland, & with extreme crueltie; but as for any conquest the first is yet to heare of. Diuers other conquests also haue béene pretended by sundrie princes sithence the conquest, onelie to the end that all pristiniate lawes and tenures of possession might cease, and they make a new disposition of all things at their owne pleasure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it tooke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who neuerthelesse was at the last though hardlie drawne from the challenge by William Thorington, then cheefe Justice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had some better shew of right, but yet without effect. And the last of all by Q. Marie, as some of the papists gaue out, and also would haue had hir to haue obtained, but God also staid their malices, and hir challenge. But beside the six afore mentioned, Huntingdon the old historiographer speaketh of a seuenth, likelie (as he saith) to come one daie out of the North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, sith nothing is to be had in those parts, but hunger & much cold. Sée more hereof in the historie of S. Albons, and aforsaid author which lieth on the left side of the librarie belonging now to Paules: for I regard no prophesies as one that doubteth from what spirit they doo procéed, or who should be the author of them.

CAP. V.

Besides these aforesaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iland, we read of sundrie giants that should inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogether incredible, sith the posterities of diuers princes were called by the name: so vnto some mens eares it seemeth so strange a rehearsall, that for the same onelie cause they suspect the credit of our whole historie, & reiect it as a fable, vnworthie to be read. They also condemne the like in all other histories, especially of the North, where men are naturallie of greatest stature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c: of whom Saxo, Johannes Magnus and Olaus doo make mention, & whose bones doo yet remaine to be seene as rare miracles in nature. Of these also some in their life time were able to lift vp (as they write) a vessell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horsse, or an oxe, & cast it on their shoulders (wherein their verie women haue beene likewise knowne to come néere vnto them) and of the race of those men, some were séene of no lesse strength in the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote the same of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchase of a dispensation to marrie with his kinswoman (a woman also of much more than common stature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can saie verie much euen by their owne knowledge. Wherefore it appeareth by present experience, that all is not absolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of such giants. For this cause therefore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breefe discourse insuing, as indeuouring therby to prooue, that the opinion of giants is not altogether grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of maruellous things: but that there haue beene such men in deed, as for their hugeness of person haue resembled rather\* high towers than mortall men, although their posterities are now consumed, and their monstrous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge.

\* *Esay. 30. vers. 25.*

I doo not meane herein to dispute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppression of the people, than for their greatnesse of bodie, or large steps, as Goropius would haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater than at this present) or bicause their parents were not knowne, for such in old time were called Terræ filij; or whether the word Gigas dooth onlie signifie Indigenas, or homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantitie in stature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet absolutelie I denie neither of these, sith verie probable reasons may be brought for ech of them, but especially the last rehearsed, whose confirmation dependeth vpon the authorities of sundrie ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in strength and manhood, and yet doo not giue the same name vnto them, bicause their quarels were iust, and commonlie taken in hand for defense of the oppressed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whose wrestling declareth that they were equall in stature & stomach. Such also was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterlie vanquished by the said Hercules, yet if he did eftsoones returne againe into his kingdome, he forthwith recouered his force, returned and held Hercules tacke, till he gat at the last betwéene him and home, so cutting off the farther hope of the restitution of his armie, and killing finallie his aduersarie in the field, of which victorie Politian writeth thus:

Incaluere animis dura certare palæstra,  
 Neptuni quondàm filius atque Iouis:  
 Non certamen erant operoso ex ære lebetes,  
 Sed qui vel vitam vel ferat interitum:  
 Occidit Antæus Ioue natum viuere fas est,  
 Estq; magistra Pales Græcia, non Lybia.

Antheus.  
*Lucane lib. 4  
 in fine.*

Corineus.  
 Gomagot.

The like doo our histories report of Corineus and Gomagot, peradventure king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was slaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hanuile in his Architrenion make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. foot, if poetically licence doo not take place in his report and assertion. But sith (I say againe) it is not my purpose to stand vpon these points, I passe ouer to speake any more of them. And whereas also I might haue proceeded in such order, that I should first set downe by manie circumstances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of such huge and incredible stature as the authours doo remember, and finallie whether any of them haue beene in this our Iland or not, I protest plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deale in any such maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by sufficient authoritie, that there haue beene such mightie men of stature, and some of them also in Britaine, which I will set downe onelie by sundrie examples, whereby it shall fall out, that neither our Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or

other been altogether without them. First of all therefore, & to begin with the scriptures, the most sure & certaine ground of all knowledge: you shall haue out of them such notable examples set downe, as I haue obserued in reading the same, which vnto the godlie may suffice for sufficient prooffe of my position. Neuerthelesse, after the scriptures I will resort to the writings of our learned Diuines, and finallie of the infidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing shall seeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauillations.

*Cap. 6. vers. 5.*

*Anti. li. 1.*

Moses the prophet of the Lord, writing of the estate of things before the floud, hath these words in his booke of generations. In these daies saith he, there were giants vpon the earth. Berosus also the Chalde writeth, that néere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoth, builded sometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who trusting to the strength and hugeness of their bodies, did verie great oppression and mischeefe in the world. The Hebrues called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father to Achimam, Scheschai and Talma, although their first originall was deriued from Henoch the sonne of Caine, of whome that pestilent race descended, as I read. The Moabites named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamsummims, and it should seeme by the second of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatlie replenished with such men, when Moses wrote that treatise. For of these monsters some families remained of greater stature than other vnto his daies, in comparison of whome the children of Israell confessed themselues to be but grasshoppers. Which is one noble testimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is so well taken for a man of huge stature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppressour of the people.

*Nu. cap. 13. verse 33, & 34.*

*Deut. 3. vers. 11. Og of Basan.*

Furthermore, there is mention made also in the scriptures of Og, sometime king of Basan, who was the last of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promise to be ouercome by the Israelits, & whose iron bed was afterward shewed for a woonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) containing 9. cubits in length, and 4. in bredth, which cubits I take not to be geometricall, (that is, each one so great as six of the smaller, as those were wherof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme, especiallie Augustine: whereas Origen, hom. 2. in Gen. out of whom he seemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no such meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes dooth varie & differ from the standard. Oh how Goropius dalieth about the historie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate against the beds head, & of hurting his ribs against the sides, and all to prooue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and so he leaueth the matter as sufficientlie answered with a French countenance of truth. But see August. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Faustum Manich. lib. 12. Ambros. &c. and Johannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpose of the capacite of the Arke.

*Cap. 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliath.*

In the first of Samuel you shall read of Goliath a Philistine, the weight of whose brigandine or shirt of maile was of 5000. sicles, or 1250. ounces of brasse, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common sicles to the ounce. The head of his speare came vnto ten pound English or 600. sicles of that metall. His height also was measured at six cubits and an hand bredth. All which doo import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great stature & strength to weare such an armour, and beweld so heauie a lance. But Goropius thinking himselfe still to haue Og in hand, and indeuouring to extenuate the fulnesse of the letter to his vttermost power, dooth neuerthelesse earnestlie affirme, that he was not aboute three foot more than the common sort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and so he leaueth it as determined.

*Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c.*

In the second of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Ishbenob the first, that would haue killed Daud, had a speare, whose head weighed the iust halfe of that of Goliath: the second called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. Par. 20. was nothing inferiour to the first: the third hight also Goliath, the staffe of whose speare was like vnto the beame of a weauers loome, neuerthelesse he was slaine in the second battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the first was by Abisai Iobabs brother, and the second by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was slaine at Gath by Ionathan nephew to Daud, and he was not onlie huge of personage, but also of disfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Wherby it is euident, that the generation of giants was not extinguished in Palestine, vntill the time of Daud, which was 2890. after the floud, nor vtterlie consumed in Og, as some of our expositors would haue it.

Now to come vnto our christian writers. For though the authorities alreadie alleged out of the word, are sufficient to confirme my purpose at the full; yet will I not let to set downe such other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader shall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumstances, mentioned in the scriptures, rather to haue some mysticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the sense of the text in this behalfe is to be taken simplie as it speaketh. And first of all to omit that which Tertullian Lib. 2. de resurrect. saith; S. Augustine noteth, how he with other saw the tooth of a man, wherof he tooke good aduisement, and pronounced in the end that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time. The like hereof also dooth Iohn Boccace set downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, saieing that in the

*De ciuitate Dei lib. 15. cap. 9. Iohannes Boccacius.*

caue of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Eryx as he gesseth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was discouered, thrée of whose teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into English poise, doth yeeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue ounces to the pound, that is 33. ounces euerie tooth.

**A carcasse  
discouered  
of 200.  
cubits.**

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his scull was able to conteine manie bushels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians iudged his bodie to be aboue 200. cubits. Those teeth, scull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be seene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse, whose bodie was found vpon this occasion. As some digged in the earth to laie the foundation of an house, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they saw the huge bodie of a man sitting in the caue, of whose greatnesse they were so afraid, that they ranne awaie, and made an outcrie in the citie, how there sat a man in such a place, so great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they should haue gone vnto a foughten field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they foorthwith saw that he was dead, and yet sat as if he had been aliue, hauing a staffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the mast of a tall ship, which being touched fell by and by to dust, sauing the nether end betwéene his hand and the ground, whose hollownesse was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his arme that it should not fall in pièces: neuerthelesse, his bodie also being touched fell likewise into dust, sauing three of his aforesaid teeth, the forepart of his scull, and one of his thigh bones, which are reserued to be séene of such as will hardlie beleue these reports.

In the histories of Brabant I read of a giant found, whose bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, because they somewhat resembled those of two such beasts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betwéene Bruxels and Machlin. As though there were anie precise resemblance betwéene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer béene any elephant of 27. foot in length. But see his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found vpon the shore of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which somewhat staieth his iudgement, but not altogether remoueth his error.

**Mat.  
Westmon.**

The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being measured it contained twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Æneas.

**Iohannes  
Leland.**

There was a carcasse also laid bare 1170. in England vpon the shore (where the beating of the sea had washed awaie the earth from the stone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp it contained 50. foot in measure, as our histories doo report. The like was seene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

**Maffieus, lib.  
14. Triuet.**

**Mat. West.**

In Perth moreouer a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they shew in a church, vnder the name of little John (per Antiphrasin) being also 14. foot in length, as diuerse doo affirme which haue beholden the same, and whereof Hector Boetius dooth saie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hanch bones: which is worthie to be remembered.

**Hector Boet.**

In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common sort of women liuing in those daies.

**Geruasius  
Tilberiensis.**

Geruasius Tilberiensis, head Marshall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho 4. how that at Isoretim, in the suburbes of Paris, he saw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beside the head and the necke, which was missing & not found, the owner hauing peraduenture béene beheaded for some notable trespasse committed in times past, or (as he saith) killed by S. William.

The Greeke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperour, who liued 1183. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, thrée foot higher than the Dutch man that shewed himselfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man married Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before assured to Alexius, whome he strangled, dismembred and drowned in the sea) the ladie not being aboue eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beside hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as she listed.

Zonaras speaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Justine, who being borne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie personage, was neuerthelesse almost two foot taller than the tallest woman of hir time.

**Sir Thomas  
Eliot.**

A carcasse was taken vp at Iuie church neere Salisburie but of late yeares to speake of, almost fourtéene foot long, in Dictionario Eliotæ.

**Leland in  
Combrit.**

In Gillesland in Come Whitton parochie not far from the chappell of the Moore, six miles by east from Carleill, a coffin of stone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like sort Leland speaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you shall read more in the chapiter of our Ilands.

**Richard**

Richard Grafton in his Manuell telleth of one whose shinbone contained six foot, and

*Grafton.*

The  
Symmetrie  
or  
proportion  
of the bodie  
of a comelie  
man.

thereto his scull so great that it was able to receiue fiue pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall symmetrie of these parts, his bodie must needs be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligentlie measured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, answereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the same place vnto the sole of the foot, measured by an imagined line, and seuered into so manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Drurerus in his lineall description of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this symmetrie is not taken by other than the well proportioned face, for Recta, orbiculata (or fornicata) prona, resupinata, and lacunata (or repanda) doo so far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Hereby also they make the face taken in strict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, frō the highest part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, so that in the vse of the word face there is a difference, wherby the 9. part is taken (I say) from the crowne (called Vertex, because the haire there turneth into a circle) so that if the space by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or highest part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would easilie appeare, & shew it selfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the midle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wrist to the top of the same finger, a tenth part: the length of the shinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third ioint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obseruations I willinglie remember in this place, to the end that if anie such carcasses happen to be found hereafter, it shall not be hard by some of these bones here mentioned, to come by the stature of the whole bodie, in certeine & exact maner. As for the rest of the bones, ioints, parts, &c: you may resort to Drurerus, Cardan, and other writers, sith the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpose. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the same. Finallie the carcase of William Conqueror was séene not manie yeares since (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, by the iudgment of such as saw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which testimonies I note together, bicause they proceed from christian writers, from whome nothing should be farther or more distant, than of set purpose to lie, and feed the world with fables.

*Sylvester  
Gyraldus.*

*Constans  
fama  
Gallorum.*

*Briat.*

In our times also, and whilest Francis the first reigned ouer France, there was a man séene in Aquiteine, whome the king being in those parties made of his gard, whose height was such, that a man of common heigth might easilie go vnder his twist without stooping, a stature incredible. Moreouer Casanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briat a giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whose scull was two cubits, and the breadth of his shoulders foure, as he himselfe beheld in the late second wars of France, & wherevnto the report of Ioan Marius made in his bookes De Galliarum illustrationibus, where he writeth of the carcase of the same giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the scull to the sole of the feet, dooth yéeld sufficient testimonie. Also Calameus in his commentaries De Biturigibus, confirmeth no lesse, adding that he was found 1556. & so dooth Baptista Fulgosus, lib. 1. cap. 6. saieng farther, that his graue was seene not farre from Valentia, and discovered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The said Casanion in like sort speaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whose téeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Also of the sepulchre of another neere vnto Charmes castell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if eiesight did not confirme it in our owne times, and these carcasses were not reserued by the verie prouidence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by these relikes vnderstand, that such men were in old time in deed, of whose statures we now begin to doubt. Now to say somewhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be séene in the church of S. Laurence néere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another also is to be seene in Aldermarie burie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetrie hath bene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportion, which is fixt in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as some say was found in the cloister of Poules, that was neere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I séene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I tooke no great heed, bicause I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the christian authors.

Now it resteth furthermore that I set downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to reape renowme and praise, they doo procure vnto themselues in the end nothing else but meere contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe

doo séeme almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerie Author beare his owne burden, and euerie oxe his bundle.

*In vita  
Sertorij de  
Antheo.*

Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, néere to the streicts of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) caused the sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the said giant laie buried there, whose corps was fiftie cubits long at the least, he was so far off from crediting the same, that he would not beleuee it, vntill he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his souldiers to cast downe the hill made sometime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome coffined in stone, after the measure therof taken, he saw it manifestlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made accompt of, which Strabo also confirmeth.

Pausanias reporteth out of one Miso, that when the bodie of Ajax was found, the whirlebone of his knée was adjudged so broad as a pretie dish: also that the bodie of Asterius sometime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no lesse maruelous than the rest, all which Goropius still condemne to be the bones of monsters of the sea (notwithstanding the manifest formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inscriptions found ingrauen in brasse and lead with them in their sepulchres) so far is he from being persuaded and led from his opinion.

*Philostrate.*

Philostrate in Heroicis saith, how he saw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, also the carcase of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue.

Liue in the seauenth of his first decade, speaketh of an huge person which made a challenge as he stood at the end of the Anien bridge, against any Romane that would come out and fight with him, whose stature was not much inferiour to that of Golias, of Artaches (of whome Herodot speaketh in the historie of Xerxes) who was sixe common cubits of stature, which make but fiue of the kings standard, because this is longer by thrée fingers than the other. Of Pusio, Secundilla, & Cabaras, of which the first two liuing vnder Augustus were aboue ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine, and all remembred by Plinie; of Eleazar a Jew, of whome Iosephus saith, that he was sent to Tiberius, and a person of heigth fiue cubits; of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention lib. 12. cap. 13. Hist. eccles. of fiue cubits and an handfull, I say nothing, because Casanion of Mutterell hath alredie sufficientlie discoursed vpon these examples in his *De gigantibus*, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, supposeth himselfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter Alterum carcasse Herculem, as the said Casanion dooth merilie charge and vpbraid him.

*Lib. 7.*

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which discovered the body of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane standard, and by diuerse supposed to be the bodie of Orion or Ætion. Neuerthesse I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did sweare *Per sua capita*, that it was either the carcase of some monster of the sea, or a forged deuise to bleare the peoples eies withall, wherein it is wonderfull to see, how they please Goropius as one that first deriued his fantasticall imagination from their asseueration & oth. The said Plinie also addeth that the bodie of Orestes was seuen cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reserued In conditorio Sallustianorum halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that anie man was driuen to sweare.

*Trallianus.*

Trallianus writeth how the Athenienses digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Iland in the daies of an emperour, did find the bones of Macrosyris in a coffin of hard stone, of 100. cubits in length after the accompt of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our measure now in England. These verses also, as they are now translated out of Gréeke were found withall,

Sepultus ego Macrosyris in longa insula  
Vitæ peractis annis mille quinquies:

which amounteth to 81. yeares foure moneths, after the Aegyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperour, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Messana, containing 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet standing whole in his chaps. Eumachus also in Perigesi, telleth that when the Carthaginenses went about to dich in their prouince, they found two bodies in seuerall coffins of stone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, such another was found in Bosphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did cast those bones into the Meotidan marris. In Dalmatia, manie graues were shaken open with an earthquake, in diuers of which certeine carcasses were found, whose ribs contained 16. els, after the Romane measure, whereby the whole bodies were iudged to be 64. sith the longest rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as some rouing symmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus saith, that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Asianes were generallie of huge stature, and commonlie of fiue cubits, and such was the heigth of Porus of Inde, whom the said Alexander vanquished and ouerthrew in battell.



Suidas speaketh of Ganges, killed also by the said prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What should I speake of Artaceas a capitaine in the host of Xerxes, afore remembred, whose heigth was within 4. fingers bredth of fiue cubits, & the tallest man in the armie except the king himselfe. Herod. lib. 7. Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembreth I saie nothing. But of all these, this one example shall passe, which I doo read of in Trallianus, and he setteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius th'emperour saith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which ech tooth (taken one with another) contained 12. inches ouer at the least. Now forsomuch as in such as be full mouthed, ech chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the least, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs must the widenesse of this mans chaps be welneere of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips fiue at the least. A large mouth in mine opinion, and not to eat peason with Ladies of my time, besides that if occasion serued, it was able to receiue the whole bodies of mo than one of the greatest men, I meane of such as we be in our daies. When this carcase was thus found, euerie man maruelled at it, & good cause why. A messenger was sent to Tiberius the emperour also to know his pleasure, whether he would haue the same brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to remooue the dead out of his resting place, but rather somewhat to satisfie his phantasie to send him a tooth out of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning workeman, commanding him to shape a carcase of light matter, after the proportion of the tooth, that at the least by such means he might satisfie his curious mind, and the fantasies of such as are delited with nouelties. To be short, when the image was once made and set vp on end, it appéered rather an huge colossie than the true carcase of a man, and when it had stood in Rome vntill the people were wearie & throughlie satisfied with the sight thereof, he caused it to be broken all to peeces, and the tooth sent againe to the carcase frō whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligentlie, and in anie wise not to dismember the corps, nor from thencefoorth to be so hardie as to open the sepulchre anie more. Pausan. lib. 8. telleth in like maner of Hiplodanus & his fellowes, who liued when Rhea was with child of Osyris by Cham, and were called to hir aid at such time as she feared to be molested by Hammon hir first husband, whilest she remained vpon the Thoumasian hill, "In ipso loco," saith he, "spectantur ossa maiora multo quàm vt humana existimari possunt, &c." Of Protophanes who had but one great and broad bone in steed of all his ribs on ech side I saie nothing, sith it concerneth not his stature.

A mouth of  
sixteene foot wide.

This man was more  
fauorable to this  
monster than our  
papists were to the  
bodies of the dead  
who tare them in  
peeces to make  
money of them.

A  
counterfect  
made of a  
monstrous  
carcase by  
one tooth  
taken out of  
the head.

Grandiâque  
effossis  
mirabitur  
ossa  
sepulchris.

I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of such men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and others. As of Oetas and Ephialtes, who were said to be nine orgies or paces in heigth, and foure in bredth, which are taken for so many cubits, bicause there is small difference betwéene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to beare an axe in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus:

This king Richard I vnderstand,  
Yer he went out of England,  
Let make an axe for the nones,  
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,  
The head in sooth was wrought full weele,  
Thereon were twentie pound of steele,  
And when he came in Cyprus land,  
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could speake also of Gerards staffe or lance, yet to be seene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane, which is so great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the same. I haue seene a man my selfe of seuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good) speake also of another of no lesse heigth than either of these and liuing of late yeares, but these here remembred shall suffice to prooue my purpose withall. I might tell you in like sort of the marke stone which Turnus threw at Æneas, and was such as that twelue chosen and picked men (saith Virgil),

Vis vnita  
fortior est  
eadem  
dispersa.

(Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)

were not able to stur and remooue out of the place: but I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God: first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might; and secondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, sith they which possessed the same, were not onelie tyrants, doltish, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feeble. Finallie they were such indéed as in whom the Lord delited not, according to the saieng of the prophet Baruch; "Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt statura magna, scientes bellum, hos non elegit Dominus, neque illis viam disciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, et

4. *Esd. cap.*  
5.

quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam, interierunt propter suam insipientiam, &c." that is, "There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of great stature and expert in warre, those did not the Lord choose, neither gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they were destroyed, because they had no wisdom, and perished through their owne foolishnesse." That the bodies of men also doo dailie decaie in stature, beside Plinie lib. 7. Esdras likewise confesseth lib. 4. cap. 5. whose authoritie is so good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who doo affirme so much, whereas Goropius still continuing his woonted pertinacitie also in this behalfe, maketh his proportion first by the old Romane foot, and then by his owne, & therevpon concludeth that men in these daies be fullie so great as euer they were, whereby as in the former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude against the scriptures, chosen writers and testimonies of the oldest pagans. But see how he would salue all at last in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he saith, I denie not but that od huge personages haue bene seene, as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which I my selfe also haue beholden, but as now so in old time the common sort did so much woonder at the like as we doo at these, because they were seldome séene, and not commonlie to be heard of.

## CAP. VI.

**British.****Small  
difference  
betweene  
the British  
and Celtike  
languages.**

What language came first with Samoths and afterward with Albion, and the giants of his companie, it is hard for me to determine, sith nothing of sound credit remaineth in writing, which may resolve vs in the truth hereof. Yet of so much are we certaine, that the speach of the ancient Britons, and of the Celts, had great affinitye one with another, so that they were either all one, or at leastwise such as either nation with small helpe of interpreters might vnderstand other, and readilie discern what the speaker meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts spake Greeke, and how the British toong resembled the same, which was spoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme it: but I see that these men doo speake without authoritie and therefore I reiect them, for if the Celts which were properlie called Galles did speake Gréeke, why did Cesar in his letters sent to Rome vse that language, because that if they should be intercepted they might not vnderstand them, or why did he not vnderstand the Galles, he being so skilfull in the language without an interpreter? Yet I denie not but that the Celtish and British speaches might haue great affinitye one with another, and the British aboue all other with the Greeke, for both doo appéere by certaine words, as first in tri for three, march for an horsse, & trimarchia, whereof Pausanias speaketh, for both. Atheneus also writeth of Bathanasius a capitaine of the Galles, whose name is méere British, compounded of Bath & Ynad, & signifieth a noble or comelie iudge. And wheras he saith that the reliques of the Galles tooke vp their first dwelling about Isther, and afterward diuided themselues in such wise, that they which went and dwelled in Hungarie were called Sordsai, and the other that inhabited within the dominion of Tyroll) Brenni, whose seate was on the mount Brenhere parcell of the Alpes, what else signifieth the word Iscaredich in British, from whence the word Scordisci commeth, but to be diuided? Hereby then, and sundrie other the like testimonies, I gather that the British and the Celtish speaches had great affinitye one with another, as I said, which Cesar (speaking of the similitude or likenesse of religion in both nations) doth also auerre, & Tacitus in vita Agricolaë, in like sort plainlie affirmeth, or else it must needs be that the Galles which inuaded Italie and Greece were meere Britons, of whose likenesse of speach with the Gréeke toong I need not make anie triall, sith no man (I hope) will readilie denie it. Appianus talking of the Brenni calleth them Cymbres, and by this I gather also that the Celts and the Britons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their own language, or else that the Britons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie doo not refuse to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the means by which the originall of euerie kingdome and nation is to be had and discerned, setteth downe threë waies whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (saith he) the infallible testimonie of the sound writers, the other the description and site of the region, the third the reliques of the ancient speach remaining in the same. Which later if it be of any force, then I must conclude, that the spéech of the Britons and Celts was sometime either all one or verie like one to another, or else it must follow that the Britons ouerflowed the continent vnder the name of Cymbres, being peradventure associat in this voyage, or mixed by inuasion with the Danes, and Norwegiens, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as most writers doo remember. This also is euident (as Plutarch likewise confesseth In vita Marij) that no man knew from whence the Cymbres came in his daies, and therefore I beleeeue that they came out of Britaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane euen to the vttermost part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the slaues which were dailie brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Dauī for Daci, Getæ for Gothes, &c: for of their conquests I need not make rehearsall, sith they are commonlie knowne and remembred by the writers, both of the Greekes and Latines.

**British  
corrupted by  
the Latine  
and Saxon  
speeches.**

The British toong called Camberaec dooth yet remaine in that part of the Iland, which is now called Wales, whither the Britons were driuen after the Saxons had made a full conquest of the other, which we now call England, although the pristiniate integritie thereof be not a little diminished by mixture of the Latine and Saxon speaches withall. Howbeit, manie poesies and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermore delited) are yet extant in my time, wherby some difference betwéene the ancient and present language may easilie be discerned, notwithstanding that among all these there is nothing to be found, which can set downe anie sound and full testimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men haue béene most slacke and negligent. Giraldus in praising the Britons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Gréeke or Latine. Which being rightly vnderstanded and conferred with the likenesse that was in old time betwéene the Celts & the British toongs, will not a little helpe those that thinke the old Celtish to haue some sauour of the Gréeke. But how soeuer that matter standeth, after the British speach came once ouer into this Iland, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and Englishmen could make against that nation, in anie maner of wise.

**The Britons  
diligent in**

Petigrées and genealogies also the Welsh Britons haue plentie in their owne toong,

petigrées.

insomuch that manie of them can readilie deriue the same, either from Brute or some of his band, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troians, and so foorth vnto Noah without anie maner of stop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I must néeds confesse that their ancient Bards were verie diligent in there collection, and had also publike allowance or salarie for the same; so I dare not absolutelie impugne their assertions, sith that in times past all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebrues) did verie solemnelie preserue the catalogs of their descents, thereby either to shew themselues of ancient and noble race, or else to be descended from some one of the gods. But

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest Pontice longo  
Sanguine censerit? aut quid aurum ducere turmas? &c.

Next vnto the British speach, the Latine toong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French was after by the Normans. Of this toong I will not say much, bicause there are few which be not skilfull in the same. Howbeit, as the speach it selfe is easie and delectable, so hath it peruerted the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of Britaine in such wise, that in these our daies their old British denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet those of the new Latine left as most vncertaine. This remaineth also vnto my time, borrowed from the Romans, that all our déeds, euidences, charters, & writings of record, are set downe in the Latine toong, though now verie barbarous, and therevnto the copies and court-rolles, and processes of courts and leets registred in the same.

Latine.

The Saxon  
toong.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scithian or high Dutch, induced at the first by the Saxons (which the Britons call Saysonaec, as they doo the speakers Sayson) an hard and rough kind of speach, God wot, when our nation was brought first into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and easie kind of vtterance, and so polished and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be aduouched how there is no one speach vnder the sunne spoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phrases, or figures and floures of eloquence, than hath our English toong, although some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, bicause the most of our words (as they doo indéed) incline vnto one syllable. This also is to be noted as a testimonie remaining still of our language, deriued from the Saxons, that the generall name for the most part of euerie skilfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and er onlie inserted, as Scriuenhere, writehere, shiphere, &c: for scriuener, writer, and shipper, &c: beside manie other relikes of that spéech, neuer to be abolished.

The French  
toong.

After the Saxon toong, came the Norman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children also were by an especiall decreée taught first to speake the same, and therevnto inforced to learne their constructions in the French, whensoever they were set to the Grammar schoole. In like sort few bishops, abbats, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto anie ecclesiasticall function here among vs, but such as came out of religious houses from beyond the seas, to the end they should not vse the English toong in their sermons to the people. In the court also it grew into such contempt, that most men thought it no small dishonor to speake any English there. Which brauerie tooke his hold at the last likewise in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euen the verie carters began to wax wearie of there mother toong, & laboured to speake French, which as then was counted no small token of gentilitie. And no maruell, for euerie French rascall, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie bicause he was proud, and could vse his owne language, and all this (I say) to exile the English and British speeches quite out of the countrie. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, but most of all and by law in the midst of Edward the third, and then began the English to recouer and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, tooles and words of art reteine still their French denominations euen to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, bookes of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearsall. Afterward also, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gowre, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of Iohn Scogan, and Iohn Lydgate monke of Berrie, our said toong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quéene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and sundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the ornature of the same, to their great praise and immortal commendation; although not a few other doo greatlie séeke to staine the same, by fond affectation of forren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and sound of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English toong is found in one, and the south part of this Iland; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaine still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and iudgement. This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language,

The helpers  
of our  
English  
toong.

Englishmen

apt to learne  
any forren  
toong.

and neither too rough nor too smooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebrue, Gréeke & Latine, and speake it naturallie, as if we were home-borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that sauoreth of English trulie. It is a pastime to read how Natalis Comes in like maner, speaking of our affaires, dooth clip the names of our English lords. But this of all the rest dooth bréed most admiration with me, that if any stranger doo hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our toong, yet in age he swarueth so much from the same, that he is woorse therein than euer he was, and thereto peradventure halteth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue séene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iustlie maruelled.

The Cornish  
toong.

The Cornish and Deuonshire men, whose countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a speach in like sort of their owne, and such as hath in déed more affinitie with the Armoricane toong than I can well discusse of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of Brittish, albeit so far degenerating in these daies from the old, that if either of them doo méete with a Welshman, they are not able at the first to vnderstand one an other, except here and there in some od words, without the helpe of interpretors. And no maruell in mine opinion that the British of Cornewall is thus corrupted, sith the Welsh toong that is spoken in the north & south part of Wales, doth differ so much in it selfe, as the English vsed in Scotland dooth from that which is spoken among vs here in this side of the Iland, as I haue said alreadye.

Scottish  
english.

The Scottish english hath beene much broader and lesse pleasant in vtterance than ours, because that nation hath not till of late indeuored to bring the same to any perfect order, and yet it was such in maner, as Englishmen themselues did speake for the most part beyond the Trent, whither any great amendement of our language had not as then extended it selfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottish language endeuoreth to come neere, if not altogether to match our toong in finenesse of phrase, and copie of words, and this may in part appeare by an historie of the Apocripha translated into Scottish verse by Hudson, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and conteining sixe books, except my memorie doo faile me.

The wild  
Scots.  
Redshanks.  
Rough  
footed  
Scots.

Thus we sée how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the south parts of the realme, we haue thrée seuerall toongs, that is to saie, English, British, and Cornish, and euen so manie are in Scotland, if you accompt the English speach for one: notwithstanding that for bredth and quantitie of the region, I meane onelie of the soile of the maine Iland, it be somewhat lesse to see to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwise called the Redshanks, or rough footed Scots (because they go bare footed and clad in mantels ouer their saffron shirts after the Irish maner) doo inhabit, they speake good Irish which they call Gachtlet, as they saie of one Gathelus, whereby they shew their originall to haue in times past béene fetched out of Ireland: as I noted also in the chapter precedent, and wherevnto Vincentius cap. de insulis Oceani dooth yéeld his assent, saiang that Ireland was in time past called Scotia; "Scotia eadem (saith he) & Hibernia, proxima Britanniae insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ foecundior; Scotia autem à Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c." Out of the 14. booke of Isidorus intituled Originum, where he also addeth that it is called Hybernia, because it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elsewhere that it is so called by certeine Spaniards which came to seeke and plant their inhabitation in the same, wherof in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

Irish Scots.  
Irish speech.

In the Iles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & such coasts of Britaine as doo abbut vpon the same, the Gottish or Danish speach is altogether in vse, and also in Shetland, by reason (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaie held those Ilands so long vnder their subiECTION, albeit they were otherwise reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, bicause that the verie soile of them is enimie to poison, as some write, although for my part I had neuer any sound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of our old speaches, and those fue languages now vsuallie spoken within the limits of our Iland.

CAP. VII.

**Britaine at  
the first one  
entire  
kingdome.**

It is not to be doubted, but that at the first, the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time, vntill ciuill discord, grounded vpō ambitious desire to reigne, caused the same to be gouerned by diuerse. And this I meane so well of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & posteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncerteine into how manie regions it was seuered, after the first partition; so it is most sure that this latter disturbed estate of regiment, continued in the same, not onelie vntill the time of Cæsar, but also in maner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full possession of this Iland, who gouerned it by Legats after the maner of a prouince. It should séeme also that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought those foure princes that vsurped in his time to obedience, than extinguished their titles, & such partition as they had made of the Iland among themselues) each great citie had hir frédome and seuerall kind of regiment, proper vnto hir selfe, beside a large circuit of the cuntrye appertinent vnto the same, wherein were sundrie other cities also of lesse name, which owght homage and all subiection vnto the greater sort. And to saie truth, hereof it came to passe, that each of these regions, whereinto this Iland was then diuided, tooke his name of some one of these cities; although Ciuitas after Cæsar doth sometime signifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time Tot ciuitates quot regna, and contrariwise as may appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was so called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whose territories contained all Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire, euen as the iurisdiction of the bishop of London is now extended, for the ouersight of such things as belong vnto the church. Ech of the gouernors also of these regions, called themselues kings, and therevnto either of them dailie made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limits. But for somuch as I am not able to saie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned ouer their seuerall portions, I will passe ouer these ancient times, and come néerer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yéere of Christ, whereof we haue more certeine notice, & at which season there is euident prooffe, that there were twelue or thirtéene kings reigning in this Iland.

**Wales  
diuided into  
three  
kingdomes.**

We find therefore for the first, how that Wales had hir thrée seuerall kingdomes, which being accompted together contained (as Giraldus saith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof thrée were in his time possessed by the French and English) although that whole portion of the Iland extended in those daies no farther than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in bredth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne and Dee, of which two streames this dooth fall into the Irish sea at Westchester, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt Somersetshire and Southwales, as their seuerall courses shall witness more at large.

**Gwinhed.**

In the begining it was diuided into two kingdomes onelie, that is to saie, Venedotia or Gwynhedh (otherwise called Deheubarth) and Demetia, for which we now vse most cōmonlie the names of South & Northwales. But in a short processe of time a third sprung vp in the verie middest betwéene them both, which from thence-foorth was called Powisy, as shalbe shewed hereafter. For Roderijc the great, who flourished 850. of Christ, and was king of all Wales (which then contained onlie six regions) leauing thrée sons behind him, by his last will & testament diuided the cuntrye into thrée portions, according to the number of his children, of which he assigned one vnto either of them, wherby Morwing or Morwinner had Gwynhedh or Northwales, Cadelh Demetia or Southwales, and Anaralt Powisy, as Giraldus and other doo remember. Howbeit it came to passe that after this diuision, Cadelh suruiued all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his successors after him vntill the time of Teuther or Theodor (all is one) after which they were contented to kéepe themselues within the compasse of Demetia, which (as I said) contained 29. of those 49. cantreds before mentioned, as Powisy did six, and Gwinhedh fourtéene, except my memorie doo faile me.

**Venedotia.**

The first of these thrée, being called (as I said) Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius saith Malfabrene, for he diuideth Wales also into thrée regions, of which he calleth the first Dumbara, the second Berfrona, and the third Malfabrene)

**Anglesei.**

lieth directlie ouer against the Ile of Anglesei, the chiefe citie whereof stood in the Ile of Anglesei and was called Aberfraw. It containeth 4. regions, of which the said Iland is the first, and whereof in the chapter insuing I wille intreat more at large. The

**Arfon.**

second is called Arfon, and situate betweene two riuers, the Segwy and the Conwy. The third is Merioneth, and as it is seuered from Arfon by the Conwy, so is it separated from Tegenia (otherwise called Stradcluyd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuier Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended also euen vnto the Déé it selfe, and of these foure regions consisteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times past the region of the Canges was not the smallest portion.

**Merioneth.**

The third is Merioneth, and as it is seuered from Arfon by the Conwy, so is it separated from Tegenia (otherwise called Stradcluyd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuier Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended also euen vnto the Déé it selfe, and of these foure regions consisteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times past the region of the Canges was not the smallest portion.

**Stradcluyd or  
Tegenia.**

**Powisy.**

The kingdome of Powisy, last of all erected, as I said, hath on the north side Gwinhedh, on the east (from Chester to Hereford, or rather to Deane forest)

England, on the south and west the riuer Wy and verie high hilles, whereby it is notablie seuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being at the first Saloppsburg, in old time Pengwerne, and Ynwithig, but now Shrowesburie, a citie or towne raised out of the ruines of Vricouium, which (standing 4. miles from thence, and by the Saxons called Wrekencester and Wrokecester, before they ouerthrew it) is now inhabited with méere English, and where in old time the kings of Powisy did dwell and hold their palaces, till Englishmen draue them from thence to Matrauall in the same prouince, where they from thencefoorth aboad. Vpon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from Holt castell, vpon ech side of the riuer, as the chanell now runneth, stood sometime the famous monasterie of Bangor, whilest the abated glorie of the Britons yet remained vnexinguished, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned sort did preach the Gospell, and the vnlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themselues, and to sustaine their preachers. This region was in like sort diuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailrosse, the other reteined still hir old denomination, and of these the first laie by south, & the latter by north of the Sauerne.

**Bangor.**

**Mailrosse.**

**Fowkes de Warren.**

**Helene. Mellent.**

As touching Mailrosse, I read moreouer in the gests of Fowkes de Warren, how that one William sonne to a certeine ladie sister to Paine Peuerell, the first lord of Whittington, after the conquest did win a part of the same, and the hundred of Ellesmore from the Welshmen, in which enterprise he was so desperatlie wounded, that no man hight him life; yet at the last by eating of the shield of a wild bore, he got an appetite and recouered his health. This William had issue two daughters, to wit, Helene married to the heir of the Alans, and Mellent which refused mariage with anie man, except he were first tried to be a knight of prowesse. Herevpon hir father made proclamation, that against such a daie & at such a place, whatsoever Gentleman could shew himselfe most valiant in the field, should marrie Mellent his daughter, & haue with hir his castell of Whittington with sufficient liueliehood to mainteine their estates for euer. This report being spred, Fowkes de Warren came thither all in red, with a shield of siluer and pecocke for his crest, whereof he was called the red knight, and there ouercomming the kings sonne of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgundie, he married the maid, and by hir had issue as in the treatise appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like vnto this Mellent was the daughter sometime of one of the lord Rosses, called Kudall, who bare such good will to Fitz-Henrie clarke of hir fathers kitchen, that she made him carie hir awaie on horssebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood sake, which presentlie was tried. For being pursued & ouer taken, she made him light, & held his cloke whilest he killed and draue hir fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till hir father conceiuing a good opinion of Fitz-Henrie for this act, receiued him to his fauour, whereby that familie came vp. And thus much (by the waie) of Mailrosse, whereof this may suffice, sith mine intent is not as now to make anie precise description of the particulars of Wales; but onelie to shew how those regions laie, which sometime were knowne to be gouerned in that countrie. The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, sometime knowne for the region of the Syllures, wherevnto I also am persuaded, that the Ordolukes laie in the east part thereof, and extended their region euen vnto the Sauerne: but howsoever that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir south, the Irish sea on hir west parts, on the east the Sauerne onelie, and by north the land of Powisy, whereof I spake of late.

**Demetia.**

**Cair Maridunum.**

Of this region also Caermarden, which the old writers call Maridunum, was the chéefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the last through forren and ciuill inuasions of enimies, the princes thereof were constrained to remooue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and situate neuertheless vpon the same riuer Tewy, wheron Caermarden standeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hils, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and déepe marises. In this region also lieth Pembroke aliàs Penmoroc shire, whose fawcons haue béene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewise is Milford hauen, whereof the Welsh wisards doo yet dreame strange toies, which they beleeeue shall one daie come to passe. For they are a nation much giuen to fortelling of things to come, but more to beléeeue such blind prophesies as haue béene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not supposed to haue the spirit of prophesie.

**Pictland. Scotland. Picts. Scots.**

That Scotland had in those daies two kingdoms, (besides that of the Orchades) whereof the one consisted of the Picts, and was called Pightland or Pictland, the other of the Irish race, and named Scotland: I hope no wise man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scotish sea also was so diuided, that the Picts laie on the east side, and the Scots on the west, ech of them being seuered from other, either by huge hils or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the south into the north betwéene them. It séemeth also that at the first these two kingdoms were diuided from the rest of those of the Britons by the riuers Cluda and Forth, till both of them desirous to enlarge their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Twede, which then became march betweene both the nations. Wherefore the case being so plaine, I will saie no more of these two, but procéed in order with the rehearsall of the rest of the particular kingdoms of this our south part of the Ile, limiting out the same by shires as they now lie, so néere as I can, for

The originall of  
Fitz Henries.

otherwise it shall be vnpossible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likeliest quantities of these their seuerall portions.

**Kent  
Henghist.**

The first of these kingdome therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghist in the 456. of Christ, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantwarland, and as the limits thereof extended it selfe no farther than the said countie (the cheefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantwarbyry now Canturburie) so it indured well néere by the space of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the West Saxons, Athelstane his sonne, being the first Earle or Heretoch of the same. Maister Lambert in his historie of Kent dooth gather, by verie probable coniectures, that this part of the lland was first inhabited by Samothés, and afterward by Albion. But howsoeuer that case standeth, sure it is that it hath béen the onelie doore, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conquest of the region, but first of all Cæsar, who entred into this lland vpon the eighteenth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himselfe confesseth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that moneth, twelue daies before the equinoctiall (apparent) so that he did not tarrie at that time aboute eight or ten daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be denied for his entrance, so the said region and east part of Kent, was the onelie place by which the knowledge of Christ was first brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of saluation, and from the darkenesse of mistie error, true conuertes vnto the light and bright beames of the shining truth, to our eternall benefit and euerlasting comforts.

**Southsax.  
Ella.**

The second kingdome contained onelie Sussex, and a part of (or as some saie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saxon first held: who also erected his chéefe palace at Chichester, when he had destroyed Andredswald in the 492. of Christ. And after it had continued by the space of 232. yeares, it ceased, being the verie least kingdome of all the rest, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to saie truth, it contained little aboute 7000. families) & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewisses or Westsaxons, notwithstanding that before the kings of Sussex pretended and made claime to all that which laie west of Kent, and south of the Thames, vnto the point of Corinwall, as I haue often read.

**East sax.  
Erkenwiin.**

The third regiment was of the East Saxons, or Tribonantes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwijn, whose chéefe seat was in London (or rather Colchester) and contained whole Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herfordshire. It indured also much about the pricke of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the East Angles onlie by the riuier Stoure, as Houeden and others doo report, & so it continueth separated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the said riuier be now growne verie small, and not of such greatnesse as it hath béene in times past, by reason that our councitriemen make small accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horsse and cart to be the lesse chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceiued, I will elsewhere make manifest declaration.

**West sax.  
Cerdic.**

The fourth kingdome was of the West Saxons, and so called, bicause it laie in the west part of the realme, as that of Essex did in the east, and of Sussex in the south. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdijc, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the last all Wiltshire, Barkeshire, Dorset, Southampton, Somersetshire, Glocestershire, some part of Deuonshire (which the Britons occupied not) Cornewall, and the rest of Surrie, as the best authors doo set downe. At the first it contained onelie Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Barkeshire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatsoeuer the kings of Sussex and the Britons held vnto the point of Cornewall, and then became first Dorchester (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Winchester the chéefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the moonke came into England, the said Kinigils gaue him Dorchester, and all the land within seauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrall sea, by meanes whereof he himselfe remooued his palace to Winchester.

**Brennicia,  
aliàs  
Northumberland.**

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Christ, and was called Northumberland, bicause it laie by north of the riuier Humber. And from the comming of Henghist to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the said Ida conuerted it into a kingdome. It contained all that region which (as it should séeme) was in time past either wholie appertaining to the Brigants, or whereof the said Brigants did possesse the greater part. The cheefe citie of the same in like maner was Yorke, as Beda, Capgraue, Leyland, and others doo set downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scottish sea, vntill the slaughter of Egfride of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gat hold of all, betweene the Forth and the Twede, which afterward descending to the Scots by meanes of the vtter destruction of the Picts, hath not béene sithens vnited to the crowne of England, nor in possession of the meere English, as before time it had béene. Such was the crueltie of these Picts also in their recouerie of the same, that at a certeine houre they made a Sicilien euensong, and slew euerie English man, woman and child, that they could laie hold vpon within the aforesaid region, but some escaped narrowlie, and saued themselues by flight.

**Ida.**

**Deira.**

Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yielded vp all his portion, which lay betweene Humber and the Tine vnto his brother

**Ella.**



Ella (according to their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but retaining the rest still vnto his owne vse, he diminished not his title, but wrote himselfe as before king of all Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeares, it was reuinit againe, and so continued vntill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. of the birth of Jesus Christ our Sauour.

Eastangles  
Offa, à quo  
Offlingæ.

The seauenth kingdome, called of the East-Angles, began at Norwich in the 561. after Christ, vnder Offa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Offlings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Elie, and continuing 228. yeares, it flourished onelie 35. yeares in perfect estate of libertie, the rest being consumed vnder the tribut and vassallage of the Mercians, who had the souereigntie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who spoiled it verie sore, so that it became more miserable than any of the other, and so remained till the kings of the West-saxons vnited it to their crownes. Some saie that Grantcester, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruines) was the chéeffe citie of this kingdome, and not Norwich. Wherein I may well shew the discord of writers, but I cannot resolue the scruple. Some take this region also to be all one with that of the Icenens, but as yet for my part I cannot yeeld to their assertions, I meane it of Leland himselfe, whose helpe I vse chéeffelie in these collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not resolued that he doth iudge aright.

Mertia.  
Creodda.

The 8. & last was that of Mertia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatnesse exceeded all the rest. It tooke the name either of Mearc the Saxon word, bicause it was march to the rest (and trulie, the limits of most of the other kingdomes abutted vpon the same) or else for that the lawes of Martia the Queene were first vsed in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a méere coniecture of some, so the said kingdome began vnder Creodda, in the 585. of Christ, & indured well néere 300. yeares before it was vnited to that of the West-saxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Ceolulph an idiot in the same; but as he was soone reiected for his follie, so it was not long after yer the said Alfred (I saie) annexed it to his kingdome by his manhood. The limits of the Mertian dominions included Lincolne, Northampton, Chester, Darbie, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, Worcester, Bedford shires, and the greatest part of Shropshire (which the Welsh occupied not) Lancaster, Glocester, Hereford (alias Hurchford) Warwyc and Hertford shires: the rest of whose territories were holden by such princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the same. Moreouer, this kingdome was at one time diuided into south and north Mertia, whereof this laie beyond and the other on this side of the Trent, which later also Oswald of Northumberland did giue to Weada the sonne of Penda for kindred sake, though he not long inioied it. This also is worthie to be noted, that in these eight kingdomes of the Saxons, there were twelue princes reputed in the popish Catalog for saints or martyrs, of which Alcimund, Edwine, Oswald, Oswijn and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigebert, Ethelbert, Edmond, and another Sigebert among the Estangels; Kenelme and Wistan in Mertia; and Saint Edward the confessor, ouer all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforesaid kingdomes: and now will I speake somewhat of the diuision of this Iland also into prouinces, as the Romanes seuered it whiles they remained in these parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue discharged whatsoever is promised in the title of this chapter.

Limits of  
Mertia.

Britannia  
prima.

Valentia.

Flauia  
Cæsariensis.

The Romans therefore hauing obtained the possession of this Iland, diuided the same at the last into fiue prouinces, as Vibius Sequester saith. The first whereof was named Britannia prima, and contained the east part of England (as some doo gather) from the Trent vnto the Twede. The second was called Valentia or Valentiana, and included the west side, as they note it, from Lirpoole vnto Cokermouth. The third hight Britannia secunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laie southwards, betwéene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was surnamed Flauia Cæsariensis, and contained all the countrie which remained betweene Douer and the Sauerne, I meane by south of the Thames, and wherevnto (in like sort) Cornewall and Wales were orderlie assigned. The fift and last part was then named Maxima Cæsariensis, now Scotland, the most barren of all the rest, and yet not vnsought out of the gréedie Romanes, bicause of the great plentie of fish and foule, fine alabaster and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the same, for furniture of houshold and curious building, wherein they much delited. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who liued in the daies of Valentine, and wrate Notitiam prouinciarum now extant to be read.

Britannia secunda.

Maxima  
Cæsariensis.

***A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, first from Samoths vnto the birth of our sauour Christ, or rather the comming of the Romans: secondlie of their Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their seuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and lastlie of the Normans and English princes, according to the truth contained in our Histories.***

OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN, FROM SAMOTHES TO BRUTE.

Samoths.  
Magus.

Sarronius.  
 Druiyus.  
 Bardus.  
 Longho.  
 Bardus Iunior.  
 Lucus.  
 Celtes.  
 Albion.  
 Celtes after Albion slaine.  
 Galates.  
 Harbon.  
 Lugdus.  
 Beligius.  
 Iasius.  
 Allobrox.  
 Romus.  
 Paris.  
 Lemanus.  
 Olbius.  
 Galates. 2.  
 Nannes.  
 Remis.  
 Francus.  
 Pictus.

After whom Brute entreth into the Iland, either neglected by the Celts, or otherwise by conquest, and reigned therein with his posteritie by the space of 636. yeares, in such order as foloweth.

Brute.  
 Loctrinus.  
 Gwendolena his widow.  
 Madan.  
 Mempricius.  
 Ebracus.  
 Brutus Iunior.  
 Leil.  
 Rudibras.  
 Bladunus.  
 Leir.  
 Cordeil his daughter.  
 Cunedach and Morgan.  
 Riualion.  
 Gurgustius.  
 Sisillus.  
 Iago.  
 Kimmachus.  
 Gorbodug.  
 Ferres and Porrex.

These 2. being slaine, the princes of the land straue for the superioritie and regiment of the same, by the space of 50. yéeres (after the race of Brute was decaied) vntill Dunwallon king of Cornwall subdued them all, & brought the whole to his subiection, notwithstanding that the aforesaid number of kings remained still, which were but as vassals & inferiours to him, he being their chéefe and onelie souereigne.

Dunwallon reigneth.  
 Belinus his sonne, in whose time  
 Brennus vsurpeth.  
 Gurgwinbatrus.  
 Guittellinus.  
 Seisili.  
 Kymarus.  
 Owan aliàs Ellan.  
 Morwich aliàs Morindus.  
 Grandobodian aliàs Gorbonian.  
 Arcigallon.  
 Elidurus aliàs Hesidor.  
 Arcigallon againe.  
 Elidurus againe.  
 Vigen aliàs Higanus, & Petitur aliàs  
 Peridurus.  
 Elidurus the third time.  
 Gorbodia aliàs Gorbonian.  
 Morgan.

Meriones aliàs Eighuans.  
 Idouallon.  
 Rhimo Rohugo.  
 Geruntius Voghen.  
 Catellus.  
 Coellus.  
 Pyrrho aliàs Porrex.  
 Cherinus.  
 Fulganius aliàs Sulgenis.  
 Eldadus.  
 Androgius.  
 Vrian.  
 Hellindus.  
 Dedantius Eldagan.  
 Clotenis Claten.  
 Gurguintus.  
 Merian.  
 Bledunus Bledagh.  
 Copenis.  
 Owinus aliàs Oghwen.  
 Sisillus or Sitsiltus.  
 Blegabridus.  
 Arcimalus Archiuall.  
 Eldadus.  
 Ruthenis thrée moneths.  
 Rodingarus aliàs Rodericus.  
 Samulius Penysell.  
 Pyrrho 2.  
 Carporis aliàs Capporis.  
 Dynellus aliàs Dygnellus.  
 Hellindus a few moneths.  
 Lhoid.  
 Casibellane.  
 Theomantius.  
 Cynobellinus.  
 Aruiragus.  
 Marius.  
 Coellus.  
 Lucius.

Hitherto I haue set foorth the catalog of the kings of Britaine, in such sort as it is to be collected out of the most ancient histories, monuments and records of the land. Now I will set foorth the order and succession of the Romane legates or deputies, as I haue borrowed them first out of Tacitus, then Dion, and others: howbeit I cannot warrant the iust course of them from Iulius Agricola forward, bicause there is no man that reherseth them orderlie. Yet by this my dooing herein, I hope some better table may be framed hereafter by other, wherof I would be glad to vnderstand when soeuer it shall please God that it may come to passe.

Aulus Plautius.  
 Ostorius Scapula.  
 Didius Gallus.  
 Auitus.  
 Veranius a few moneths.  
 Petronius Turpilianus.  
 Trebellius Maximus.  
 Vectius Volanus.  
 Petilius Cerealis.  
 Iulius Frontinus.  
 Iulius Agricola.

Hitherto Cornelius Tacitus reherseth these vicegerents or deputies in order.

Salustius Lucullus.  
 Cneius Trebellius.  
 Suetonius Paulinus.  
 Calphurnius Agricola.  
 Publius Trebellius.  
 Pertinax Helrius.  
 Vlpianus Marcellus.  
 Clodius Albinus.  
 Heraclius.  
 Carus Tyrannus.  
 Iunius Seuerus, aliàs  
 Iulius Seuerus.  
 Linius Gallus.

Lollius Vrbicus.  
Maximus.  
Octavius.  
Traherus.  
Maximinianus.  
Gratianus.  
Aetius.

Other Legates whose names are taken out of the Scotish historie but in incertain order.

Fronto sub Antonino.  
Publius Trebellius.  
Aulus Victorinus.  
Lucius Antinoris.  
Quintus Bassianus.

## WALES

### 1.

¶ The Romans not regarding the gouernance of this Iland, the Britons ordeine a king in the 447. after the incarnation of Christ.

Vortiger.  
Vortimer.  
Aurelius Ambrosius.  
Vther.  
Arthur.  
Constantine.  
Aurelius Conanus.  
Vortiporius.  
Maglocunus.  
Caretius.  
Cadwan.  
Cadwallon.  
Cadwallader.

¶ The kingdome of Wales ceaseth, and the gouernance of the countrie is translated to the Westsaxons by Inas, whose second wife was Denwalline the daughter of Cadwallader: & with hir he not onlie obtained the principallitie of Wales but also of Corinwall & Armorica now called little Britaine, which then was a colonie of the Britons, and vnder the kingdome of Wales.

## KENT.

### 2.

¶ Hengist in the 9. of the recouerie of Britaine proclaimeth himselfe king of Kent, which is the 456. of the birth of our Lord & sauior Jesus Christ.

Hengist.  
Osriyc aliàs Osca.  
Osca his brother.  
Ermenricus.  
Athelbert.  
Eadbaldus.  
Ercombert.  
Ecbert.  
Lother.  
Edriyc.

The seat void.

Withredus.  
Adelbert Iunior.  
Eadbert.  
Alriyc.  
Eadbert.  
Guthred.  
Alred.

¶ As the kingdome of Wales was vnited vnto that of the Westsaxons by Inas, so is the kingdom of Kent, at this present by Ecbert in the 827. of Christ, who putteth out Aldred and maketh Adelstane his owne base sonne Hertoch of the same, so that whereas it was before a kingdome, now it becometh an Hertochie or

Dukedome, and so continueth for a long time after.

### SOUTHSEX.

#### 3.

¶ Ella in the 46. after Britaine giuen ouer by the Romanes erecteth a kingdom in Southsex, to wit, in the 492. of Christ whose race succeedeth in this order.

Ella.  
Cyssa.  
Ceaulijn.  
Celrijc.  
Kilwulf.  
Kinigils.  
Kinwalch.  
Ethelwold.  
Berthun.  
Aldwijn.

¶ This kingdome endured not verie long as ye may see, for it was vnited to that of the Westsaxons by Inas, in the 4689. of the world, which was the 723. of Christ, according to the vsual supputation of the church, and 232. after Ella had erected the same, as is aforesaid.

### ESTSEX.

#### 4.

¶ Erkenwijn in the 527. after our sauour Christ beginneth to reigne ouer Estsex, and in the 81. after the returne of Britaine from the Romaine obedience.

Erkenwijn.  
Sledda.  
Sebertus.  
Sepredus and Sywardus.  
Sigebert fil. Syward.  
Sigebert.  
Swithelijn.  
Sijgar and Sebba.  
Sebba alone.  
Sijgard.  
Offa.  
Selredus.  
Ethelwold.  
Albert.  
Humbcanna.  
Sinthredus.

¶ In the 303. after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the Westsaxons vnited the kingdome of Estsex vnto his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our sauour Christ. I cannot as yet find the exact yeeres of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am constrained to omit them altogether, as I haue done before in the kings of the Britons, vntill such time as I may come by such monuments as may restore the defect.

### WESTSEX.

#### 5.

¶ Cerdijc entreth the kingdome of the Westsaxons, in the 519. of the birth of Christ, & 73. of the abiection of the Romaine seruitude.

Cerdijc aliàs Cercit.  
Cenrijc.  
Ceaulijn.  
Kilriic aliàs Celrijc.  
Kilwulf.  
Kinigils.  
Ceuwalch.  
Sexburgh.

The seat void.

Centwinus.

Cadwallader.  
Inas.  
Ethelard.  
Cuthredus.  
Sigebert.  
Kinwulf.  
Brithriyc.  
Ecbert.  
Ethelwulf.  
Ethebald.  
Ethelbert.  
Ethelfrid.  
Alfrid.  
Edward I.  
Adelstane.  
Edmund.  
Eadred.  
Edwijn.  
Edgar.  
Edward 2.  
Eldred.  
Edmund 2.  
Canutus.  
Harald.  
Canutus 2.  
Edward 3.  
Harald 2.

¶ The Saxons hauing reigned hitherto in this land, and brought the same into a perfect monarchie, are now dispossessed by the Normans, & put out of their hold.

#### BERNICIA.

##### 6.

¶ Ida erecteth a kingdome in the North, which he extended from the Humber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our sauour Christ.

Ida.  
Adda.  
Glappa.  
Tidwaldus.  
Fretwulfus.  
Tidriyc.  
Athelfrid.  
Edwijn.  
Kinfrid.  
Oswald.  
Oswy.  
Egfrid.  
Alfrid.  
Osred.  
Kinred.  
Osriyc.  
Kilwulf.  
Edbert.  
Offulse.  
Ethelwold.  
Elred.  
Ethelred.  
Alswold.  
Osred.  
Ethelred.  
Osbold.  
Eardulf.  
Aldeswold.  
Eandred.  
Edelred.  
Redwulf.  
Edelred againe.  
Osbright.  
Ecbert.  
Ricisiuus a Dane.  
Ecbert againe.

¶ Alfride king of the Westsaxons subdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our sauour Christ, and 33. after Ida.

#### DEIRA.

##### 7.

¶ Ella brother to Adda is ouer the south Humbers, whose kingdome reched from Humber to the These, in the 590. after the incarnation of Jesus Christ our sauour.

Ella.  
Edwijn.  
Athelbright.  
Edwijn againe.  
Osrijc.  
Oswald.  
Oswijn.

¶ Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuision of the kingdome of the Northumbers betwéene the sons of Ida was of the smallest continuance, & it was vnited to the Northumbers (wherof it had bene I saie in time past a member) by Oswijn in the 91. after Ella, when he had most traitorouslie slaine his brother Oswijn in the yéer of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the comming of Christ) and contened that countrie which we now call the bishoprike.

#### ESTANGLIA.

##### 8.

¶ Offa or Vffa erecteth a kingdome ouer the Estangles or Offlings in the 561. after the natiuitie of Christ, and 114. after the deliuerie of Britaine.

Offa.  
Titellius.  
Redwaldus.  
Corpenwaldus.

The seat void.

Sigebert.  
Egricus.  
Anna.  
Adeler.  
Ethelwold.  
Adwulf.  
Beorne.  
Ethelred.  
Ethelbert.

¶ Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and vniteth Estanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Christ, after it had continued in the posteritie of Offa, by the space of 228. yéers and yet of that short space, it enioyed onelie 35. in libertie, the rest being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia aforesaid.

#### MERCIA.

##### 9.

¶ Creodda beginneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our sauour Christ, and 138. after the captiuitie of Britaine ended.

Creodda.  
Wibba.  
Cherlus.  
Penda.  
Oswy.  
Weada.  
Wulferus.  
Ethelred.  
Kinred or Kindred.

The seat void.

Kilred.  
Ethebald.

Beorred.  
Offa.  
Egferth.  
Kinwulf.  
Kenelme.  
Kilwulf.  
Bernulf.  
Ludicane.  
Willaf.  
Ecbert.  
Willaf againe.  
Bertulf.  
Butred.  
Kilwulf.

¶ Alfride vniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the Westsaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfred the Dane had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cleolulphus therein, but he was soone expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other afore rehearsed.

\* *The Succession of the kings of England from WILLIAM bastard, unto the first of Queene ELIZABETH.*

William the first.  
William his sonne.  
Henrie 1.  
Stephen.  
Henrie 2.  
Richard 1.  
Iohn.  
Henrie 3.  
Edward 1. aliàs 4.  
Edward 2.  
Edward 3.  
Richard 2.  
Henrie 4.  
Henrie 5.  
Henrie 6.  
Edward 4. aliàs 7.  
Edward 5.  
Richard 3.  
Henrie 7.  
Henrie 8.  
Edward 6.  
Marie his sister.  
Elizabeth.

¶ Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certeine order than hath béene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions since the conquest few men haue erred that haue vsed any diligence, yet in the times before the same, fewer haue gone any thing néere the truth, through great ouersight & negligence. Their seuerall yéeres also doo appéere in my Chronologie insuing.



## CAP. IX.

**Samothés.** It is not to be doubted, but at the first, and so long as the posteritie of Iaphet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothés, and published with his lawes in the second of his arriual, was exercised among the Britans. And although peradventure in proces of time, either through curiositie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlinesse) it might a little decaie, yet when it was at the woorst, it farre excéded the best of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chemminites, as may be gathered by view of the superstitious rites, which Cham and his successours did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

What other learning Magus the sonne of Samothés taught after his fathers death, when he also came to the kingdome, beside this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot easilie say, but that it should be naturall philosophie, and astrologie (whereby his disciples gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie vse of the word Magus (or Magusæus) among the Persians dooth yéeld no vncerteine testimonie.

**Sarron.** In like maner, it should seeme that Sarron sonne vnto the said Magus, diligentlie followed the steps of his father, and thereto beside his owne practise of teaching, opened schooles of learning in sundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby such as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithstanding, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druiydes, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothés still among the Grecians, as Aristotle in his De magia dooth confesse; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth therevnto, that they first brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Gréeses.

**Druiyus.** Druiyus the son of Sarron (as a scholer of his fathers owne teaching) séemed to be exquisit in all things, that pertained vnto the diuine and humane knowledge: and therefore I may safelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the skill of philosophie and the quadriiuals, but also in the true Theologie, whereby the right seruice of God was kept and preserued in puritie. He wrote moreouer sundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reserued verie religiouslie, and had in great estimation of such as sought vnto them.

**Corruptors of religion.** How and in what order this prince left the state of religion, I meane touching publike orders in administration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I doo not read: howbeit this is most certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began somewhat to decaie. For such is mans nature, that it will not suffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or subtraction of this or that, to or from the same) so to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for such as doo come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and restore the same againe vnto the former perfection.

**Cæsar.** In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the soule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercifull as a father in shewing fauor vnto the godlie, and iust as an vpright iudge in punishing the wicked; that the secrets of mans hart are not vnknowne, and onelie knowne to him; and that as the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise haue an end, when he shall see his time. He taught them also with more facilitie, how to obserue the courses of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmetically industrie, to find out the true quantities of the celestiall bodies by geometrical demonstration, and thereto the compasse of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the same by philosophical contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his successors, for vnto the immortalitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which translation Ouid saith;

Morte carent animæ, sempérque priore relicta  
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitántque receptæ.)

The second or succedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deserued by his merits, whilest he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is said by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his soule thrust into the bodie of a swanne, that of Agamemnon conueied into an egle, of Aiax into a lion, of Atlas into a certeine wrestler, of Thersites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dieng a child, after sundrie changes into a man, whereof he himselfe saith;

Ipse ego námq; fui puer olim, deinde puella,  
Arbustum & volucris, mutus quóq; in æquore piscis.

**Plinius, lib. 16. cap. ultimo.** For said they (of whom Pythagoras also had, and taught this error) if the soule appertained at the first to a king, and he in this estate did not leade his life worthie his calling, it should after his decease be shut vp in the bodie of a slaue, begger, cocke, owle, dog, ape, horsse, asse, worme, or monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and punishment, for a certeine period of time. Beside this, it

*Cicero diuinat. 1.*

*Metempsuchôsis.*

should peradventure susteine often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his dooings here on earth, till it should finallie be purified, and restored againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaued it selfe more orderlie than at the first: after the next death, it should be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or reuolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer stand still, nor long yeeld one representation and figure. For this cause also, as Diodorus saith, they vsed to cast certeine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceased fréends, whereby they might vnderstand of the estate of such as trauelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Moscouits doo write vnto S. Nicholas to be a speach-man for him that is buried, in whose hand they bind a letter, and send him with a new paire of shooes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their next death they should deale with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They brought in also the worshipping of manie gods, and their seuerall euen to this daie sacrifices: they honoured likewise the oke, whereon the mistle groweth, and dailie deuised infinit other toies (for errour is neuer assured of hir owne dooings) whereof neither Samoths, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them anie prescription.

Oke honored whereon mistle did grow, and so doo our sorcerers thinking some spirits to deale about ye same, for hidden treasure.

Logike and Rhetorike out of Gallia.

These things are partlie touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophrast, Aristotle, and partlie also by Cæsar, Mela, Val. Max. lib. 2. and other authors of later time, who for the most part doo confesse, that the cheefe schoole of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (saith Plinie) was so hotlie professed and followed, "Vt dedisse Persis videri possit," lib. 30. cap. 1. and whither the Druiydes also themselues, that dwelt among the Galles, would often resort to come by the more skill, and sure vnderstanding of the mysteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion ] from the Britons, so we likewise had from them some vse of Logike & Rhetorike, such as it was which our lawiers practised in their plees and common causes. For although the Greeks were not vnknowne vnto vs, nor we to them, euen from the verie comming of Brute, yet by reason of distance betwéene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common accesse one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whose entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in more securitie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in sacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our plees also out of France, Iuuenal is a witnesse, who saith;

Gallia causicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, so we had also some Sophistrie from them; but in the worst sense: for from France is all kind of forgerie, corruption of maners, and craftie behaiour not so soone as often transported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of so great authoritie in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them also in the Iles of Wight, Anglesey, and the Orchades, in which they held open schooles of their profession, aloofe as it were from the resort of people, wherein they studied and learned their songs by heart. Howbeit the cheefe college of all I say, remained still in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations also (beside the Galles) would of custome repaire, when soeuer anie controuersie among them in matters of religion did happen to be mooued. At such times also the rest were called out of the former Ilands, whereby it appeareth that in such cases they had their synods and publike meetings, and therevnto it grew finallie into custome, and after that a prouerbe, euen in variances falling out among the princes, great men, and common sorts of people liuing in these weast parts of Europe, to yeeld to be tried by Britaine and hir thrée Ilands, bicause they honoured hir préests (the Druiydes) as the Athenians did their Areopagites.

Estimation of the Druiydes or Druiysh preests.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to say the truth, generallie in all places where the Druiysh religion was frequented, such was the estimation of the préests of this profession, that there was little or nothing doone without their skilfull aduise, no not in ciuill causes, pertaining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publike and priuate, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Immunitie of the cleargie greater vnder idolatrie than vnder the gospell.

Touching their persons also they were exempt from all temporall seruices, impositions, tributes, and exercises of the wars: which immunitie caused the greater companies of scholers to flocke vnto them from all places, & to learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remained with them seuen, eight, ten, or twelue years, still learning the secrets of those unwritten mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonlie pronounced in verse. And this policie, as I take it, they vsed onelie to preserue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might easilie haue fallen, if any books thereof had happened into the hands of the common sort. It helped also not a little in the exercise of their memories, wherevnto bookes are vtter enimies, insomuch as he that was skilfull in the Druiysh religion, would not let readilie to rehearse manie hundreds of verses together, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole processe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, so in ciuill affairs, historicall treatises, and setting

downe of lawes, they vsed like order and letters almost with the Grecians. Whereby it is easie to be séene, that they reteined this kind of writing from Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Iland hath not béene void of letters and learned men, euen sith it was first inhabited. I would ad some thing in particular also of their apparell, but sith the dealing withall is nothing profitable to the reader, I passe it ouer, signifieng neuerthelesse, that it was distinguished by sundrie deuises from that of the common sort, and of such estimation among the people, that whosoeuer ware the Druiysh weed, might walke where he would without any harme or annoiance. This honour was giuen also vnto the préests in Rome, insomuch that when Volusius was exiled by the Triumvirate, and saw himselfe in such danger, as that he could not escape the hardest, he gat the wéed of a preest upon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and so escaped the danger and the furie of his aduersaries: but to proceed with other things.

**Bardus.**

After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his sonne, and fift king of the Celts, succéded not onelie ouer the said kingdome, but also in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wrapping vp of the said religion, after the afore remembred sort into verse, was first deuised by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no lesse indued with a singular skill in the practise and speculation of musicke,

**Gen. 4. 21.**

of which two many suppose him to be the verie author and beginner, although vniustlie, sith both poetrie and song were in vse before the flood, as was also the harpe and pipe, which Iubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great skill in musicke. But to procéed, as the cheefe estimation of the Druiydes remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, so did the fame of the Bardes (which were so called of this Bardus for their excellent skill in musicke, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of song, which at the first contained onelie the high mysteries and secret points of their religion. There was little difference also

**The Bardes degenerate.**

betwéene them and the Druiydes, till they so farre degenerated from their first institution, that they became to be minstrels at feasts, droonken meetings, and abhominable sacrifices of the idols: where they sang most commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puissant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond vsage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguished among the Britons of Wales, where they call their poets and musicians Barthes, as they doo also in Ireland: which Sulpitius also writing to Lucane remembreth, where he saith that the word Bardus is meere Celtike, and signifieth a singer. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beside themselues to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto misliking vtterlie the rough musicke of the Bardes, entred so farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they ascribed the word Bardus vnto their fooles and idiots, whereas contrariwise the Scythians and such as dwell within the northweast part of Europe, did vse the same word in verie honourable maner, calling their best poets and heroicall singers, Singebardos; their couragious singers and capiteins that delited in musicke, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodtbardos, & one lame musician Lambard aboue all other, of whose skilfull ditties Germanie is not vnfurnished, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizqueia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call such men Boitios, their rimes Arcitos, and in steed of harps they sing vnto timbrels made of shels such sonnets and ditties as either perteine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of ancestrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be small difference betwéene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finallie of our sort, Lucane in his first booke writeth thus, among other like saiengs well toward the latter end;

**Lucani. li. 1.**

Vos quóq; qui fortes animas, bellóq; peremptas  
 Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis æuum,  
 Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.  
 Et vos barbaricos ritus, morémque sinistrum  
 Sacrorum Druiydæ, positis recepistis ab armis.  
 Solis nosse Deos, & cœli numina vobis,  
 Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis  
 Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, vmbre  
 Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi  
 Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus  
 Orbe alio. Longæ canitis si cognita, vitæ  
 Mors media est, certe populi, quos despicit arctos,  
 Fœlices errore suo, quos ille timorum  
 Maximus haud vrget leti metus: inde ruendi  
 In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces  
 Mortis: & ignaum est redituræ parcere vitæ.

Thus we see as in a glasse the state of religion, for a time, after the first inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in such soundnesse, as the originall authors left it, in good sooth I cannot say, yet this is most certeine, that after a time, when Albion arriued here, the religion earst imbraced fell into great decaie. For whereas Iaphet & Samoths with their children taught nothing else than such doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his disciples vtterlie renouncing to follow their steps, gaue their minds wholie to seduce and lead

What doctrine Cham and his disciples taught.

their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his posteritie not onelie corrupted this our lland, with most filthie trades and practises; but also all mankind, generallie where they became, with vicious life, and most vngodlie conuersation. For from Cham and his successours procéeded at the first all sorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawful lust, without respect of sex, age, consanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable root, or streames deriued from a most filthie and horrible stinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithstanding all these his manifold lewdnesses, such was the follie of his Ægyptians (where he first reigned and taught) that whilest he liued they alone had him in great estimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickednesse, calling him Chemesenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but also after his death reputed him for a god, calling the highest of the seuen planets after his name, as they did the next beneath it after Osyris his sonne, whom they likewise honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

Chemesenua.

Chem Min.  
Cham made a god.

Translation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

Certes it was a custome begonne in Ægypt of old time, and generallie in vse almost in euerie place in processe of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to ascribe some forme or other of the stars vnto his person, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their translation in heauen, so that he which had any starres or forme of starres dedicated vnto him, was properlie said to haue a seat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romish saints, (although the one was written in the celestiall or immateriall orbes, the other in sheeps skins, and verie brickle paper) but yet so estéemed, that euerie prince would oft hazard and attempt the vttermost aduentures, thereby to win such fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue such place in heauen, among the shining starres. Howbeit, euerie of those that were called gods, could not obtaine that benefit, for then should there not haue béene stars enow in heauen to haue serued all their turnes, wherfore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a second calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. "Semones dici voluerunt (saith Fulgentius In vocibus antiquis) quos cœlo nec dignos ascriberent, ob meriti paupertatem; sicut Priapus Hyppo. Vortumnus, &c. nec terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratiæ venerationem," as also a third place that is to say an earth, where those gods dwelled which were noble men, officers, good gouernours and lawgiuers to the people, and yet not thought worthie to be of the second or first companie, which was a iollie diuision.

Cyrl, aduersus Iul. lib. 6. sect. 8.

Which were properlie called Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

Thus we see in generall maner, how idolatrie, honoring of the starres, and brood of inferiour gods were hatched at the first, which follies in processe of time came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Iupiter, &c: as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I haue already somewhat digressed from my matter, I will go yet a little farder, and shew foorth the originall vse of the word Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor shall see a little more into the errours of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point also of the root of all the confusion that is to be found among the ancient histories. Certes it was vsed for a few yéeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yeere after the flood) that the beginners of such kingdoms as were then erected should be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and so foorth other of sundrie other countries. Their eldest sonnes also that succeeded them, were called Ioues; and their nephewes or sonnes sonnes, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anie other.

Isis, Io and Iuno all one.

In like sort they had such another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto them for a time) as before the flood, to the end the earth might be thoroughlie replenished, and the sooner furnished with inhabitants in euerie part therof. The sister therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Isis, or Io. Beyond these also there was no latter Harold that would indeuour to deriue the petigree of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his dutie to be sufficientlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might cease, and shut vp all his trauell. They had likewise this opinion grounded amongst them, that heauen & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themselues did meane, sith these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, the Sunne, Pater Deorum, and such like, were onelie ascribed vnto Noah: as \*Terra, (the Earth) Vesta, Aretia, the Moone, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we see, how Saturne is reputed in euerie nation for their oldest god, or first prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therefore sith these names were dispersed in the beginning ouer all, it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient histories, and the doings of one of them so mixed with those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish them in sunder. This haue I spoken, to the end that all men may see what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the posteritie of Cham did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their comming, it is not likelie that anie grosse idolatrie or superstition did enter in among vs, as deifieng of mortall men, honoring of the starres, and erection of huge images, beside sorcerie, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Chemminites are worthilie called the autors. Neither were these errors anie thing amended, by the

Cœlum or Cœlus. Ogyges. Sol. Pater deorum.

\* Tydea.  
Vesta.  
Terra.  
Luna.  
Aretia.  
Deorum mater.

Brute did  
learne his  
religion.

comming in of Brute, who no doubt added such deuises vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned before in Græcia, from whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Priamus, (a man of excéeding age) & made him his préest and bishop thorough out the new conquest, that he had atchieued in Britaine.

Dis or  
Samothés  
made a god.

After Brute, idolatrie and superstition still increased more and more among vs, insomuch that beside the Druiysh and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that came in with Albion and Brute himselve: our councitriemen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie inuented at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortal God (of whom Samothés and his posteritie did preach in times past) now they honored the said Samothés himselve vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallie Hercules, vnto whome they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, townes and houses, with their limits and bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and ports vnto Botulph & Giles) bicause fortitude and wisdom are the cheefe vpholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols whose names I now remember not. In lieu moreouer of sheepe and oxen, they offred mankind also vnto some of them, killing their offenders, prisoners, and oft such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shutting vp great numbers of them together in huge images made of wicker, réed, haie, or other light matter: and then setting all on fire together, they not onelie consumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers, captiues, &c; but also their owne children with fire, in such maner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the prophane histories doo generallie leaue it euident, as a thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of which later Virgil saith;

Mela.  
Diodorus,  
Strab. 4.  
Plin. Cæsar.  
5.

Sanguine placastis ventos & virgine cæsa, &c.

As Silius dooth of the first, where he telleth of the vsuall maner of the Carthaginenses, saieng after this maner;

Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.

But to procéed with our owne gods and idols, more pertinent to my purpose than the rehersall of forreine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius, when the light of saluation began stronglie to shine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the christians discovered 25. Flamines or idol-churches beside three Archflamines, whose préests were then as our Archbishops are now, in that they had superior charge of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours, and subiect to their iurisdiction in cases of religion, and superstitious ceremonies.

Ptol.  
Lucensis.

Monstrous  
proportions  
of idols.

Of the quantities of their idols I speake not, sith it is inough to saie, that they were monstrous, and that each nation contended which should honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iust heighth of the god or goddess whom they did represent. Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Iupiter of 40.; the idoll of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70 (whose toe few men could fadam;) Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. foot; another made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France passed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at Aruernum in ten years space, of 400. foot. Wherby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, so without measure were they also in their proportions, and happie was he which might haue the greatest idoll, and lay most cost thereon.

Theodoret.

Hitherto yee haue heard of the time, wherein idolatrie reigned and blinded the harts of such as dwelled in this Iland. Now let vs see the successe of the gospell, after the death and passion of Iesus Christ our sauour. And euen here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, wherevpon some repose great assurance (conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paule the Apostle should preach the word of saluation here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie, which fell as I doo read in the 57. of Christ. But sith I cannot verifie the same by the words of Theodoret, to be spoken more of Paule than Peter, or the rest, I will passe ouer this coniecture (so far as it is grounded vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authorities, whereof we haue more certeintie. First of all therefore let vs see what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls comming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found of other by-writers in other points of more assurance. Certes for the presence of Paule I read thus much:

Sophronius.

Quid sacer ille simul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,  
Per mare per terras Christi præconia fundens,  
Europam & Asiam, Lybiam, sale dogmata complens,  
Arctos, meridies, hic plenus vesper & ortus,  
Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,  
Quásq; Britannus habet terras atque vltima Thule, &c.

Iosephus.

That one Iosephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apostles, his

sepulchre yet in Aualon, now called Glessenburg or Glastenburie, an epitaph affixed therevnto is prooffe sufficient. Howbeit, sith these things are not of competent force to persuade all men, I will ad in few, what I haue read elsewhere of his arriuall here. First of all therefore you shall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ, when the persecution began vnder Nero, at which time Philip and diuers of the godlie being in France (whether he came with other christians, after they had sowed the word of God in Scythia, by the space of 9. yeares) seuered themselues in sunder, to make the better shift for their owne safegard, and yet not otherwise than by their flight, the gospell might haue due furtherance. Hereby then it came to passe, that the said Philip vpon good deliberation did send Iosephus ouer, and with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and minister the sacraments there according to the rites of the churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which was saith Malmesburie 103. before Faganus and Dinaw did set foorth the gospell amongst them. Of the cōming of Zelotes you may read more in the second booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this maner: "Operæpretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galileæ ortum, qui propter flagrantem in magistrum suum ardorem, summámq; euangelicæ rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus est hîc referre, accepit enim is cœlitus adueniente spiritu sancto, Aegyptium Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Lybiam omnem euangelium deprædicans percurrit, eandemque doctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum insulâsque Britannicas perfert." And this is the effect in a little roome, of that which I haue read at large in sundrie writers, beside these two here alledged, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the faith, before this sixtie foure of Christ. Howbeit, whereas some write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it cannot as yet take any absolute hold in my iudgement, but rather that they were baptised and remained, either in Rome, or elsewhere. And of this sort I suppose Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one, who was a British ladie indeed, and not onelie excellentlie séene in the Gréeke and Latine toongs, but also with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had conuersation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he did write his second epistle vnto Timothie, as I read. Of this ladie moreouer Martial speaketh, in reioising that his poesies were read also in Britaine, and onelie by hir meanes, who vsed to cull out the finest & honestest of his epigrams and send them to hir fréends for tokens, saieg after this maner, as himselfe dooth set it downe:

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.

Furthermore making mention of hir and hir issue, he addeth these words:

*Li. 11. Epig.  
54.*

Claudia cœruleis cùm sit Rufina Britannis  
 Edita, cur Latiae pectora plebis habet?  
 Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere matres  
 Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.  
 Dij bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito,  
 Quot sperat, generos, quôtque puella nurus.  
 Sic placeat superis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,  
 Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir thrée children were Prudentiana, Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the saints. But to leaue this impertinent discourse, and proceed with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperour) that nine scholers or clerkes of Grantha or Granta (now Cambridge) were baptised in Britaine, and became preachers of the gospell there, but whether Taurinus bishop or elder ouer the congregation at Yorke (who as Vincentius saith, was executed about this time for his faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie find; but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no Britaine at all, but Episcopus Ebroicensis, for which such as perceiue not the easie corruption of the word, may soone write Eboracensis as certeinlie mine author out of whom I alledge this authoritie hath done before me. For Vincentius saith flat otherwise, and therefore the Chronologie if it speake of anie Taurinus bishop of Yorke is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other also imbraced the religion of Christ verie zealouslie before these men. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, the glad tidings of the gospell had neuer free and open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the verie enemies of the word became the apparent meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue it set foorth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decree, that the Druish religion should euerie where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose surname is now perished) tooke aduise of his councill what was best to be doone, & wrote in this behalfe. And this did Lucius, bicause he knew it \*impossible for man to liue long without any religion at all: finallie finding his Nobilitie & subiects vtter enemies to the Romane deuotiō (for that they made so many gods as they listed, & some to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung) and thervnto being pricked forwards by such christians as were conuersant about

*Lib. 10. cap.  
17.  
Taurinus.*

*1. Tim. 4.*

\* This is contrarie to the common talke of our Atheists who say, Let vs liue here in wealth, credit and

Lucius  
openeth his  
ears to good  
counsell, as  
one desirous  
to serue God  
& not prefer  
the world.

him, to choose the seruice of the true God that liueth for euer, rather than the slauish seruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie resolued with himselfe in the end, to receiue and imbrace the gospell of Christ. He sent also two of his best learned and greatest philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then bishop there in the 177. of Christ, not to promise any subiection to his sea, which then was not required, but to say with such as were pricked in mind, Acts. 2. verse. 37. "Quid faciemus viri fratres?" I meane that they were sent to be perfectlie instructed, and with farther comission, to make earnest request vnto him and the congregation there, that a competent number of preachers might be sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent aduise and trauell, the foundation of the gospell might surelie be laid ouer all the portion of the Ile, which contained his kingdome, according to his mind.

authoritie vpon  
earth, and let God  
take heauen and  
his religion to  
himselfe to doo  
withall what he  
listeth.

When Eleutherus vnderstood these things, he reioiced not a little for the great goodnesse, which the Lord had shewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards calling the brethren together, they agréed to ordeine, euen those two for bishops, whom Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finallie after they had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall praier vnto God and earnest supplication for the good successe of these men, they sent them home againe with no small charge, that they should be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their custodie.

The purpose of  
Lucius opened  
vnto the  
congregation at  
Rome by  
Eleutherus.

The first of these was called Eluanus Aualonius, a man borne in the Ile of Aualon, and brought up there vnder those godlie pastours and their disciples, whom Philip sent ouer at the first for the conuersion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto surnamed Belga, bicause he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained vp also in one schoole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their horie ages, and men of such grauitie and godlinesse, that Eleutherus supposed none more worthie to support this charge, than they: after whose comming home also, it was not long yer Lucius and all his household with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptised, beside infinit numbers of the common people, which dailie resorted vnto them, and voluntarilie renounced all their idolatrie and paganisme.

A zealous  
prince  
maketh  
feruent  
subjects.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderstanding the successe of these learned doctours, and supposing with himselfe, that they two onlie could not suffice to support so great a charge as should concerne the conuersion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare insuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus) Aaron, and diuerse other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. These men therefore after their comming hither, consulted with the other, and forthwith wholie consented to make a diuision of this Iland amongst themselues, appointing what parcell each preacher should take, that with the more profit and ease of the people, and somewhat lesse trauell also for themselues, the doctrine of the Gospell might be preached and receiued. In this distribution, they ordeined that there should be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as chéeffe elder and bishop, for that present time, worthilie called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Yorke, at the first comming of the Saxons; and also Guthelmus, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid against the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus also Eluanus succéded, who conuerted manie of the Druiydes, and builded the first librarie neere vnto the bishops palace. The said Lucius also placed another at Yorke, whither they appointed Theodosius: and the third at Caerlheon vpon the riuier Vske, builded sometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgantia, but now Chester (in which three cities there had before time beene thrée Archflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerua, but now raced to the ground, and three other churches builded in their steeds by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent accesse vnto those places, and therewithall vnderstand for certeintie, whither to resort for resolution, if after their conuersion they should happen to doubt of any thing. In like sort also the rest of the idoll-temples standing in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for christian congregations to assemble in, as our writers doo remember. In the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my natiue citie to speake a little: for although it may and dooth seeme impertinent to my purpose, yet it shall not be much, and therefore I will soone make an end. There is a controuersie moued among our historiographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London stood at Westminster, or in Cornehill. For there is some cause, why the metropolitane church should be thought to stand where S. Peters now doth, by the space of 400. & od yéeres before it was removed to Canturburie by Austine the monke, if a man should leane to one side without anie conference of the asseuerations of the other. But herin (as I take it) there lurketh some scruple, for beside that S. Peters church stood in the east end of the citie, and that of Apollo in the west, the word Cornehill (a denomination giuen of late to speake of to one street) may easilie be mistaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney proceedeth from the Saxons, who called the west end of the citie by that name, where Westminster now standeth, bicause of the wildnesse and bushinesse of the soile; so I doo not read of anie stréete in London called Cornehill before the conquest of the Normans. Wherefore I hold with them, which make Westminster to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the

*Radulphus  
de la noir  
aliàs Niger.*

3. Cheefe  
Bishops in  
Britaine.

Theonus.  
Theodosius.  
London.  
Yorke.  
Caerlheon.

Faganus.  
Dinauus.  
Aaron.

ruines of that Flamine 264. yeeres, as Malmesburie saith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arriuall of Augustine. Read also his appendix in lib. 4. Pontif. where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Augustine in the 596. of Christ; which is a manifest accompt, though some copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifest corruption and error.

**Britaine the first prouince that receiued the Gospell generallie.**

Thus became Britaine the first prouince that generallie receiued the faith, and where the gospell was freelie preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with gréedinesse, yet was not the successe thereof either so vniuersall, that all men beleueed at the first; the securitie so great, as that no persecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his decease; or the procéeding of the king so seuere, as that he inforced any man by publike authoritie to forsake and relinquish his paganisme: but onelie this fréedome was enioied, that who so would become a christian in his time, might without feare of his lawes professe the Gospell, in whose testimonie, if néed had béene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue shed also his bloud, as did his neece Emerita, who being constant aboute the common sort of women, refused not after his decease by fire, to yeeld hir selfe to death, as a swéet smelling sacrifice in the nostrels of the Lord, beyond the sea in France.

**Emerita neece vnto Lucius.**

**Lucius sendeth againe to Rome.**

The faith of Christ being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Christ, and Faganus and Dinaw with the rest sent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to passe in the third yeare of the Gospell receiued, that Lucius did send againe to Eleutherus the bishop, requiring that he might haue some breefe epitome of the order of discipline then vsed in the church. For he well considered, that as it auaieth litle to plant a costlie vineyard, except it afterward be cherished, kept in good order, and such things as annoie, dailie remooued from the same: so after baptisme and entrance into religion, it profiteth litle to beare the name of christians, except we doo walke in the spirit, and haue such things as offend apparentlie, corrected by seuere discipline. For otherwise it will come to passe, that the wéedes of vice, and vicious liuing, will so quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good séed sowne in our minds, and either inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickednesse with déeper securitie than before, or else to become meere Atheists, which is a great deale woorse.

**Ro. 3. ver. 1.**

**The wisdome of Eleutherus.**

For this cause therefore did Lucius send to Rome, the second time, for a copie of such politike orders as were then vsed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus considering with himselfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore those constitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and séeing also that beside the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be so perfect in all points, but that as time serueth, they will require alteration: he thought it best not to laie any more vpon the necks of the new conuerts of Britaine as yet, than Christ and his apostles had alreadie set downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his messengers, he sent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the consulships of Commodus and Vespronius, wherein he told them that Christ had left sufficient order in the Scriptures for the gouernment of his church alreadie in his word, and not for that onlie, but also for the regiment of his whole \*kingdome, if he would submit himselfe, to yéeld and follow that rule. The epistle it selfe is partlie extant, and partlie perished, yet such as it is, and as I haue faithfullie translated it out of sundrie verie ancient copies, I doo deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his commoditie, in the historie of our nation.

**\* Though most princes cannot heare on that side.**

**Epistle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.**

"You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the statutes of the emperours to be sent ouer vnto you, and which you desire to practise and put in vre within your realme and kingdome. The Romane lawes and those of emperours we may eftsoones reprooue, but those of God can neuer be found fault withall. You haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Christ, you haue with you both volumes of the scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the councill of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods sufferance rule your kingdome, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realme, as the roiall prophet saith; The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the compasse of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Thou hast loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with oile of gladnesse aboute thy fellowes. And againe, according to the saieng of the same prophet; Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, & thy iustice vnto the kings sonne. The kings sons are the christian people & flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdome. \* The gospell saith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, so dooth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to his sacred church: to chearish and mainteine, to rule also and gouerne them, defending each of them from such as would doo them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of such as be their enimies. \*Wo vnto the nation whose king is a child, and whose princes rise vp earlie to banket and féed, which is spoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, sinne & vnstedfastnesse, of whom the prophet saith; The bloudthirstie and deceitfull men shall not liue fourth

**Psal. 24.**

**Psal. 45.**

**Psal. 71.**

**\* Here wanteth.**



*Psal. 55.*

halfe their daies. \*By féeding I vnderstand gluttonie; by gluttonie, lust; & by lust all wickednesse & sinne, according to the saieng of Salomon the king; Wisedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is subiect vnto sinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the possession of his realme. You shalbe a king whilest you rule well, but if you doo otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, but you shall vtterlie forgo it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you so to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforesaid kingdome. Who with the Sonne and the Holie-ghost, &c."

**Albane.**  
**Amphibalus.**  
**Iulius.**  
**Aaron.**

Hitherto out of the epistle that Eleutherus sent vnto Lucius, wherein manie pretie obseruations are to be collected, if time and place would serue to stand vpon them. After these daies also the number of such as were ordeined to saluation, increased dailie more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good successe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of persecution, there were no small number of martyrs that suffered for the same, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius, and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, bicause of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the sight of worldlie men.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdome, and afterward to become first a bishop, then a preacher of the gospell, and afterward a pope: but to the end such as hold this opinion may once vnderstand the botome of their errors, I will set downe the matter at large, whereby they shall see (if they list to looke) how far they haue béene deceiued.

**Chlorus had three sons, & a daughter by Helena.**

I find that Chlorus had issue by his second wife, two sonnes, Dalmatius (who had a sonne called also Dalmatius and slaine by the souldiors.) Constantius father to Gallus, and Iulian the apostata; besides foure other whose names as yet I find not. But being at the first matched with Helena, and before she was put from him by the roiall power of Dioclesian, he had by hir three sonnes (beside one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the first is perished, the second was called Lucius, & the third Constantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whome the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne betwéene him and his elder brother, did kill his said brother, either by a fraie or by some other meanes, wherevpon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thenceforth to remaine in Aquitaine in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie sorow, had now good leasure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his prosperitie had peradventure neuer regard of hell. Finallie he fell so far into the consideration of his estate, that at the last he renounced his paganisme, and first became a christian, then an elder, and last of all a bishop in the church of Christ. He erected also a place of praier wherein to serue the liuing God, which after sundrie alterations came in processe of time to be an Abbaie, and is still called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the first founder therof, and the originall beginner of anie such house in those parts.

**Lucion becommeth a christian.**  
**Lucion a bishop.**

**Hermannus Schedelius.**  
**Bruschius**  
**cap. 3.**

In this also he and diuers other of his freends continued their times, in great contemplation and praier, and from hence were translated as occasion serued, vnto sundrie ecclesiasticall promotions in the time of Constant. his brother. So that euen by this short narration it is now easie to see, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons. Herevnto Hermannus Schedelius addeth also how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his sister, and néere vnto the citie Augusta conuerted the Curienses vnto the faith of Christ, and there likewise (being put to death in Castro Martis) lieth buried in the same towne, where his feast is holden vpon the third daie of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be séene at Glocester. That Schedelius erreth not herein also, the ancient monuments of the said Abbaie, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I said, doo yeeld sufficient testimonie, beside an hymne made in his commendation, intituled Gaude Lucionum, &c. But for more of this you may resort vnto Bouchet in his first booke, and fift chapter of the Annales of Aquitaine, who neuertheles maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The said Schedelius furthermore setteth downe, that his sister was martyred in Trinecastell, néere vnto the place where the said Lucion dwelled, whereby it appéereth in like sort, that she was not sister to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Neccham in his most excellent treatise De sapientia diuina, setteth downe this Distichon:

**Emerita martyred in Rhetia.**

Prima Britannorum fidei lux Lucius esse  
Fertur, qui rexit mœnia Brute tua.

**Heresie and monastical life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius.**

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kinred vnto Paule the apostle, as Auentine inferreth, except he meane it of some other Lucius, as of one whome he nameth Cyrinensis. But then will not the historie agree with the conuersion of the Rhetians and Vindelicians, whereof Schedelius and other doo make mention. But as each riuer the farder it runneth from the head, the more it is increased by small riuulets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and stinking gutters, that descend into the same: so the puritie of the gospell, preached here in Britaine, in processe of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most execrable heresie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing

trauelled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the easterlie regions of the world, was there at the last made an elder or bishop, by some of the monkes, vnto whose profession he had not long before wholie addicted himselfe. Finallie returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holinesse than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an house of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferous seed of his hereticall prauities ouer all this Iland, whereby he seduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Jesu Christ his sonne. By this means therefore he brought assurance of saluation into question, and taught all such as had a diligent respect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the same, whereas to such as regard this latter, there can be no quietnesse of mind, but alwaies an vnstedfast opinion of themselues, whereby they cannot discerne, neither by prosperitie nor aduersitie of this life, whether they be worthie loue or hatred. Neuertheles it behooueth the godlie to repose their hope in that grace which is freebie granted through Jesu Christ, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his son, to the end that we may at the last find the testimonie of his spirit working with ours, that we are his chosen children, whereby commeth peace of conscience to such as doo beléeue.

**Bangor.**

Thus we see how new deuises or orders of religion and heresie came in together. I could shew also what Comets, and strange signes appeared in Britaine, much about the same time, the like of which with diuers other haue bene perceiued also from time to time, sithence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I passe them ouer, onelie for that I would not seeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehersall of anie new inconueniences.

**Anachorites.  
Heremites.  
Cyrillines.  
Benedictines.**

To procéed therefore with my purpose, after these, there followed in like sort sundrie other kinds of monasticall life, as Anachorites, Heremites, Cyrilline and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the hereticall profession was onelie allowed of in Britaine, vntill the coming of Augustine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine sect, framed after the order of the house which Benedict surnamed Nursinus did first erect in Monte Cassino, about the 524. of Christ, & was finallie so well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I suppose) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In processe of time how Benedict Biscop also our countrieman restored the said Benedictine profession greatlie decayed in England, our histories are verie plentifull, which Biscop went off into Italie, and at one time for a speciall confirmation of his two monasteries which he had builded at other mens costs vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda dooth remember. So fast also did these and other like humane deuises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houses at the least, of which 373. might dispend 200. li. by the yéere at the least, as appeareth by the record of their suppression, which also noteth the totall summe of their reuenues to amount vnto 32000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men contained in the same, to be 10000. which would make a pretie armie, wherevnto if you adde those 45. of late standing in Scotland, you shall soone see what numbers of these dens of spirituall robbers were mainteined here in Britaine. What number of saints also haue béene hatched in them I could easilie remember, and beside those 160. which Capgrau setteth downe, & other likewise remembred in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Excester, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furnish vp a calendar, though the yere were twice as long.

**Monkes and  
Heremites  
onlie  
allowed of in  
Britaine.**

**The number  
of religious  
houses in  
England at  
their  
dissolution.**

As touching Pelagius the first heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notable knowne) and parent of Monachisme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singular learning, deepe iudgement, and such a one, as vpon whome for his great gifts in teaching and strictnesse of life, no small péce of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisdom of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God? and what is learning except it be handmaid to veritie and sound iudgement? Wherefore euen of this man, we may see it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the scriptures or guidance of the spirit; Better it is saith he, to heare a rude and simple idiot preach the truth, without apparance of skill and learned eloquence, than a profound clearke to set fourth error, with great shew of learning, and boast of filed vtterance. Gerson in like sort hath said fullie asmuch. These follies of Pelagius were blased abroad about the 400. of Christ, and from thencefoorth how his number of monkes increased on the one side, and his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vnskillfull and ignorant.

**Roger  
Bakon his  
saieng of  
the  
preachers of  
his time who  
were the  
best lawyers  
and the  
worst  
Diuines.**

**More than  
2100  
monkes in  
the College  
or Abbaie of  
Bangor in  
whose  
territories  
the parish of  
Ouerton  
standeth.**

This also is certeine, that within the space of 200. yeares and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered together in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors or their founder, (who taught such an estimation of merits and bodilie exercise (as Paule calleth it) that therby he sought not onlie to impugne, but also preuent grace, which was in deed the originall occasion of the erection of his house) were yet farre better and more godlie than all those religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professours liued to themselues, their wombs and the licentious fruition of those parts, that are beneath the bellie. For

these laboured continually for their own livings, at vacant times from prayer (as did Serapions monks, which were 10000. over whom he himselfe was Abbat) and likewise for the better maintenance of such learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their lives also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onely they seemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their succor & defense, but were such a plant as the heauenly father had not planted, and therefore no marvell, though afterward they were raised by the roots.

Germanus,  
Lupus,  
Palladius,  
Patricius.

Seuerus  
*Sulpitius in  
vita Patricij.*

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Christ in Britaine, so the living God hath had a season also to purge and cleanse the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, sith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning for the most part vnto the monasticall trades, did not so much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as mainteine the same, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricke seemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus also praied, as Palladius vpheld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the vttermost of his power. Wherefore God wrought this purgation of his house at the first, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous schoolemaisters of error out of this life: hoping that by such meanes, his people would haue giuen eare to the godlie that remained. But in processe of time, when this his mercifull dealing was forgotten and our countrymen returned to their former disorders, he brought in the Saxons, who left no idoll vn timered, no not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beastlie image (Cum pene intenso, and as if he had beene circumcised) whom they called Ithypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atvatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in maner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie shame vnto the most ancient and sober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could also take no place, and the sheepe of his pasture would receiue no wholesome fodder, it pleased his maiestie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in somuch that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome ] also, brought in by Augustine and his monks, whereby it was to be seene, how they fell from the truth into heresie, and from one heresie still into another, till at the last they were drowned altogether in the pits of error digged vp by Antichrist, wels in deed that hold no water, which notwithstanding to their followers seemed to be most sound doctrine, and cisterns of living water to such as imbraced the same.

Augustine  
the monke.

Augustine.

This Augustine, after his arriual, conuerted the Saxons in deed from paganisme, but as the prouerbe saith, bringing them out of Gods blessing into the warme sunne, he also imbued them with no lesse hurtfull superstition, than they did know before: for beside the onely name of Christ, and externall contempt of their pristinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I saie) made an exchange from grosse to subtill treacherie, from open to secret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of christians, thinking this sufficient for their soules health, and the stablishment of his monachisme, of which kind of profession, the holie scriptures of God can in no wise like or allow. But what cared he? sith he got the great fish for which he did cast his hooke, and so great was the fish that he caught in deed, that within the space of 1000. yeares, and lesse, it deuoured the fourth part & more of the best soile of the Iland, which was wholie bestowed vpon his monks, & other religious broodes that were hatched since his time, as may hereafter appeere in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c. In the meane season what successe his monks had at Canturburie, how oft they were spoiled by enimies, their houses burned by casualtie, and brethren consumed with pestilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houeden, Geruase, and the rest of their owne historiographers. And so sore did the pestilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whose daies the preests, clerks and monks sang their seruice together in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onely fiue aliue, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God conceiued and executed against that malignant generation. It came also to passe at the last that men vsed to praie for helpe at the said Augustines tombe (although afterward Thomas Becket a newer saint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelstane was one, whom Elnothus the abbat staid so long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his soldiours waiting for his coming, and supposing the monks to haue murdered him, began to giue an assault and set fire vpon the house.

Monks of  
Canturburie  
plagued.

Meates.  
Pictes.  
Caledoniens.

Whilest these things were thus in hand, in the south part of Albion, the Meates, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scottish sea, receiued also the faith, by preaching of such christian elders as aduentured thither dailie, who trauelled not without great successe and increase of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this prosperous attempt passed all mens expectation, for that these nations were in those daies reputed wild, sauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftie than well-minded people (as the wild Irish are in my time) and such were they (to saie the truth) in deed, as neither the sugred courtesie, nor sharpe swords of the Romans could mollifie or restraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cause also in the end, the Romane emperours did vtterlie cast them off as an

vnprofitable, brutish, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall herafter to be described, separated that rude companie from the more mild and ciuill portion.

**Scotland  
conuerted to  
the faith of  
Christ.**

This conuersion of the north parts fell out in the sixt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in those quarters, and 170. after the death of our sauour Jesus Christ. From thenceforth also the christian religion continued still among them, by the diligent care of their pastors and bishops (after the vse of the churches of the south part of this Iland) till the Romane shéepheard sought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like sort with his long staffe as he had done our cuntrymen, whereby in the end he abolished the rites of the churches of Asia there also, as Augustine had done already in England: and in stéed of the same did furnish it vp with those of his pontificall see, although there was great contention, and no lesse bloodshed made amongst them, before it could be brought to passe, as by the histories of both nations yet extant may be séene.

**Paladius.**

**The first  
attempt of  
the bishop  
of Rome to  
bring  
Scotland  
vnder his  
obedience.  
Fastidius  
bishop of  
London.**

In the time of Cœlestine bishop of Rome, who sate in the 423. of Christ, one Paladius a Grecian borne (to whome Cyrill wrote his dialog De adoratione in spiritu) and sometime disciple to Iohn 24. bishop of Ierusalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to suppress the Pelagian heresie, which not a little molested the orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing doone much good in the extinguishing of the aforesaid opinion there, he went at the last also into Scotland, supposing no lesse, but after he had trauelled somewhat in confutation of the Pelagians in those parts, he should easilie persuade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would faine haue doone beforehand in the south. But as Fastidius Priscus archbishop of London, and his Suffragans resisted him here; so did the Scottish prelates withstand him there also in this behalfe: howbeit, because of the authoritie of his comission, grauitie of personage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleasant persuasion (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the stones with his harpe, and Hercules such as heard him by his toong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their successors also from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather also for that he came from Rome) to take him for their chéefe apostle, reckoning from his coming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Christ, as the truth of their historie dooth verie well confirme.

**Paladius  
accompted  
for the  
apostle of  
the Scots.**

Thus we see what religion hath from time to time beene receiued in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Christ came first into our countrie. Howbeit as in processe of time it was ouershadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantasticall imaginations of man, so it dailie waxed woorse & woorse, till that it pleased God to restore the preaching of his gospell in our daies, whereby the man of sinne is now openlie reuealed, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall ouerthrow of the Romish sathan, and his popish adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermost of their power, yeelding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghost. But such is their peruerse ignorance (notwithstanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him already 2. Thes. 2. calling him (as I said) the man of sinne, and saieing that he sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himselfe in his chalenge of power, as if he were God, vnder pretense of zeale vnto true religion) that they will not giue eare vnto the truth, but rather shut their eares and their eies from hearing and reading of the scriptures, because they will not be drawne out of his snares and bondage.

#### OF THE MANIFOLD CONUERSIONS AND ALTERATIONS OF THE ESTATE OF THE COMMON-WEALTH OF BRITAINE, SITHENS THE TIME OF SAMOTHES.

There is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they suffer some notable alteration. And as in the aforesaid season there is set a time of increase and decaie, so we find that before the execution of Gods purpose dooth come to passe, in changing the estate of things, sundrie tokens are sent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and visit our offenses. This is partlie verified by Ioachimus Camerarius, who in his first booke De ostentis intreating of the same argument, telleth of a strange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any such plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Persians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians; also of the beard that suddenlie grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophetesse, so often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. "Nam (saith he) descriptas esse diuinitus ætates quibus idem humanarum rerum status duraret, quibus finitis, prædici prius quàm existeret nouationem in deterius euenturam rerum, quæque indies minùs ac minùs numini cordi essent. Emittuntur igitur cometæ diuinitus, & reuocantur dum supra nos conspecti quamdiu placuit Deo inferuntur, &c." Plato referreth such changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine diuine force that resteth hidden in sundrie od numbers, whereof their periods do consist. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & measure, & that after an incomprehensible maner vnto our fraile

Fatal  
numbers.

& humane capacite. Neuerthelesse, he appointed not these three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we must not ascribe these changes to the force of number with Plato, much lesse then vnto destinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called destinie as S. Augustine saith, for of other destinie it is impietie to dreame. Aristotle ascribing all euent vnto manifest causes precedent, dooth scoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in sundrie causes of the alteration of the state of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as iniurie, oppression, ambition, treason, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great necessitie and miserie in manie. But whatsoever Aristotle gesseth at these things by humane reason as at the first causes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as sinne, which being suffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the iustice of the high God, the cheefe cause of all, who foreseeing the wickednesse of such as dwell on earth, dooth constitute such a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as best standeth with the execution of his purpose, and correction of our errors. The causes therefore that Aristotle dooth deliuer, are nothing else but the meanes which God vseth to bring his purposes to passe; and yet they deserue the name of causes, in that they preceed those effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than secondarie or third causes no man can iustlie call them. Bodinus in his historical method, cap. 6. making a large discourse of the conuersions of commonwealths, dooth séeme at the first to denie the force of number, but after a while he maruelleth that no Grecian or Latine Academike, hath hitherto made any discourse of the excellencie of such numbers as appertine to the estate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Hereby he sheweth himselfe vpon the sudden to alter his iudgement, so that he setteth downe certeine numbers as fatall; to wit, sixe vnto women, and seauen and nine vnto men, which (saith he) haue "Magnam in tota rerum natura potestatem," meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their first erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for sicknesse, health, change of habitation, wealth, and losse, &c: and for the confirmation of the same, he setteth downe sundrie examples of apparent likelihood, either by multiplication of one by the other, or diuision of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforesaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, whereby he bringeth or rather restoreth an old kind of arithmancie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we christians, in respecting of causes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cause of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto these points in any wise as causes: for we know and confesse that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaseth him. Neuerthelesse, I hope we may without offense examine how these assertions hold, so long as we vse them rather as Indices than Causas mutationum. And therefore haue I attempted to practise at this present the example of Bodinus, first in the alterations of our ciuill estate passed; and secondlie, of the like in cases of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the first comming in of Samothes into our Ile, thereby somewhat to satisfie my selfe, and recreate the readers; but still protesting in the meane season that I vtterlie denie them to be any causes, or of themselues to worke any effect at all in these things, as Bodinus would seeme to vphold. As for those of other countries, I referre you to Aristotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, therby to be farther resolved, if you be desirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpose; First because the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it shall not be amisse to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, so that if you diuide the same by nine, you shall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. reuolution of the same number. Secondlie, for so much as the confusion of toongs was the originall cause of the dispersion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it shall not be amisse also to examine the same. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the said 133. by seauen, you shall find the quotient 19. without any ods remaining. From hence also vnto the comming of Samothes into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the second of his arriual in this land, we find by exact supputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or seauen sheweth such a conclusion as maketh much for this purpose. Doubtlesse I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, sith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in rule and regiment; although at this present the circumstances hold not, sith he dispossessed none, neither incroched vpon any. From Samothes vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, so that he arriued here in the 335. or 48. septenarie, which also concurreth with the 590 after the flood. In like sort the regiment of Albion continued but seauen yeares, and then was the souereingtie of this Ile restored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our estate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betweene whose time and death of Albion there passed full 601. yeares (for he spent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion) so that if you accompt him to come hither in the 602. you shall haue 86. septenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his posteritie in Ferrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine, are 630. yeares, or 70. nouenaries, than the which where shall a man find a more precise period after this method or prescription, for manie and diuers considerations. The

time of the pentarchie indured likewise 49. yeares, or seauen septenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his subiection, and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe, that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled against Beline his brother, wherevpon insued cruell bloodshed betwéene them. So that here you haue 14. septenaries, as you haue from those warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Cæsar into this Iland (whereat our seruitude and miserable thraldome to the Romans may worthilie take his entrance) 48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man should imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Cæsar we haue 54. or sixe nouenaries to Christ, whose death and passion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and sure faith take hold of the same, and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Christ to our countrie deliuered from the Romane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Britains chose them a king, and betooke themselues to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts, which dailie made hauocke of their countrie; the said Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. septenarie after Christ) did send for the Saxons, who arriued here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great companies, for our aid and succour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our vtter decaie and ruine, in that they made a conquest of the whole Ile, and draue vs out of our liuings. Hereby we see therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finished in the tenth nouenarie, the sequele is too too plaine. In like sort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the comming of the Saxons, the Danes entred, who miserablie afflicted this Ile by the space of 182. yeares or 46. septenaries, which being expired, they established themselues in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time lasting not long, the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare, and thus you see how these numbers do hold exactlie vnto the conquest. The like also we find of the continuance of the Normans or succession of the Conquerour, which indured but 89. yeares, being extinguished in Stephen, and that of the Saxons restored in Henrie the second, although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries, which is a small thing, sith vpon diuers occasions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or proroged, as in direction and progression astronomicall is oftentimes perceiued. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Johns daies, wherevpon insued the resignation of his crownes and dominions to the pope, are eight septenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the deposition of Richard. 2. and vsurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. septenaries. From hence to the conspiracie made against Edward. 2. after which he was deposed & murdered are 117. yeares, or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betwéene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster (wherein foure score and od persons of the blood roiall were slaine and made awaie first and last, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, whose murther seemed to make frée passage to the said broile) are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the translation of the crowne from the house of Lancaster to that of Yorke, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two septenaries, and last of all to the vnion of the said houses in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of seuen multiplied in it selfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part suffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Christ to the faith first preached in Britaine (by Iosephus ab Aramathia, and Simon Zelotes) as some write 70. yeares or 10. septenaries. Thence also to the baptisme of Lucius, and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuersion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After these the Saxons entred and changed the state of religion for the most part into paganisme, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 273. yeare after Lucius had beene baptised, which is 39. septenaries, if I be not deceiued. In the 147. or 21. septenarie, Augustine came, who brought in poperie, which increased and continued till Wicklif with more boldnesse than anie other began to preach the gospell, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Augustine, and yeeld 85. nouenaries exactlie. From hence againe to the expulsion of the pope 175. yeares, or 25. septenaries, thence to the receiuing of the pope and popish doctrine 21. yeares or 3. septenaries, wherevnto I would ad the time of restoring the gospell by Quéene Elizabeth, were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden mysterie or thing contained in these numbers, yet the same extendeth not vnto the diuine disposition of things, touching the gift of grace and frée mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor measure shall be able to aspire.

Henrie 8.  
Marie.

## CAP. 10.

There are néere vnto, or not verie farre from the coasts of Britaine many faire Ilands, wherof Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) séeme to be the cheefe. But of the rest, some are much larger or lesse than other, diuers in like sort enuironed continuallie with the salt sea (whereof I purpose onelie to intreat, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the fload) and other finallie be clipped partlie by the fresh and partlie by the salt water, or by the fresh alone, whereof I may speake afterward.

Of these salt Ilands (for so I call them that are enuironed with the Ocean waues) some are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and pasture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, bicause they are onelie replenished with conies, and those of sundrie colours (cherished of purpose by the owners, for their skins or carcases in their prouision of household) without either man or woman otherwise inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greatest number of these Ilands haue townes and parish-churches, within their seuerall precincts, some mo, some lesse: and beside all this, are so enriched with commodities, that they haue pleasant hauens, fresh springs, great store of fish, and plentie of cattell, wherby the inhabitants doo reape no small aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, bicause mine informations are not so fullie set downe, as the promises of some on the one side, & mine expectation on the other did extend vnto. Howbeit, first of all that there are certeine which lie neere together, as it were by heapes and clusters, I hope none will readilie denie. Of these also those called the Nesiadæ, Insulæ Scylurum, Sileustræ, Syllanæ, now the Sorlings, and Iles of Silley, lieng beyond Cornwall are one, and conteineth in number one hundreth fourtie and seauen (each of them bearing grasse) besides shelfes and shallowes. In like sort the companie of the Hebrides in old time subject vnto Ireland are another, which are said to be 43. situat vpon the west side of this Iland, betweene Ireland & Scotland, and of which there are some that repute Anglesei, Mona Cæsaris, and other lieng betweene them to be parcell, in their corrupted iudgement. The third cluster or bunch consisteth of those that are called the Orchades, and these lie vpon the northwest point of Scotland, being 31. aliàs 28. in number, as for the rest they lie scattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courses shall come about. There are also the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther distant from them, of which Iohn Frobuser I doubt not touched vpon some in his voiage to Meta Incognita: but for somuch as I must speake of the Shetlands hereafter, I doo not meane to spend anie time about them as yet.

Nesiadæ.  
Insulæ  
Scylurum.  
Sileustræ.  
Syllanæ.  
Sorlingæ.  
Sylley.

Hebrides.  
Hebudes.  
Meuaniaë.  
Orchades.

There haue beene diuers that haue written of purpose, De insulis Britanniaë, as Cæsar doth confesse. The like also may be seene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that should set forth an exact treatise of each of them in order, and among other tell of certeine desert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to sundrie gods and goddesses, but of one especiallie, where Briareus should hold Saturne and manie other spirits fast bound with the chaines of an heauie sléepe, as he heard, of which some die now and then, by meane wherof the aire becommeth maruellouslie troubled, &c: as you may see in Plutarch De cessatione oraculorum, &c. But sith those bookes are now perished, and the most of the said Ilands remaine vtterlie vnknownen, euen to our owne selues (for who is able in our time to say where is Glota, Hiucrion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Æsarea, Barsa, Isiandium, Icdelis, Xantisma, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros or Edros, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c? whose names onelie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I saie their places not so much as heard of in our daies) I meane (God willing) to set downe so manie of them with their commodities, as I doo either know by Leland, or am otherwise instructed of by such as are of credit. Herein also I will touch at large those that are most famous, and breeflie passe ouer such as are obscure and vnknownen, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined course (for I neuer sailed it) by the south part of the Iland into the west. From thence in like sort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the east side into the fall of the aforesaid streame, where I will strike saile, and safelie be set ashore, that haue often in this voiage wanted water, but oftener béene set a ground, especiallie on the Scottish side.

Hoo.

In beginning therefore, with such as lie in the mouth of the aforesaid riuer, I must néeds passe by the How, which is not an Iland, and therefore not within the compasse of my description at this time, but almost an Iland, which parcels the Latins call Peninsulas, and I doo english a Byland, vsing the word for such as a man may go into drie-footed at the full sea, or on horsebacke at the low water without anie boat or vessell: and such a one almost is Rochford hundred in Essex also, yet not at this time to be spoken of, bicause not the sea onelie but the fresh water also doth in maner enuiron it, and is the cheefe occasion wherfore it is called an Iland. This How lieth between Cliffe (in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How or in the hundred of How) & the midwaie that goeth along by Rochester, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

He that rideth into the hundred of How,

Beside pilfering sea-men shall find durt ynow.

**Greane.** Next vnto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the same denomination, an Ile supposed to be foure miles in length, and two in bredth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Connos, conteining seauen miles in length, and three in bredth, wherein is a castell called Quinborow, and a parke, beside foure townes, of which one is named Minster, another Eastchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole soile being throughlie fed with shéepe, verie well woodded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirtéene miles by water from Rochester, but the castell is fiftéene, and by south thereof are two small Ilands, wherof the one is called Elmesie, and the more easterlie Hertesie. In this also is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lath of Scraie, notwithstanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuersham, and Shepey reteineth one especiall Bailie of hir owne.

**Stureev. Thanet.** From hence we passe by the Reculuers (or territorie belonging in time past to one Raculphus, who erected an house of religion, or some such thing there) vnto a little Iland in the Stoure mouth. Herevpon also the Thanet abutteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapis, other Athanatos, bicause serpents are supposed not to liue in the same, howbeit sith it is not enuironed with the sea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Iland in this place, albeit I will not let to borow of my determination, and describe it as I go, bicause it is so fruitfull. Beda noteth it in times past to haue conteined 600. families, which are all one with Hidelands, \*Ploughlands, Carrucates, or Temewares. He addeth also that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantsume, which is about thrée furlongs broad, and to be passed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore saieth, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much lesse in bredth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much aboute seauen miles from Nordtmuth to Sandwich, and foure in bredth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the south to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland also noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwise it is verie fruitfull, and beside that it wanteth few other commodities, the finest chalke is said to be found there. Herein also did Augustine the moonke first arriue, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and afterward in processe of time, sundry religious houses were erected there, as in a soile much bettered (as the superstitious supposed) by the steps of that holy man, & such as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. parish churches at the least in the Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchington, S. Johns, Wood or Woodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minster, S. Gyles and all Saints, whereof M. Lambert hath written at large in his description of Kent, and placed the same in the Lath of saint Augustine and hundred of Kingslow, as may easilie be séene to him that will peruse it.

\* In Lincolnshire the word Hide or hideland, was neuer in vse in old time as in other places, but for Hide they vsed the word Carucate or cartware, or Teme, and these were of no lesse compasse than an Hideland. *Ex Hugone le blanc Monacho Petrolurgensi.*

Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Reptacester, stood also in this Iland, but now thorough alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is shut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in these daies Richborow, and as it should seeme builded vpon an indifferent soile or high ground. The large bricke also yet to be seene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old British workemanship. But as time decaieth all things, so Rutupium named Ruptimuth is now become desolate, and out of the dust thereof Sandwich producted, which standeth a full mile from the place where Reptacester stood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherin Gwallon or Gawan was slaine; at which time the said rebell came against his souereigne with 70000. Picts, Scots, Irish, Norwegians, &c: and with Ethelbert the first christian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto béene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie péeces of siluer and gold, so well as of brasse, copper, and other mettall haue often béene shewed vnto me. It should appéere in like sort, that of this place, all the whole coast of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which some doo not a little confirme by these words of Lucane, to be read in his sixt booke soone after the beginning:

**Rutupium.**

**The last verse of one couple and first of another.**

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinâq; littora feruent,  
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.

Or when the wandering seas  
and Kentish coasts doo worke,  
And Calidons of British blood,  
the troubled waues beguile.

**Seleseey of Seles there taken.**

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast néere Andredeswald, which in time past was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or forrest, as Leland also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouslie in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I must needs passe by Seleseey, which sometime (as it should séeme) hath béene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or Peninsula, wherin the chéeffe sée of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of thrée hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie bishops.

**Thorne.** Next vnto this, we come vnto those that lie betweene the Wight and the maine land,



Haling.

Port.

of which the most easterlie is called Thorne, and to saie truth, the verie least of all that are to be found in that knot. Being past the Thorne, we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is situat of the same denomination beside another, whose name I remember not. By west also of the Haling lieth the Port (the greatest of the three already mentioned) and in this standeth Portsmouth and Ringstéed) whereof also our Leland, saith thus: "Port Ile is cut from the shore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about thrée miles aboue Portsmouth, and goeth vp two miles or more by morish ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portsmouth." Then breaketh there out another créeke from the maine sea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almost to Portbridge, and thence is the ground disseuered, so that Portsmouth standeth in a corner of this Ile, which Iland is in length six miles, and three miles in bredth, verie good for grasse and corne, not without some wood, and here and there inclosure. Beside this, there is also another Iland north northwest of Port Ile, which is now so worne and washed awaie with the working of the sea, that at the spring tides it is wholie couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finallie being past all these, and in compassing this gulfe, we come by an other, which lieth north of Hirst castell, & southeast of Kaie hauen, whereof I find nothing worthie to be noted, sauing that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographical tables of all those Ilands which enuiron our Albion.

Wight.  
Guidh.

The Wight is called in Latine Vectis, but in the British speach Guidh, that is to saie, Eefe or easie to be séene, or (as D. Caius saith) separate, bicause that by a breach of the sea, it was once diuided from the maine, as Sicilia was also from Italie, Anglesei from Wales, Foulenesse from Essex, & Quinborow from Kent. It lieth distant from the south shore of Britaine (where it is fardest off) by fiue miles & a halfe, but where it commeth nearest, not passing a thousand paces, and this at the cut ouer betwéene Hirst castell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doo report. It conteineth in length twentie miles, and in bredth ten, it hath also the north pole eleuated by 50. degrés and 27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in distance, and 50. od minuts from the west point, as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the description of Ptolomie, and such as folow his assertions in the same. In forme, it representeth almost an eg, and so well is it inhabited with meere English at this present, that there are thirtie six townes, villages and castels to be found therein, beside 27. parish-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parsons, the rest either such poore Vicars or Curats, as the liuings left are able to sustaine. The names of the parishes in the Wight are these.

P signifieth  
parsonages,  
V. vicarages.

{	1 Newport, a chap.	}	15 Mottesson.	p.
	2 Cairsbrosie. v.		16 Yarmouth.	p.
	3 Northwood.		17 Thorley.	v.
	4 Arriun. v.		18 Shallete.	v.
	5 Goddeshill. v.		19 Whippingham.	p.
	6 Whitwell.		20 Wootton.	p.
	7 S. Laurence. p.		21 Chale.	p.
	8 Nighton. p.		22 Kingston.	p.
	9 Brading. v.		23 Shorwell.	p.
	10 Newchurch. v.		24 Gatrombe.	p.
	11 S. Helene. v.		25 Brosie.	
	12 Yauerland. p.		26 Brixston.	p.
	13 Calborne. p.		27 Bensted.	p.
14 Bonechurch. p.				

It belongeth for temporall iurisdiction to the countie of Hamshire, but in spirituall cases it yéeldeth obedience to the sée of Winchester, wherof it is a Deanerie. As for the soile of the whole Iland, it is verie fruitfull, for notwithstanding the shore of it selfe be verie full of rocks and craggie cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, pasture, meadow ground, wild foule, fish, fresh riuers, and pleasant woods, whereby the inhabitants may liue in ease and welfare. It was first ruled by a seuerall king, and afterwards wonne from the Britons by Vespasian the legat, at such time as he made a voiage into the west countrie. In processe of time also it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Sussex, who held the souereigntie of the same, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it was wonne also from them, in the time of Athelwold, the eight king of the said south region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reserued the souereigntie of that Ile to himselfe and his successors for euermore. At this time also there were 1200. families in that Iland, whereof the said Ceadwalla gaue 300 to Wilfride sometime bishop of Yorke, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the gospell also to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner performed, but according to the prescriptions of the church of Rome, wherunto he yéelded himselfe vassall and feudarie: so that this Ile by Wilfride was first conuerted to the faith, though the last of all other that hearkened vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the parricide was the first Saxon prince that aduentured to flie into the Wight for his safegard, whither he was driuen by Kenwalch of the Westsaxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the

end compelled him to go into this place for succour, as did also king Iohn, in the rebellious stir of his Barons, practised by the clergie: the said Iland being as then in possession of the Forts, as some doo write that haue handled it of purpose. The first Earle of this Iland that I doo read of, was one Baldwijne de Betoun, who married for his second wife, the daughter of William le Grosse Earle of Awmarle; but he dieng without issue by this ladie, she was married the second time to Earle Maundeuille, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finished Skipton castell, which his wiues father had begun about the time of king Richard the first. Hereby it came to passe also, that the Forts were Earls of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonshire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, sole heire to all those possessions came to age, with whom king Edward the third so preuailed through monie & faire words, that he gat the possession of the Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himselfe & his successors, vntill Henrie the sixt, about the twentieth of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp sonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwike king thereof and of Iardsey and Gardsey with his owne hands, and therevnto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwike with the titles of Comes comitum Angliæ, lord Spenser of Aburgauenie, and of the castell of Bristow (which castell was sometime taken from his ancestors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enioy these great honors, sith he died 1446. without issue, and seuen yéeres after his father.

**Brunt Keysy.** After we be past the Wight, we go forward and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keysy, in which was sometime a parish-church, and but a chapell at this present, as I heare. There are also two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

**Portland.** We haue (after we are passed by these) another Ile, or rather Byland also vpon the coast named Portland not far from Waymouth or the Gowy, a prettie fertile peece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure score households in it. There is but one street of houses therein, the rest are dispersed, howbeit they belong all to one parish-church, whereas in time past there were two within the compasse of the same. There is also a castell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the bishop of Winchester be patrone of the church, the parsonage whereof is the fairest house in all the peece. The people there are no lesse excellent slingers of stones than were the Baleares, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the same with their slings, and therefore their parents vsed to hang their meate verie high vpon some bough, to the end that he which strake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas such as missed were sure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vse for the defense of their Iland, and yet otherwise are verie couetous. And wheras in time past they liued onlie by fishing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet doo they burne much cow doong dried in the sunne, for there is I saie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would some grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the soile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long since this was vnited to the maine, and likelie yer long to be cut off againe.

**Iardsey. Gardsey.** Being past this we raise another, also in the mouth of the Gowy, betweene Colsford and Lime, of which for the smalnesse thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I cast about to Iardsey, and Gardsey, which Iles with their appurtenances appertained in times past to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Quéene, as parcell of Hamshire and iurisdiction of Winchester, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a composition made betwéene K. Iohn of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the said prince began so fast to decrease, as Thomas Sulmo saith.

**Iardsey.** Of these two, Iardsey is the greatest, an Iland hauing thirtie miles in compasse, as most men doo coniecture. There are likewise in the same twelue parish-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is distant from Gardsey full 21. miles, or thereabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a bloudie fact doone there in Queene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Massie wife vnto an honest minister or préest, being great with childe by hir husband, was burned to ashes: through the excéeding crueltie of the Deane and Chapter, then contending manifestlie against God for the maintenance of their popish and antichristian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at such time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there issued a goodly manchilde from hir, with such force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduersarie to an other to looke vpon, whose eies being after a while satisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcase of the mother which burned in the fire,

**Horrible murder.**

**Gardsey.** whereby the poore innocent was consumed to ashes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left vntouched, & wherevnto it ministred (as you heare) an hurtlesse passage. In this latter also, there haue béene in times past, fine religious houses, and nine castels, howbeit in these daies there is but one parish-church left standing in the same. There are also certeine other small Ilands, which Henrie the second in his donation calleth Insuletts, beside verie manie rocks, whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein sometime was a monasterie) is fast vpon Iardsey, another

**S. Hilaries.**

**Cornet.**

is named the Cornet, which hath a castel not passing an arrow shot from Gardsey.

**Serke.** The Serke also is betwéene both, which is six miles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Isthmus or Stricland, wherein was a religious house, & therewithall great store of conies.

**Brehoc. Gytho. Herme.** There is also the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure miles in compasse, and therein was sometime a Canonrie, that afterward was conuerted into a house of Franciscanes. There are two other likewise neere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whose names I haue no notice. There is also the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, so called of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwise it be replenished with infinit store of conies, betwéene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the same which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among those few houses that are to be seene in this Iland. Some are of the opinion that there hath béene more store of building in this Ile than is at this present to be seene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but hereof I find no perfect warrantise that I may safelie trust vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increased so fast that they draue away the people. Varro speaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderits were driuen out of Thracia by the increase of mice & frogs; and so manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now pertaining to Spaine) that the people began to starue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of grasse. And bicause the Ilanders were not able to ouercome them, Augustus was constrained to send an armie of men to destroie that needlesse brood. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 55. A towne also in France sometime became desolate onelie by frogs and todes. Another in Africa by locustes and also by grasshoppers, as Amicla was by snakes and adders. Theophrast telleth of an whole countrie consumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge caterpillar. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Æthiopia made void of people by ants and scorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie through multitudes of bées, as waspes had almost driuen the Ephesians out of Ephesus. But this of all other (whereof Ælianus intreateth) is most woonderfull, that when the Cretenses were chased out of a famous citie of their Iland by infinit numbers of bees, the said bees conuerted their houses into hiues, and made large combs in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they reserued their honie. Which things being dulie considered, I doo not denie the possibilitie of the expulsion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burhoo by rats, although I say that I doo not warrant the effect, bicause I find it not set downe directlie in plaine words.

**Burhoo, aliàs the Ile of rats.**

**Turkie conies.**

**Causes of the desolation of sundrie cities and townes.**

**Alderney.** Beside this there is moreouer the Ile of Alderney a verie pretie plot, about seuen miles in compasse, wherin a préest not long since did find a coffin of stone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whose fore téeth were so big as a mans fist, as Leland dooth report. Certes this to me is no maruell at all, sith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them alreadie in the beginning of this booke. Such a tooth also haue they in Spaine wherevnto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Christophers tooth, but it was one of his eie teeth, if Ludouicus Viues say true, who went thither to offer vnto the same. S. August. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 9. writeth in like sort, of such another found vpon the coast of Vtica, and thereby gathereth that all men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre exceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in comparison of such as liued in the wars of Troy. See his fift Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and ouerthrew him. Virgil also noteth no lesse in his owne deuise, but Iuvenal bréefelie comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satyra, where he saith:

**Comment. Brit.**

**Iliad. 6.**

**Iliad. 5. & 7.**

**Vergilius Aen. 12.**

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæsita lacertis  
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione  
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, & Aiax,  
Et quo Tytides percussit pondere coxam  
Aeneæ: sed quem valeant emittere dextræ  
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.  
Nam genus hoc viuo iam decrescebat Homero,  
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos,  
Ergo Deus quicumque aspexit, ridet, & odit.

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a prettie towne with a parish-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants doo reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwise supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Iles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Gardsey and Iardsey, vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Gardsey also was sore spoiled by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one castell remained therein vntouched.

**Bruchsey.**

Beyond this, and neerer unto the coast of England (for these doo lie about the verie middest of the British sea) we haue one Iland called the Bruch or the Bruchsey, lieng about two miles from Poole, whither men saile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Next to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Iles, as Illeston rocke néere vnto Peritorie, Horestan Ile a mile from Peritorie by south, Blacke rocke Ile southeast from Peritorie toward Teygnemouth, and also Chester, otherwise called Plegimundham: but how (to saie truth) or where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuerthelesse sith Leland noteth them together, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

**Mount Iland.**

From hence the next Ile is called Mount Iland, otherwise Mowtland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well néere thrée miles in compasse. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there: notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yeere, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath also a fresh well comming out of the rocks, which is worthie to be noted in so small a compasse of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the créeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Loow, as some call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betweene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine Promontorie) is such another named the Gréeffe, wherein is great store of gullles & sea foule. As for Inis Prynin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from Lizards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Newltjn is not far distant, and wherein is a poore fisher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pendent in the point of Falmouth hauen) we came at last to saint Michaels mount, whereof I find this description readie to my hand in Leland.

**S. Nicholas Iland.**

**Gréeffe.**

**Inis Prynin.**

**S. Michaels mount.**

The compasse of the root of the mount of saint Michael is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the south part is pasturable and bréedeth conies, the residue high and rockie soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from halfe eb to halfe floud, the entrance beginning at the foot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and greeces westward, first; and then eastward to the vtter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chapell of S. Michaell, and in the east side another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on foot. On the north northwest side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Pensardz are seene at the lowe water marke, diuers roots and stubs of trées, beside hewen stone, sometimes of doores & windowes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie beene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt water doth now rule and beare the maisterie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Mowshole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Mowshole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Port Enis, that is, Portus insulæ, whereof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes néere vnto the same there hath beene found of late, speare heds, battell axes, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and scarselie hurt with rust or other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but chéefelie betwéene Mowshole and Pensardz.

**S. Clements Ile.**

**Sylley Iles or Syl.**

Hauing thus passed ouer verie neere all such Iles, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Iardsey) and carrieth vs yet more westerlie among the flats of Sylley. Such force dooth the southeast wind often shewe vpon poore trauelers in those parts, as the south and southwest dooth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skilfull of our rodes and harborowes. Howbeit such was our successe in this voiage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Athelstane, when he subdued them (and soone after bulded a colledge of preests at S. Buriën, in performance of his vow made when he enterprised this voiage for his safe returne) nor anie tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Perusing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Syllane Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twentie English miles, as some men doo account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundreth fortie seauen in sight, whereof each one is greater or lesse than other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatnesse and commodities excéed all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the midst of them, which is not without perill to such as with small aduisement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name or to describe all these one hundreth fourtie seauen, according to their estate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Woolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthie to haue anie time spent about their particular descriptions, I will onelie touch the greatest, and those that lie together (as I said) in maner of a roundle.

**S. Maries Ile.**

The first and greatest of these therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about fiue miles ouer, or nine miles in compasse. Therein also is a parish-church, and a poore towne belonging thereto, of threescore houtholds, beside a castell, plentie of corne, conies,

Agnus Ile.	<p>wild swans, puffens, guller, cranes, &amp; other kinds of foule in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we sailed southwards by the Norman rocke, and S. Maries sound vnto Agnus Ile, which is six miles ouer, and hath in like sort one towne or parish within the same of fiue or six houtholds, beside no small store of hogs &amp; conies of sundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long since this Ile was left desolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feast holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drowned, and not one person left aliue. There are also two other small Ilands, betwéene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing worthie relation: for as both of them ioind together are not comparable to the said Annot for greatnesse and circuit, so they want both hogs and conies, wherof Annot hath great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwisand, from whence we passe by the Smithy sound (leauing thrée little Ilands on the left hand, vnto the Suartigan Iland, then to Rousuiar, Rousuiar, and the Cregwin, which seauen are (for the most part) replenished with conies onelie, and wild garlike, but void of wood &amp; other commodities, sauing of a short kind of grasse, or here &amp; there some firzes wheron their conies doo féed.</p>	Annot.	<p>Minwisand. Smithy sound. Suartigan. Rousuiar. Rousuiar. Cregwin.</p>
<p>Moncarthat. Inis Welseck. Suethiall. Rat Iland.</p>	<p>Leauing therefore these desert peeces, we incline a little toward the northwest, where we stumble or run vpon Moncarthat, Inis Welseck, &amp; Suethiall. We came in like sort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are so manie monstrous rats, that if anie horsse, or other beasts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are sure to be deuoured &amp; eaten vp, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreouer the Anwall and the Brier, Ilands in like sort void of all good furniture, conies onelie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, castell, and parish-church) bringeth foorth no lesse store of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.</p>	Anwall. Brier.	
<p>Rusco. Inis widdō.</p>	<p>By north of the Brier, lieth the Rusco, which hath a Labell or Byland stretching out toward the southwest, called Inis widdon. This Rusco is verie neere so great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, and a parish within it, beside great store of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Next</p>		
<p>Round Iland. S. Lides. Notho. Auing.</p>	<p>vnto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherein is a parish-church dedicated to that Saint, beside conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later there is some indifferent store) the Notho, the Auing, (one of them being situat by south of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which</p>		
Tyan.	<p>is a iust halfe lesse than the Notho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furnished with a parish-church, and no small plentie of conies as I heare. After the</p>		
S. Martines.	<p>Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it selfe being next vnto the Rusco for greatnesse, and verie well furnished with conies &amp; fresh springs. Also betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, smaller, which reach out of the northeast into the southwest, as Knolworth, Sniulliuier, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iland, Guiniliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whose estates are diuers: howbeit as no one of these is to be accounted great in comparison of the other, so they all yéeld a short grasse méet for sheepe and conies, as doo also the rest. In the greater Iles likewise (whose names are commonlie such as those of the townes or churches standing in the same) there are (as I here) sundry lakes, and those neuer without great plentie of wild foule, so that the Iles of Sylley, are supposed to be no lesse beneficiall to their lords, than anie other whatsoever, within the compasse of our Ile, or neere vnto our coasts. In some of them also are wild swine. And as these Iles are supposed to be a notable safegard to the coast of Cornwall, so in diuerse of them great store of tin is likewise to be found. There is in like maner such plentie of fish taken among these same, that beside the feeding of their swine withall, a man shall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten grotes. Howbeit their cheefe commoditie is made by Keigh, which they drie, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Britaine, where they exchange it there, for salt, canuas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they doo stand in need of. A like trade haue some of them also, with Buckhorne or dried whiting, as I heare. But sith the author of this report did not flatlie auouch it, I passe ouer that fish as not in season at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richest and most wealthie Iles of Sylley, from whence we must direct our course eastwards, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe vnto the west point of Wales, continuing still our voiage along vpon the west coast of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey wherreat the kingdomes part, &amp; from which foorth on we must touch such Ilands as lie vpon the west and north shore, till we be come againe vnto the Scottish sea, and to our owne dominions.</p>	<p>Knolworth. Sniulliuier. Menwethā. Vollis. 1. Surwihe. Vollis. 2. Arthurs Ile. Guiniliuer. Nenech. Gothrois.</p>	
<p>Wild swine in Sylley.</p>	<p>From the point of Cornwall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (so called, as some thinke, bicause Helenus the son of Priamus who arriued here with Brute lieth buried there, except the sea haue washed awaie his sepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Ilands at all that I doo know or heare of, but one litle Byland, Cape or Peninsula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet sith I haue spoken of it, you shall vnderstand, that it is called Pendinas, and beside that the compasse thereof is not aboue a mile, this is to be remembered farder thereof, how there standeth a Pharos or light therein, for ships which saile by those coasts in the night. There is also at the verie point of the said Pendinas, a chappell of saint Nicholas, beside the church of saint Ia, an Irish woman saint. It belonged of late</p>	Helenus. Priamus.	Pendinas.

to the Lord Brooke, but now (as I gesse) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is also a blockhouse, and a péere in the eastside thereof, but the péere is sore choked with sand, as is the whole shore furthermore from S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, insomuch that the greatest part of this Byland is now couered with sands, which the sea casteth vp, and this calamitie hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants doo affirme.

There are also two rocks neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common sort doo repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one desirous to note all, I thinke it not best that these should be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes béeing in déed parcels of ground and low soiles fit for little else than to beare grasse for cattell, whereof they take those names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all such places. Of these also Stepholme lieth south of the Flatholme, about foure or fiue miles; the first also a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they doo seeme to be the broadest.

It should séeme by some that they are not worthie to be placed among Ilands: yet othersome are of opinion, that they are not altogether so base, as to be reputed amongst flats or rocks: but whatsoever they be, this is sure, that they oft annoie such passengers and merchants as passe and repasse vpon that riuier. Neither doo I read of any other Iles which lie by east of these, saue onelie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a flight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the side, wherevnto if a man doo laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellowes, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compasse, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

**Barri.**  
Barri is a flight shot from the shore.

**Dunwen.** Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henrosser, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire mils, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnited to the maine within a short season. Beyond these and toward the coast of southwales lie two other Ilands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish-church with a spire steeple, and a pretie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of one Daud in Wales. Leland supposeth the ruines that are found therein to haue béene of an old priorie sometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monasterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto weife, distresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little aboue sixteene miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldée, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Deuonshire. Moreouer in this Iland is great plentie of sheepe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage; likewise much Sampere vpon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrels. And albeit that there be not scarslie fourtie houtholds in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie prouided) may kéepe off thousands of their enimies, bicause it is not possible for anie aduersaries to assaile them, but onelie at one place, and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voiage also we met with two other Ilands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Rat Ile; the first is but a little plot lieng at the point of the Baie, before we come at the Blockehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford hauen vpon the eastside. By north also of Shepes Ile, and betwéene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie midst of the hauen, at another point is Rat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the lesse lie northwest of Milford hauen a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, bicause they be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile ioineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Milford hauen. Beside these also we found the Bateholme, Stockeholme, Midland, and Gresholme Iles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Baie, where we saw saint Brides Iland, and another in the Sound betwéene Ramsey and the point, of all which Iles and such rocks as are offensive to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

**Caldee.**

**Londy.**

**Schalmey.**

**Schoncold.**

**Limen or Ramsey.**

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is situat ouer against S. Dauds in Wales (wherevnto we must néeds come, after we be past another little one, which some men doo call Gresholme) & lieth directlie west of Schalmey. In a late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I cannot learne more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (sithens I described the Holmes) and for temporall iurisdiction a member of Penbrookeshire, as it is vnto S. Dauds for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of

England lib. 8. saith that it contained thrée Ilets, whereof the bishop of S. Davids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Davids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Cairmarden dooth the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for sheepe and horses, but not for other horned beasts which lacke their vpper téeth by nature (whose substance is conuerted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore cannot bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shoot ouer, and enuironed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herings.

Mawr.

After this, procéeding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countrie leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leauing the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Iles, which doo lie vpon the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distant (as we gessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost worthie to be remembred. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie parishioners, except they be shéepe and conies. The quantitie thereof also is not much aboue six acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, Myrach, or Mererosse, situat in maner betwixt Tudfall or Tuidall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for horssees, wherof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren, a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Bardsey an Iland lieng ouer against Periuinckle the southwest point or promontorie of Northwales (where Merlin Syluestris lieth buried) and whither the rest of the monks of Bangor did flie to saue themselues, when 2100. of their fellowes were slaine by the Saxon princes in the quarell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester raced to the ground, and not since reedified againe to anie purpose. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein also is a parish-church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the northeast, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod, a notable rocke situat ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some towne or village. Certes we could not well discerne whether of both it was, bicause the wind blew hard at southwest, the morning was mistie, and our mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, hasted awaie vnto Anglesei, whither we went a pace with a readie wind euen at our owne desire.

Tudfall.

Penthlin.

Gwelyn.

Anglesei cut from Wales by working of the sea.

This Iland (which Tacitus mistaketh no doubt for Mona Cæsaris, and so dooth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is situat about two miles from the shore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius gesseth that it was in time past ioined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and onelie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peradventure was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant or practise of some king that reigned there. Thereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constreind at the first to make a bridge ouer into the same, till the breach waxed so great, that no such passage could anie longer be mainteined. But as these things doo either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile: so (in comming to my matter) Anglesei is found to be full so great as the Wight, and nothing inferiour, but rather surmounting it, as that also which Cæsar calleth Mona in fruitfulness of soile by manie an hundred fold. In old time it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their prouision of corne. In like maner the Welshmen themselues called it the mother of their countrie, for giuing their minds wholie to pasturage, as the most easie and lesse chargeable trade, they vtterlie neglected tillage, as men that leaned onelie to the fertilitie of this Iland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus saith that the Ile of Anglesei was no lesse sufficient to minister graine for the sustentation of all the men of Wales, than the mountaines called Ereri or Snowdoni in Northwales were to yeeld plentie of pasture for all the cattell whatsoever within the aforesaid compasse, if they were brought together and left vpon the same. It contained moreouer so manie townes welnéere, as there be daies in a yeare, which some conuerting into Cantreds haue accompted but for three, as Gyraldus saith. Howbeit as there haue bene I say 363. townes in Anglesei, so now a great part of that reckoning is vtterlie shroonke, and so far gone to decaie, that the verie ruines of them are vnneath to be séene & discerned: and yet it séemeth to be méetlie well inhabited. Leland noting the smalnesse of our hundreds in comparison to that they were in time past, addeth (so far as I remember) that there are six of them in Anglesei, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaithin: herevnto Lhoid saith also how it belonged in old time vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or Northwales, and that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the southwestside of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held euermore their palaces, whereby it came to passe, that the kings of Northwales were for a long time called kings of Aberfraw, as the Welshmen named the kings of England kings of London, till better instruction did bring them farther knowledge.

Anglesei.

There are in Anglesei many townes and villages, whose names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto: wherefore I will content my selfe with the rehearsall of so many as we viewed in sailing about the coasts, and otherwise heard report of by such as I haue talked withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which riseth at

northeast about Gefni or Geuenni, 20. miles at the least into the land) we passed first by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port-Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby runneth a rill into a creeke) Cornew, Holihed (standing in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter stand as it were in a nuke betweene the Geuenni water, and the Fraw, wherevpon Aberfraw is situate. Within the Iland we heard onelie of Gefni afore mentioned, of Cristial standing vpon the same water, of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy and Bodedrin, but of all these the cheefe is now Beaumarais, which was builded sometime by king Edward the first, and therewithall a strong castell about the yeare 1295. to keepe that land in quiet. There are also as Leland saith 31. parish-churches beside 69. chappels, that is, a hundreth in all. But héerof I can saie little, for lacke of iust instruction. In time past, the people of this Ile vsed not to seuerall their grounds, but now they dig stonie hillocks, and with the stones thereof they make rude walles, much like to those of Deuonshire, sith they want hedge bote, fire bote, and house bote, or (to saie at one word) timber, bushes and trees. As for wine, it is so plentiful and good cheape there most commonlie as in London, through the great recourse of merchants from France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforesaid Iland. The flesh likewise of such cattell as is bred there, wherof we haue store yearelie brought vnto Cole faire in Essex is most delicate, by reason of their excellent pasture, and so much was it esteemed by the Romans in time past, that Columella did not onelie commend and preferre them before those of Liguria, but the emperours themselues being neere hand also caused their prouision to be made for nete out of Anglesei, to feed vpon at their owne tables as the most excellent beefe. It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to meane the Ile of Englismen, bicause they wan it in the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle of Chester, and Hugh of Shrewesburie. Howbeit they recouered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when they spoiled the cite of Glocester, ransacked Shrewesburie, and returned home with great bootie and pillage, in which voiage also they were holpen greatlie by the Irishmen, who after threé yeares ioined with them againe, and slue the earle of Shrewesburie (which then liued) with great crueltie. The Welshmen call it Tiremone and Mon, and herein likewise is a promontorie or Byland, called Holie head (which hath in time past beene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke that dwelled there) from whence the readiest passage is commonlie had out of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of which Ile I will not speake at this time, least I shuld bereaue another of that trauell. Yet Plinie saith, lib. 4. cap. 16. that it lieth not farre off from and ouer against the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the west coast of our Iland, and euen so farre as Dunbritton, and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons named it Enylsnach, or holie Ile, of the number of carcasses of holie men, which they affirme to haue beene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little, wherein women had offended, that they might not come thither, or at the least wise returne from thence without some notable reproch or shame vnto their bodies. By south also of Hilarie point, somewhat inclining toward the east, lieth Inis Lygod, a small thing (God wot) and therefore not worthie great remembrance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing else inforced the memoriall thereof, but onelie the number and certeine tale of such Iles as lie about our Iland. I might also speake of the Ile Mail Ronyad, which lieth north west of Anglesei by sixe miles; but bicause the true name hereof, as of manie riuers and streames are to me vnknowne, I am the more willing to passe them ouer in silence, least I should be noted to be farther corrupter of such words as I haue no skill to deliuer and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude with the description of the whole Iland, this I will ad moreouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are the best milstones of white, red, blew, and gréene gréets, (especiallie in Tindaithin) so there is great gaines to be gotten by fishing round about this Ile, if the people there could vse the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for temporall regiment, it apperteineth to the countie of Cairnarvon, so in spirituall cases it belongeth to the bishoprike of Bangor. This is finallie to be noted of Anglesei, that sundrie earthen pots are often found there of dead mens bones conuerted into ashes, set with the mouthes downward contrarie to the vse of other nations, which turned the brims vpwards, whereof let this suffice.

Holie head,  
or Cair kiby.

Enylsnach,  
holie Ile.

Ancient  
buriall.

Adar.  
Moil.  
Rhomaid.  
Ysterisd.  
Adros.  
Lygod.

Haung thus described Anglesei, it resteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuit about the same, we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth northwest thereof almost ouer against Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that passeth by Butricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to say, the Ile of birds in old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is the Ile of porpasses. It hath to name likewise Ysterisd, and Adros. Being past this, we came to the second lieng by north east, ouer against the Hilarie point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to saie, the Ile of Mise, and of these two this latter is the smallest, neither of them both being of any greatnesse to speake of. Ynis Seriall or Prestholme, lieth ouer against Penmon, or the point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne (as I told you) of the same denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland, whereof I maruell. It is parcell of Flintshire, and of the iurisdiction of S. Asaph, and in fertilitie of soile, and breed of cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Anglesei hir mother: although that for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie short thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The last Iland vpon the cost of Wales, haung now left Anglesei, is called Credine, and although it lie not properlie within the compasse of my description, yet I will not let

Seriall.  
Prestholme.

Credine.



to touch it by the waie, sith the causey thither from Denbighland, is commonlie ouerflowne. It is partlie made an Iland by the Conwey, and partlie by the sea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we passed foorth to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or thrée miles compasse or more, a sandie soile, but yet verie batable for sheepe and cattell, it is well replenished also with fresh wels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie stone, which is oft brought thence to Westchester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are also two parish churches in the same, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, bicause they be so oft spoiled by pirats, although the lord of the same be verie wealthie thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good peniworths, as théeues commonlie doo of such preies as they get by like escheat, notwithstanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onelie at one place. Howbeit they are constreined to vse it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came to the cape of Ile Brée, or Hilberie, and point of Wyrle, from whence is a common passage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. houres sailing, if the wether be not tedious. This Iland at the full sea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the streame betwéene foure fadams déepe, as ship-boies haue oft sounded, but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the sand. The Ile of it selfe is verie sandie a mile in compasse, and well stored with conies, thither also went a sort of supersticious fooles in times past, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whose offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Chester, was cherished and mainteined.

Hilberie.

The next Iland vpon the coast of England is Man or Mona Cæsaris, which some name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monaoida, as some thinke, though other ascribe that name to Anglesei, which the Welshmen doo commonlie call Môn, as they doo this Manaw. It is supposed to be the first, as Hirtha is the last of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betwéene them of 300. miles. But Plinie saith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, lib. 2. cap. 75. It lieth also vnder 53. degrés of latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minuts, abutting on the north side vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furnesfels on the east, Prestholme and Anglesei on the south, and Vlster in Ireland on the west. It is greater than Anglesei by a third, and there are two riuers in the same, whose heads doo ioine so néere, that they doo seeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Ethicus, &c: call it Eubonia, and other following Orosius, Meuana or Mæuania, howbeit after Beda and the Scottish histories, the Meuanix are all those Iles aforesaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmesburie, lib. 1. de regibus (beside this our Mona) will haue Anglesei also to be one. Wherefore it séemeth hereby that a number of our late writers ascribing the said name vnto Mona onelie, haue not beene a little deceiued. Iornandes lib. de Getis speaketh of a second Meuania; "Habet & aliam Meuaniam (saith he) necnon & Orchadas." But which should be prima, as yet I do not read, except it should be Anglesei; and then saith Malmesburie well. In like sort Propertius speaketh of a Meuania, which he called Nebulosa, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Vmbria where he was borne, lib. 4. eleg. De vrbe Rom. Wherefore there néedeth no vse of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euident out of Orosius, lib. 1. capite 2. that Scots dwelled sometime in this Ile, as also in Ireland, which Ethicus also affirmeth of his owne time, and finallie confirmeth that the Scots and Irish were sometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in bredth, and is in maner of like distance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

Eubonia.  
Meuania.

In this Iland also were some time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the west halfe, and the rest in the other. But now through ioining house to house & land to land (a common plague and canker, which will eat vp all, if prouision be not made in time to withstand this mischéefe) that number is halfe diminished, and yet many of the rich inhabitors want roome, and wote not how and where to bestowe themselues, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reason that men were greater in bodie, than they haue béene in time past, but onelie for that their insatiable desire of enlarging their priuate possessions increaseth still vpon them, and will doo more, except they be restrained: but to returne to our purpose. It was once spoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelstane, chéeflie by Anlafus in his flight from the bloudie battell, wherein Constantine king of Scotland was ouercome: secondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the possession of the English, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Iland vnder their dominion, almost from their first arriuall in this Iland, and as Beda saith till Edwine king of the Northumbers wan it from them, and vnited it to his kingdome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots gat the possession thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwaies wan it from them, who also kept it (but with much trouble) almost 370. yeares vnder the gouernance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwaie inuested vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recouered it from them, with all the rest of those Iles that lie vpon the west coast, called also Sodorenses in the daies of Magnus king of Norwaie. And sithens that time the Scottish princes haue not ceased to giue lawes to such as dwelled there, but also from time to time appointed such bishops as should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in the same, till it was won from them by our princes, and so vnited vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how

Chronica

*Tinemuthi.*

after sundrie sales bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that William Scroope the kings Vicechamberleine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the ancestours of the earles of Darbie, who haue béene commonlie said to be kings of Man, the discourse folowing shall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betwéene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a comprmise the triall of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of such venemous wormes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like doo in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he reteined the Iland. But howsoever this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale vndoo manie, and for the lesse a fewer or smaller number. The stature of the men and also fertilitie of this Iland are much commended, and for the latter supposed verie néere to be equal with that of Anglesei, in all commodities.

**Tall men in Man.**

There are also these townes therein, as they come now to my remembrance, Rushen, Dungleasse, Holme towne, S. Brides, Bala cury (the bishops house) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk Christ, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S. Anne, Pala sala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu, and Home. But of all these Rushen with the castell is the strongest. It is also in recompense of the common want of wood, indued with sundrie pretie waters, as first of al the Burne rising in the northside of Warehill botoms, and branching out by southwest of kirk S. An, it séemeth to cut off a great part of the eastside thereof, from the residue of that Iland. From those hils also (but of the south halfe) commeth the Holme and Holmey, by a towne of the same name, in the verie mouth whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue also the Bala passing by Bala cury, on the westside, and the Rame on the north, whose fall is named Ramesei hauen, as I doo read in Chronicles.

**Riuers.**

There are moreouer sundrie great hils therein, as that wherevpon S. Mathees standeth, in the northeast part of the Ile, a parcell whereof commeth flat south, betwéene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yéelding out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I spake before. Beside these and well toward the south part of the Ile, I find the Warehils, which are extended almost from the west coast ouertwhart vnto the Burne streame. It hath also sundrie hauens, as Ramsey hauen, by north Laxam hauen, by east Port Iris, by southwest Port Home, and Port Michell, by west. In like sort there are diuers Ilets annexed to the same, as the Calfe of man on the south, the Pile on the west, and finallie S. Michels Ile in the gulfe called Ranoths waie in the east. Moreouer the sheepe of this countrie are excéeding huge, well woolled, and their tailles of such greatnesse as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in maner monstrous. They haue furthermore great store of barnacles bréeding vpon their coasts, but yet not so great store as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of old ships, ores, masts, peeces of rotten timber as they saie, and such putrified pitched stuffe, as by wrecke hath happened to corrupt vpon that shore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie saie whether they be fish or flesh, for although the religious there vsed to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere, some haue beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited for heretikes and lollards.

**Hilles.**

**Hauens.**

**Sheepe.**

**Hogs.**

**Calfe of man. The pile. S. Michels Ile.**

**Barnacles.**

**Barnacles neither fish nor flesh.**

For my part, I haue béene verie desirous to vnderstand the vttermost of the bréeding of barnacls, & questioned with diuers persons about the same. I haue red also whatsoeuer is written by forren authors touching the generation of that foule, & sought out some places where I haue béene assured to see great numbers of them: but in vaine. Wherefore I vtterlie despaired to obteine my purpose, till this present yeare of Grace 1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court at Gréenewich from London by bote, I saw sundrie ships lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I doo not well remember now from which of these places) on whose sides I perceiued an infinit sort of shells to hang so thicke as could be one by another. Drawing néere also, I tooke off ten or twelue of the greatest of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the rest, sauing that the head was not yet formed, bicause the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection. Certainelie the feathers of the taile hoeng out of the shell at least two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme) were garded with two shels or shéeldes proportioned like the selfe wings, and likewise the brestbone had hir couerture also of like shellie substance, and altogither resembling the figure which Lobell and Pena doo giue foorth in their description of this foule: so that I am now fullie persuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in these shels, or some other sea-foule to vs as yet vnknown. For by the feathers appearing and forme so apparant, it cannot be denied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this substance, which by falling from the sides of the ships in long voiajes, may come to some perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpose.

**Bishop of Man.**

There hath sometime beene, and yet is a bishop of this Ile, who at the first was called Episcopus Sodorensis, when the iurisdiction of all the Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he that is bishop there, is but a bishops shadow, for albeit that he beare the name of bishop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it is supposed, the cheefe profit of his sée (sauing that they allow him a little somewhat for a flourish) notwithstanding that they be his patrons, and haue his nomination vnto that liuing. The first bishop of this Ile was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and surnamed Monachus Sauinensis, who by reason of his extreame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Ilanders, had first his sight taken from him, & then was sent into exile. After him succéded another moonke in king Stephens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, &c: other after other in succession, the sée it selfe being now also subiect to the archbishop of Yorke for spirituall iurisdiction. In time of Henrie the second, this Iland also had a king, whose name was Cuthred, vnto whome Vinianus the cardinall came as legate 1177. and wherin Houeden erreth not. In the yeare also 1228. one Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward murdered by his subiects. Then Olauus, after him Hosbach the sonne of Osmond Hacon, 1290. who being slaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of Sodora, in such wise, that this had all the rest of the Iles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the first; but after the slaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after whom Olauus his sonne succeeded. Then Harald sonne to Olauus, who being entered in Maie, and drowned vpon the coastes of Ireland, his brother Reginald reigned twentie and seuen daies, and then was killed the first of June, whereby Olauus aliàs Harald sonne to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Next vnto him succéded Magnus the second sonne of Olauus, and last of all Iuarus, who held it so long as the Norwaies were lords thereof. But being once come into the hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made lieutenant, then Alane, thirddie Maurice Okarefer, and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would gladlie haue set downe the whole catalog of all the viceroyes and lieutenants: but sith I can neither come by their names nor successions, I surcesse to speake any more of them, and also of the Ile it selfe, whereof this may suffice.

**Patrone of Man.**

**King of Man.**

**Wauay.**

After we haue in this wise described the Ile of Man, with hir commodities, we returned eastwards backe againe unto the point of Ramshed, where we found to the number of six Ilets of one sort and other, whereof the first greatest and most southwesterlie, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we gessed, about fiue miles and more from the southeast into the northwest, betwéene which and the maine land lie two little ones, whose names are Oldborrow and Fowlney. The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being situate southeast of the first, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouse therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra. By east thereof in like sort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compasse, and yet of all these six, the first and Fouldra are the fairest and most fruitfull. From hence we went by Rauenglasse point, where lieth an Iland of the same denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finished, nor likelie to be published. He noteth also two other Ilets, betwéene the same and the maine land; but Leland speaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet set forth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our shore in this part of my voiage.

**Fouldra.**

**Fola. Roa.**

**Rauenglasse.**

**Iles in Scotland.**

Hauing so exactlie as to me is possible, set downe the names and positions of such Iles, as are to be found vpon the coast of the Quéenes Maiesties dominions, now it resteth that we procéed orderlie with those that are séene to lie vpon the coast of Scotland, that is to saie, in the Irish, the Deucalidonian & the Germans seas, which I will performe in such order as I may, sith I cannot do so much therin as I would. Some therefore doo comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coast of this Ile now called Scotland into thrée parts, sauing that they are either occidentals, the west Iles, aliàs the Orchades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the first betwéene Ireland and the Orchades, so that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almost vnto the Orchades in the Deucalidonian sea, and after some are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers indéed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Acmodes; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, some speaking of 30 Hebudes and seuen Hemodes; some of fiue Ebudes, as Solinus, and such as follow his authoritie. Howbeit the late Scottish writers doo product a summe of more than 300 of these Ilands in all, which sometime belonged to the Scots, sometime to the Norwegians, and sometime to the Danes. The first of these is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Alisa a desert Ile, yet replenished with conies, soland foule, and a fit harbor for fishermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coast thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie soile, yet verie plentifull of fish all about the coast, and wherein is a verie good hauen: ouer against the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is also no small defence to such seafaring men as seeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no lesse fruitfull and stored with conies than the Bota, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good store of short and indifferent pasture: it hath also a towne there called Rosse, and a castell named the Camps. There is also another called the Marnech, an Iland of a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground also but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewise of the Glot, lieth the more Cumber and the lesse, not farre in sunder one from another, and

**Hemodes of some called Acmodes, sée Plinie, Mela, Martianus, Capella, Plutarch. de defect. orac.**

both fruitfull enough the one for corne, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Iland lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ships, wherof it is called Auon, that is to saie, Portuosa, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time past great vse of it. Then haue we the Raclind, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gegaw six miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of déere, and not otherwise vnfruitfull: and therefore some thinke that it was called the Ile of déere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereinto the sea betwéene that and the Ile of déere is so swift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not easilie nauigable. Being past these, we come to certeine Ilands of no great fame, which lie scattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyrastell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the thrée Yarues, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belnaua, Wikerua, Calfile, Luing, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the last thrée are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, so called of the tiles that are made therin. The Nagsey, Isdalf, and the Sken (which later is also called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much vnlike the lillie, sauing that it is of a more wan and féeble colour) Vderga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile and Triarach. There is also the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile aliàs idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Lismor, wherein the bishop of Argill sometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without some mines also of good mettall. There is also the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Trect, Shepey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Gresse, great Ile, Ardis, Musadell, & Berner, sometime called the holie sanctuarie, Vghe Ile, Molochasgyr, and Drinacha, now ouergrowne with bushes, elders, and vtterlie spoiled by the ruines of such great houses as haue heretofore béene found therin. There is in like sort the Wijc, the Ranse, and the Caruer.

In this tract also, there are yet thrée to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the first is one of the most, that hath not béene least accounted of. It is not much about 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the south into the north, and yet it is an excéeding rich plot of ground verie plentious of corne, cattell, déere, and also lead, and other mettals, which were easie to be obtained, if either the people were industrious, or the soile yéeldable of wood to fine and trie out the same. In this Iland also there is a lake of swéet water called the Laie, and also a baie wherein are sundrie Ilands; and therevnto another lake of fresh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is situate, wherein the souereigne of all the Iles sometime dwelled. Néere vnto this is the round Ile, so called of the consultations there had: for there was a court sometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did minister iustice vnto the rest, and had the whole disposition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of those Ilands. There is also the Stoneheape, an other Iland so called of the heape of stones that is therein. On the south side also of Ila, we find moreouer the Colurne, Mulmor, Osrin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imergsa, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naosig, Rinard, Cane, Tharscher, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Johns Ile, and Stackbed. On the west side thereof also lieth Ouersey, whereby runneth a perilous sea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vsabrast, Tanask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Colauanso.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and so manie in bredth, rough of soile, yet fruitfull enough: beside woods, déere, & good harbrough for ships, replenished with diuers and sundrie townes and castels. Ouer against Columkill also, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great store of salmons, and other riuelllets now altogether vnfruitfull, beside two lakes, in each of which is an Iland: and likewise in euerie of these Ilands a castell. The sea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable baies wherein great plentie and verie good herrings are taken. It hath also in the northwest side Columbria, or the Ile of doues; on the southeast, Era: both verie commodious for fishing, cattell, and corne. Moreouer, this is woorth the noting in this Ile aboute all the rest, that it hath a plesant spring, arising two miles in distance from the shore, wherein are certeine little eggs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and brightnesse, and thereto full of thicke humour, which eggs being carried by violence of the fresh water vnto the salt, are there within the space of twelue houres conuerted into great shels, which I take to be mother perle; except I be deceiued.

Iona was sometime called Columkill, in fame and estimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it excéed little aboute two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitfull of all such commodities, as that climat wherein it standeth dooth yeeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue spoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were sometimes also two monasteries therein, one of monks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a parish church, beside many chappels builded by the Scottish kings, and such princes as gouerned in the Iles. And when the English had once gotten possession of the Ile of Manaw, a bishops see was erected in the old monasterie of Columbus, whereby the iurisdiction of those Iles was still mainteined and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Iland the old burials appertaining to the most noble families that had dwelled in the west Iles; but thrée aboute other are accompted the most notable, which haue little houses builded vpon them. That in the midst hath a stone, whereon is written, Tumuli regum Scotiæ, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they saie) fourtie eight of them were

there interred. Another is intituled with these words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, because foure of them lie in that place. The third hath these words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Norwaie, for there eight of them were buried also, and all through a fond suspicion conceiued of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in processe of time, when Malcolme Cammor had erected his abbeie at Donfermeling, he gaue occasion to manie of his successors to be interred there.

**The Ile of Shrewes.**

About this Iland there lie six other Iles dispersed, small in quantitie, but not altogether barren, sometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Iles vnto the abbeie of saint Columbus, of which the Soa, albeit that it yeeld plentient pasturage for shéepe, yet is it more commodious, by such eggs as the great plentie of wildfoule there bréeding doo laie within the same. Then is there the Ile of Shrewes or of women; as the more sober heads doo call it. Also Rudan, & next vnto that, the Rering. There is also the Shen halfe a mile from Mula, whose bankes doo swarme with conies: it hath also a parish church, but most of the inhabitants doo liue and dwell in Mula. There is also the Eorse or the Arse, and all these belong vnto saint Columbus abbeie. Two miles from Arse is the Olue, an Iland fiue miles in length, and sufficientlie stored with corne and grasse, & not without a good hauen for ships to lie and harbor in. There is also the Colfans, an iland fruitfull inough, and full of cornell trées. There is not far off also the Gomater, Stafa, the two Kerneburgs, and the Mosse Ile, in the old Brittish speech called Monad, that is to saie Mosse. The soile of it is verie blacke, because of the corruption & putrefaction of such woods as haue rotted thereon: wherevpon also no small plentie of mosse is bred and ingendered. The people in like maner make their fire of the said earth, which is fullie so good as our English turffe. There is also the Long, & six miles further toward the west, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and thrée in breadth, & of all other one of the most plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fish, and seafowle abundantlie. It hath also a well of fresh water, a castell, and a verie good hauen for great vessels to lie at safegard in. Two miles from this also is the Gun, and the Coll two miles also from the Gun. Then passed we by the Calfe, a verie wooddie Iland, the foure gréene Iles, the two glasse or skie Ilands, the Ardan, the Ile of woolfes, & then the great Iland which reacheth from the east into the west, is sixteene miles in length, and six in breadth, full of mounteins and swelling woods: and for asmuch as it is not much inhabited, the seafoules laie great plentie of eggs there, whereof such as will, may gather what number them listeth. Vpon the high cliffes and rocks also the Soland géese are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles also is the Ile of horsse: and a little from that the hog Iland, which is not altogether vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of custome bréedeth there, and therevnto it is not without a conuenient hauen. Not farre off also is the Canna, and the Egga, little Iles, but the later full of Soland géese. Likewise the Sobratill, more apt to hunt in than méet for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

**Mosse Ile.**

**Skie.**

After this we came to the Skie, the greatest Ile about all Scotland: for it is two and fortie miles long; and somewhere eight, & in some places twelue miles broad: it is moreouer verie hillie, which hilles are therevnto loaden with great store of wood, as the woods are with pasture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (besides all other commodities) with no small heards of mares, whereby they raise great aduantage and commoditie. It hath fiue riuers verie much abounding with salmons, and other fresh streams not altogether void of that prouision. It is inuironed also with manie baies, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yéere. It hath also a noble poole of fresh water; fiue castels and sundrie townes; as Aie, S. Johns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certeine small Ilands about this also, as Rausa a batable soile for corne & gras; Conie Iland full of woods and conies; Paba a theeuish Iland, in whose woods théeues do lurke to rob such as passe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ships; Rarsa, full of béechen woods and stags, being in length seuen miles, and two in breadth. The Ron, a woodie Ile and full of heath: yet hath it a good hauen, which hath a little Iland called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie théeues. There is not farre off from this Ron, to wit about six miles also, the Flad, the Tiulmen, Oransa, Buie the lesse, and Buie the more and fiue other little trifling Iles, of whose names I haue no notice.

**Bar.**

After these we come vnto the Ise, a pretie fertile Iland, to the Oue, to the Askooome, to the Lindill. And foure score miles from the Skie towards the west, to the Ling, the Gigarmen, the Berner, the Magle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Vateras, which later hath a noble hauen for great ships, beside sundrie other commodities: and these nine last rehearsed are vnder the dominion of the bishop of the Iles. After this we come to the Bar, an Iland seauen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for grasse and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one baie of this Iland there lieth an Islet, and therein standeth a strong castell. In the north part hereof also is an hill which beareth good grasse from the foot to the top, and out of that riseth a spring, which running to the sea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfectlie formed, which some do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the shore where the water falleth into the sea, they take vp a kind of shelfish, when the water is gone, which they suppose to be ingendred or increased after this manner. Betwéene the Barre and the Visse lie

also these Ilands, Orbaus, Oue, Hakerset, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Haie, Helsaie, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Friskaie. The Visse is thirtie miles long and six miles broad; and therein are sundrie fresh waters, but one especiaillie of three miles in length: neuerthesse, the sea hath now of late found a waie into it, so that it cannot be kept off with a banke of three score foot, but now and then it will flowe into the same, and leaue sea-fish behind it in the lake. There is also a fish bred therein almost like vnto a salmon, sauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogether without scales: it is likewise a great harbour for théeues and pirats.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Helscher, appertinent to the nuns of Iona: then haue we the Hasker, verie plentifullie benefited by seales, which are there taken in time of the yéere. Thrée score miles from this also is the Hirth, whose inhabitants are rude in all good science and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitfull in all things, and bringeth fourth shéepe farre greater than are else-where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, sendeth ouer his bailiffe into the same at midsummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a préest to saie masse, and to baptise all the children borne since that time of the yéere precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (bicause the voiage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptise his owne at home. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried seales and sea foule. All the whole Ile is not aboue a mile euerie waie; and except thrée mounteines that lie vpon one part of the shore, such as dwell in the other Iles can see no part thereof.

**Baptisme without  
preests.**

Being past the Visse, we came after to Walaie, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner, Ensaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Hermodraie, Scarfe, Grie, Ling, Gilling, Heie, Hoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Ise, Sein the more, Sein the lesse, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Hareie, and the seauen holie Ilands, which are desert and bréed nothing but a kind of wild shéepe, which are often hunted, but seldome or neuer eaten. For in stéed of flesh they haue nothing but tallow; and if anie flesh be, it is so vnsaurie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I suppose, that these be the wild sheepe which will not be tamed; and bicause of the horrible grenning thereof, is taken for the bastard tiger. Their haire is betweene the wooll of a sheepe, and the haire of a goat, resembling both, shacked, and yet absolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be also the same beast which Capitolinus calleth Ouis fera, shewed in the time of Gordian the emperour; albeit that some take the same for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantise.

**Wild sheepe.**

**Tigers.**

There is also not farre off the Garuell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Kellas, the two Bernars, the Kirt, the two Buies, the Viraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is so called vpon some probable coniecture) for manie little sculs and bones are dailie there found déepe in the ground, perfectlie resembling the bodies of children; & not anie of greater quantities, wherby their coniecture (in their opinion) is the more likelie to be true. There is also the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Viccoll, Haueraie, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Tor Ile, Iffurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Swet; on whose east side is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a flight shoot in length, wherevnto meane ships do vse to runne for harbour with full saile when a tempest ouertaketh them, or the raging of the sea, in those parts do put them in danger of wrecke. Also we passed by the old castell Ile, which is a pretie and verie commodious plat for fish, foule, egges, corne, and pasture. There is also the Ile Eust or Eu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for théeues, as is also the Grinort; likewise the preests Ile, which is verie full of sea foule and good pasture. The Afull, the two Herbrerts, to wit, the greater and the lesse; and the Iles of Horses, and Mertaika: and these 8 lie ouer against the baie which is called the Lake Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Haraie, and the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one Iland of thrée score miles in length, and sixtéene in breadth, being distinguished by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that doo possesse those parts. The south part is called Haraie, and the whole situate in the Deucalidon sea, ouer against the Rosse, & called Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie pretie villages, as lake Erwijn, lake Vnsalsago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoie, Nois, S. Columbane, Radmach, &c. In like sort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, an other to S. Clement, beside a monasterie called Roadill. The soile also of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but they reape more profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither wolfe, fox, nor serpent séene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which also separate one part from the other. Likewise there be plentie of stags, but farre lesse in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Iland also is a riuier which greatlie aboundeth with salmons. That part also called Lewisa, which is the north half of the Ile is well inhabited toward the sea coasts, and hath riuers no lesse plentifull for salmon than the other halfe. There is also great store of herrings taken, whereof the fisher men doo raise great gaine and commoditie; and no lesse plentie of sheepe, which they doo not sheere, but plucke euerie yeere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of mosse, and the face thereof verie swart and blacke, for the space of a foot in depth, through the corruption of such woods as in time past haue rotted on the same. And therefore in time of the yeere they conuert it into turffe to burne, as néede shall serue; and in the

**Lewis called  
Thule by  
Tacitus, with  
no better  
authoritie  
than the  
Angleseie  
Mona.**

**Tithe  
whales.**

yéere after, hauing well doonged it in the meane time with slawke of the sea, they sowe barleie in the selfe places where the turffes grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and féed. Such plentie of whales also are taken in this coast, that the verie tithe hath béene knowne, in some one yéere, to amount vnto seauen and twentie whales of one greatnesse and other. This is notable also in this part of the Ile, that there is a great caue two yards déepe of water when the sea is gone, and not aboue foure when it is at the highest; ouer which great numbers doo sit of both sexes and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fish, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them also the more idle.

Being past this about sixtie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which some take for the last of the Hebrides, distant (as I said) about fortie miles from the Orchades, and one hundreth and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungisbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord also of the soile dooth limit their number of housholds, & hauing assigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and smaller sorts of cattell they shall spend and inioie for their owne prouision, they send the ouerplus yéerlie vnto him to Lewis. Their cheefe paiments consist of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, sowed vp in shéepes skins. Also of mutton and sea foule dried, that resteth ouer and aboue, which they themselues do spend. And if it happen that there be more people in the Iland than the lords booke or rate dooth come vnto, then they send also the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which means they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no vices from strange countries, neither know or heare of anie things doone else-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken also vpon their coasts, which are likewise replenished with seale, and porpasse, and those which are either so tame, or so fierce, that they abash not at the sight of such as looke vpon them, neither make they anie hast to flie out of their presence.

**Suilskraie.**

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles westward, there is another called Suilskraie, of a mile length, void of grasse, and without so much as heath growing vpon hir soile: yet are there manie cliffes and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke mosse, whereon innumerable sorts of foules do bréed and laie their eggs. Thither in like sort manie doo saile from Lewissa, to take them yoong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they also kill and drie in eight daies space, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie strange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke foule, which is little lesse than a goose; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the spring, to laie hir eggs and bring vp hir yoong, till they be able to shift for themselues, & then they get them awaie together to the sea, and come no more vntill that time of the yéere which next insueth. At the same season also they cast their fethers there, as it were answering tribute to nature for the vse of hir mossie soile: wherein it is woonderfull to sée, that those fethers haue no stalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are séene to couer their bodies as it were wooll or downe, till breeding time (I saie) wherein they be left starke naked.

**Colke foule.**

**Orchades.**

The Orchades (whose first inhabitants were the Scithians, which came from those Iles where the Gothes did inhabit, as some sparks yet remaining among them of that language doo declare) lie partlie in the Germaine, and partlie in the Calidon seas, ouer against the point of Dunghisbie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other saie thirtie & one, yet some saie thirtie thrée, as Orosius, but Plinie saith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the rest whereof héeretofore I haue made report, since we crossed ouer the mouth of the Solueie streame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of these Islands reteine much of their old sparing diets, and therevnto they are of goodlie stature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great strength, whitish colour, as men that féed most vpon fish; sith the cold is so extreame in those parts, that the ground bringeth forth but small store of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it séemeth that (in times past) some of these Ilands also haue béene well replenished with wood, but now they are without either trée or shrub, in stéed whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is suffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the soile of it selfe will not yéeld to bring forth trées & bushes. For what store of such hath béene in times past, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground doo yéeld sufficient triall. Otes they haue verie plentifullie, but greater store of barleie, wherof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and such idéed, as will verie readilie cause a stranger to ouershoot himselfe. Howbeit this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer so strong, & they themselues so vnmeasurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it shall not easilie be séene (saith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or mad man, dolt, or naturall foole, meet to weare a cockescombe.

**If he speake  
all in truth.**

This vnmeasurable drinking of theirs is confessed also by Buchanan, who noteth, that whensoever anie wine is brought vnto them from other soiles, they take their parts thereof aboundantlie. He addeth moreouer, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who first preached Christ vnto them) of farre greater quantitie than common boles are, and so great, that it may séeme to be reserued since the Lapithane banket, onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie bishop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp

quite at one draught; then they assure themselves of good lucke, and plenty after it. Neuertheless this excess is not often found in the common sort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugal; but in their priests, and such as are of the richer calling. They succour pirats also, and verie often exchange their vittels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to resist (their Ilands lieng so scattered) than for anie necessitie of such gains as they doo get by those men: for in truth, they thinke themselves to haue little need of other furniture than their owne soiles doo yeeld and offer vnto them. This is also to be read of the inhabitants of these Ilands, that ignorance of excess is vnto the most part of them in stéed of physicke; and labour and trauell a medicine for such few diseases as they are molested and incombred withall.

In like sort they want venomous beasts, chéefelie such as doo delight in hotter soile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their ewes also are so full of increase, that some doo vsuallie bring fourth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are such as bring fourth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gaine. As for wild and tame foules, they haue such plenty of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their soile, than a benefit to their tables: they haue also neat and goates, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and cheese: wherein, next vnto fish, the chéefe part of their sustenance dooth consist. There is also a bishop of the Orchades, who hath his see in Pomona the chéefe of all the Ilands, wherein also are two strong castels, and such hath béene the superstition of the people here, that there is almost no one of them, that hath not one church at the least dedicated to the mother of Christ. Finallie, there is little vse of physicke in these quarters, lesse store of éeles, and least of frogs. As for the horsse that are bred amongst them, they are commonlie not much greater than asses, and yet to labour and trauell, a man shall find verie few else-where, able to come neere, much lesse to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The seas about these Ilands are verie tempestuous, not onelie through strong winds, and the influences of the heauens and stars; but by the contrarie méetings and workings of the west ocean, which rageth so vehementlie in the streicts, that no vessell is able to passe in safetie amongst them. Some of these Ilands also are so small and low, that all the commoditie which is to be reaped by anie of them, is scarselie sufficient to susteine one or two men: and some of them so barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing else but mosse or bare shingle. Wherefore onelie thirtéene of them are inhabited and made account of, the rest being left vnto their sheepe and cattell. Of all these Ilands also Pomona is the greatest, and therefore called the continent, which conteineth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelue parish churches, and one towne which the Danes (sometime lords of that Iland) called Cracouia: but now it hight Kirkwa. There are also two pretie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the bishop: and also a beautifull church, and much building betweene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two townes, the one is called the kings and the other the bishops towne. All the whole Iland is full of cliffes and promontories, whereby no small number of baies and some hauens are producted.

Kirkwa.

There is also tin and lead to be found in six of these Iles, so good and plentifulle as anie where else in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathnesse, being separated from the same by the Pictish sea: wherein also lie certaine Ilands, as Stroma, foure miles from Cathnesse, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathnesse, is not reputed for anie of the Orchades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the first Ile of the Orchades, called south Rauals, which is sixtéene miles from Dunghilshie, aliàs Dunachishie, & that in two houres space, such is the swiftnesse of the sea in that tract. This Ile is fiue miles long, and hath a faire port called saint Margarets hauen. Then passe we by two desert Iles, which lie towards the east, wherein nothing is found but cattell: some call them the holmes, bicause they lie low, and are good for nothing but grasse. On the northside lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betweene the same & Pomona. From Bur, toward the west lie thrée Iles, Sun, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hoie and Vall, which some account for two, and other but for one; bicause that in March and September, the flats that lie betweene them, doo séeme to ioine them together, after the tide is gone. This neuertheless is certaine, that in this single or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the highest hilles are to be séene that are in all the Orchades. And as they lie eight miles from Rauals, so are they two miles from Pomona, & from saint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles, and on the north side of it lieth the Brainse, in a narrow streict, as Buchanan dooth remember. And these are the Iles which lie betweene Pomona and Cathnesse. As for the west side of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the sea, without either shelues, Ilands, or rocks appéering néere vnto it: but on the east side thereof Cobesa dooth in maner ouershadow it. Siapinsa also an Ile of six miles long, lieth within two miles of Cracouia, toward the east, on the west side of Pomona lieth the Rouse of six miles in length: and by east of that, the Eglise, wherin (as they saie) their patrone S. Magnus lieth interred. From hence southward lie the Vera, Gersa, and not far off the Vester (which is fourescore miles from Hethland) Papa & Stronza, which is also eightie miles from Hethland as is the Vester. In the middest also of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to saie, faire Ile, in old English, faire eie: and within sight so well of Hethland, as the Orchades (by reason of three



insuperable rocks which are apparant in the same) a verie poore Iland, and yet yearelie robbed of such commodities as it hath by such Flemish and English fishermen as passe by the coasts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fish for the prouision of their countries.

Next vnto this is the greatest of all the Hethlands, an Iland called the Maine, sixtie miles in length, and sixteene in bredth, full of rocks, and whose coasts are onelie inhabited, the innermost parts being left vnto the foules of the aire, bicause of the barrennesse and vnfruitfulnesse of the soile: yet of late some haue indeuoured to impeople it, but with no successe correspondent to their desire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their chéefe commoditie and yearelie gaine by fish, as aforetime. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in bredth, and so wild that it will suffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bred therein. Betwéene this Iland also and the Maine, are other smaller Ilands to be found, as the Ling, Orne, Big, and Sanferre. And from hense nine miles northward Vsta, twentie miles long, & six in bredth, plaine, pleasant, but inuironed with a swift and terrible sea. Betwéene this also and the Zeale, are the Vie, the Vre, and the Ling: also towards the west, the two Skeues, Chalseie, Nordwade, Brase, and Mowse, on the west side lie the west Skeies, Rottia, Papa the lesse, Wunned, Papa the more, Valla, Londra, Burra, Haura the more, Haura the lesse, & in maner so manie holmes dispersed heere and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call these the Shetland, and some the Shotland Iles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuision Zelandine, and toward the end of his first booke seemeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as doo the inhabitants of the Orchades: although not in so ciuill wise, nor in such large measure and abundance of diet in their houses. He addeth moreouer, that their apparrell is after the Germaine cut, comelie, but not so chargeable and costlie, and how they raise their gaine by skins of beasts, as marterns, sheepe, oxen, and gotes skins, and therevnto a kind of cloth which they weaue, and sell to the merchants of Norwaie, together with their butter, fish, either salted or dried, and their traine oile, and exercise their trade of fishing also in their vncerteine skewes, which they fetch out of Norwaie.

Their speech is Gothish, and such of them as by their dealing with forren merchants doo gather anie wealth, that will they verie often bestow vpon the furniture of their houses. Their weights & measures are after the Germaine maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and so wholesome, that a man was found which had married a wife at one hundred yeares of age, and was able to go out a fishing with his bote at one hundred and fortie, and of late yéeres died of méere age, without anie other disease. Dronkenesse is not heard of among them, and yet they meet and make good chéere verie often. Neither doo I read of anie great vse of flesh or foule there, although that some of their Ilands haue plentie of both. Nor anie mention of corne growing in these parts, and therefore in steed of bread they drie a kind of fish, which they beat in morters to powder, & bake it in their ouens, vntill it be hard and drie. Their fuell also is of such bones as the fish yéeldeth, that is taken on their coasts: and yet they liue as themselues suppose in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of their happinesse to be so farre distant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the more rich and ciuill part of the world.

Herein also they are like vnto the Hirthiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there commeth a priest vnto them out of the Orchades (vnto which iurisdiction they doo belong) who baptiseth all such children, as haue béene borne among them, since he last arriued, and hauing afterward remained there for a two daies, he taketh his tithes of them (which they prouide and paie with great scrupulositie in fish, for of other commodities haue they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boast of his troublesome voiage, except he watch his time. In these Iles also is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector saith) which is produced by the working of the sea vpon those coasts: but more of this elsewhere. This neuertheles is certeine, that these Ilands, with the Orchades, were neuer perfectlie vnited to the crowne of Scotland, till the mariage was made betwéene king Iames and the ladie Marie daughter to Christierne king of Denmarke 1468, which Christierne at the birth of their sonne Iames (afterward king of Scotland and called Iames the fourth) resigned all his right and title whatsoever either he or his ancestors either presently or hertofore had, might haue had, or hereafter may or should haue, vnto the aforesaid péeres, as appéereth by the charter.

Amber.

From these Shetland Iles, and vntill we come southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquhamnesse, I find no mention of anie Ile situat vpon that coast, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent brimstone commeth, & thereto what store of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whose secret situations though partlie seene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or discovered by anie, bicause of the great abundance of huge Ilands of ice that mooueth to and fro vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulfes and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowlege doth not concerne our purpose, wherfore casting about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth, which some call the Scottish sea, wherein we passe by seuen or eight such as they be, of which the first called the Maie, the second Baas, and Garwie the third, doo seeme to be inhabited.

From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Ile, wherein Faux castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serueth) is the last Iland of the Scottish side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discern, whether their flats and shallows, number of Ilands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me most. No meruell therefore that I haue béene so oft on ground among them. But most ioifull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my natiue citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where good intertainment is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my wearie bones, and refresh at ease our wetherbeaten carcasses.

**Lindesfarne  
or Holie  
Iland.**

The first Iland therefore which commeth to our sight, after we passed Berwike, is that which was sometime called Lindesfarne, but now Holie Iland, and conteineth eight miles; a place much honored among our monasticall writers, bicause diuerse moonks and heremits did spend their times therein. There was also the bishops see of Lindesfarne for a long season, which afterward was translated to Chester in the stréet, & finallie to Duresme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was first erected by Oswald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scottish moonke, who came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda speaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the said Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reason of situation & néerensse to the coast; yet the Picts appointed the bishops of the same, and gaue the Ile with the see it selfe to such Scottish moonks as they liked, bicause that by their preaching they first receiued the faith. But to returne to Lindesfarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finished and builded the whole church with sawed timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the bishop did couer ouer with lead.

**Farne.**

Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is a place of defense so far as I remember, and so great store of eggs laid there by diuerse kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man shall hardlie run for a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of manie, before his race be finished. About Farne also lie certaine Iles greater than Farne it selfe, but void of inhabitants; and in these also is great store of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured fethers, sauing that they haue a white ring round about their necks. There is moreouer another bird, which the people call

**Puffins.**

**Saint  
Cuthberts  
foules.**

saint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iland; so called, bicause it lieth ouer against the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane seacole, which the people dig out of the shore at the low water; and in this Iland dwelled one Henrie sometime a famous heremite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Danish race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coast of Norffolke I saw no more Ilands.

Being therfore past S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile ouer against the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewise another ouer against the Claie, before we came at Waburne hope: the third also in Yarmouth riuier ouer against Bradwell, a towne in low or little England, whereof also I must néeds saie somewhat, bicause it is in maner an Iland, and as I gesse either hath béene or may be one: for the brodest place of the strict land that leadeth to the same, is little aboue a quarter of a mile, which against the raging waues of the sea can make but small resistance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in bredth, verie well replenished with townes, as Fristan, Burgh castell, Olton, Flixton, Lestoft, Gunton, Blundston, Corton, Lownd, Ashebie, Hoxton, Belton, Bradwell, and Gorleston, and beside this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities.

**Little  
England.**

**Merseie.**

Going forward from hence, by the Estonnesse (almost an Iland) I saw a small parcell cut from the maine in Orford hauen, the Langerstone in Orwell mouth, & two péeces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge; and then casting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Merseie which is a pretie Iland, well furnished with wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decayed blockehouses, two parish churches, of which one is called east Merseie, the other west Merseie, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction. Foulennesse is an Ile void of wood, and yet well replenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is also a parish church, and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the shore, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they saie) ride thereto if he be skilfull of the causie; it is vnder the iurisdiction of London. And at this present master William Tabor bachelor of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex hath it vnder his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of maister Iohn Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who liued at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.

**Foulnesse.**

**Osithe.  
Northeie.**

In Maldon water are in like sort thrée Ilands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Osithes, Northeie, and another (after a mersh) that beareth no name so far as I remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramseie Ile, or rather a Peninsula or Biland, & likewise the Reie, in which is a chappell of saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulnesse,

**Ramseie.  
Reie.**

Canwaie.

except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulenesse. But to procéed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no lland of anie name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Mersland, Elie, and the rest, that are framed by the ouze. Andredeseie in Trent, so called of a church there dedicated to saint Andrew, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be described) sith I touch onelie those that are inuironed with the sea or salt water round about, as we may see in the Canwaie Iles, which some call marshes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, some to a vice, scrue, or wide sléeue, bicause they are verie small at the east end, and large at west. The salt rilles also that crosse the same doo so separat the one of them from the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a scrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man doo imagine himselfe to looke downe from the top of the mast vpon them. Betwéene these, moreouer and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whose name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they laie, or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may easilie be doone at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (scarse comparable to the makerell gale, whereof Iohn Anele of Calis one of the best seamen that England euer bred for his skill in the narrow seas was woont to talke) caught hold of our sailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to see what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our llands, & so much may well suffice where more cannot be had.

## CAP. XI.

Hauing (as you haue séene) attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Ilands, that are situat vpon the coast of Britaine, and finding the successe not correspondent to mine intent, it hath caused me somewhat to restreine my purpose in this description also of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the first to haue written at large, of the number, situation, names, quantities, townes, villages, castels, mountaines, fresh waters, plashes or lakes, salt waters, and other commodities of the aforesaid Iles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was so deceived in the end, that I was faine at last onelie to leane to that which I knew my selfe either by reading, or such other helpe as I had alreadie purchased and gotten of the same. And euen so it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whose heads, courses, length, bredth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect description vnder the report also of an imagined course taken by them all. But now for want of instruction, which hath béene largelie promised, & slacklie perfourmed, and other sudden and iniurious deniall of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occasion giuen on my part, I must needs content my selfe with such obseruations as I haue either obtained by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in steed of the same a mangled rehearsall of the residue set downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beséech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudenesse of my labour, which notwithstanding is not altogether in vaine, sith my errors maie prooue a spurre vnto the better skilled, either to correct or inlarge where occasion serueth, or at the leastwise to take in hand a more absolute péce of worke, as better direction shall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardest; and he that beginneth well, hath atchiued halfe his purpose. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from hencefoorth it will be more easie for such as shall come after to wade through with the rest, sith "Facile est inuentis addere;" and to continue and finish, is not so great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platforme of anie noble péce of workmanship, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpose. As I began at the Thames in my description of Ilands, so will I now doo the like with that of famous riuers; making mine entrie at the said riuier it selfe, of whose founteine some men make as much adoo, as in time past of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet descried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whose originall was neuer knowne, nor shall be: for whilest one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to such mens writings as haue of set purpose sought out the spring of the Thames; I affirme that this famous streame hath his head or beginning out of the side of an hill, standing in the plaines of Cotswold, about one mile from Tetburie, néere vnto the Fosse (an high waie so called of old) where it was sometime named Isis, or the Ouse, although diuerse doo ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a foolish custome than anie skill, bicause they either neglect or vtterlie are ignorant how it was named at the first. From hence it runneth directlie toward the east (as all good riuers should) and méeteth with the Cirne or Churne, (a brooke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirncester towne (by which it commeth) doth take the denomination.

From hence it hasteth vnto Créekelade, aliàs Crekanford, Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, and Eouesham, receiuing by the waie an infinit sort of small streames, brookes, beκες, waters, and rundels: and here on this side of the towne diuideth it selfe into two courses, of which the one goeth straight to Botleie and Hinkseie, the other by Godstow, a village not farre off. This latter spreadeth it selfe also for a while into sundrie smaller branches, which run not farre yer they be reunited, and then beclipping sundrie pleasant meadowes, it passeth at length by Oxford, of some supposed rather to be called Ouseford of this riuier, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from whence the originall branches doo ioine and go together by Abbandune (aliàs Sensham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the first came so néere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither the maine streame, thorough the industrie of the moonks, as (beside the testimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be séene) by the decaie of Cair Dour, now Dorchester it selfe, sometime the throughfare from Wales and the west cuntrye to London, which insued vpon this fact, is easie to be seene. From hence it goeth to Dorchester, and so to Thame, where ioining with a riuier of the same denomination, it looseth the name of Isis or Ouse (whereof Ouseine at Oxford is producted) and from thenceforth is called Thamesis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and so to Reding, which in time past, of the number of bridges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the English name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Ree, the Saxon word for a water-course or riuier; which maie be séene in Ouerée, or Sutherée, for ouer the Ree, or south of the Rhee, as to the skilfull doth readilie appéere; yet some hold (and not altogether against probabilitie and likelihood) that the word Sutherée is so called of Sudrijc, to wit, the south kingdome, wherevnto in part the Thames is a bound. But

Thamesis.

Corinium.

Charwell.

Some write,  
that the  
maine  
streame was  
brought  
thither from  
which ranne  
before  
betweene  
Andredeseie  
and  
Culenhām.  
Saint Marie  
ouer Rhee.

Pontium.

that holdeth not in denomination, either of the said church or name of the foresaid countie. Other affirme likewise, that Reding is so called of the Greeke word (ῥέω) which is to ouerflowe. Certes, as neither of these coniectures are to be contemned, so the last cōmeth most neere to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the course of euerie water it selfe, but also his ouerflowing was in time past called Rhe, by such Saxons as inhabited in this Iland: and euen to this daie in Essex I haue oft obserued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue béene ouerflowen, the people beholding the same, haue said; All is on a Rhe, as if they should haue said; All is now a riuier, albeit the word Riuier be deriued from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins, but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceiued, which call the aforesaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer Isis, or Ise: but I will procéed with the course of this noble streame, which, howsoeuer these matters stand after it hath passed by Reding, & there receiued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lie west of Marleborough (& then the Thetis, commonlie called the Tide that commeth from Thetisford) hieth to Sudlington otherwise called Maidenhead, and so to Windleshore (or Windsore) Eaton, and then to Chertseie, where Erkenwald bishop of London sometime builded a religious house or cell, as I doo read.

Kenet.

Thetis.

Cole.

From Chertseie it hasteth directlie vnto Stanes, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (wherevpon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingstone, Shene, Sion and Brentford or Bregentford, where it méeteth the Brane or the Brene (another brooke descending from Edgworth) whose name signifieth a frog, in the Brittish speach. Vpon this also sir John Thin had sometime a statelie house, with a maruellous prouision to inclose and reteine such fish as should come about the same.

Brene.

From Brentfoord it passeth by Mortlach, Putneie, Fulham, Batterseie, Chelseie, Lambeth, and so to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the sea, it taketh the Lée

Darwent.

with it by the waie vpon the coast of Essex, and another that commeth from Abreche not far off, and the Darnt vpon Kent side, which riseth néere to Tanrige, and

Craie.

commeth by Shoreham, vnto Derntford, wherevnto the Craie falleth. And last of all the Medwaie a notable riuier (in mine opinion) which watereth all the south and southwest part of Kent, and whose description shall insue.

Hauing in this maner bréefelie touched this noble riuier, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselues, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But yer I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riuier, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible. Héereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the least, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be measured by the iourneies of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the thrée famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in abundance of all kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duellie weighed. What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse doo) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth vp bastards of the Celtish brood, or casteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian fableth of the Rhene, Epistolarum lib. 8. epi. 6. nor yéeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus dooth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, swéet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit néere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nourished.

Salmons.

What should I speake of the fat and swéet salmons, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie (after the time of the smelt be past) as no riuier in Europa is able to excéed it. What store also of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, shrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riuier complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it looseth at one time, the more it yéeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it séemeth to be scant, sith it is not long since that kind of fish was brought ouer into England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie landflouds, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which means it became somewhat partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare. Oh that this riuier might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be vndoone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath béene choked of late with sands and shelues, through the penning and wresting of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or prise set vpon the ballasse sometime freelie giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (Iusques au point) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an (i) in the word ponct: which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnskilfull in the French toong, wherein that patent

Carps a fish late brought into England and later into the Thames.

was granted.

Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleth all his chanel twise in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being alwaies highest at London, when the moone dooth exactlie touch the northeast and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by so manie minuts as passe yer the reuolution and naturall course of the heauens doo reduce, and bring about the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the 36 common difference betwéene one tide and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience dooth confirme. In like sort we see by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatnesse: for at the full and change of the moone we haue the greatest floods, and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fuls, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or northeast, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, bicause the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames ouerfloweth hir banks néere vnto London: which hapneth especiallie in the fuls and changes of Januarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of custome soonest drowned. This order of flowing in like sort is perpetuall, so that when the moone is vpon the southwest and north of points, then is the water by London at the highest: neither doo the tides alter, except some rough winds out of the west or southwest doo kéepe backe and checke the streame in his entrance, as the east and northeast do hasten the comming in thereof, or else some other extraordinarie occasion, put by the ordinarie course of the northerne seas, which fill the said riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both these doo happen eft among, I refer me to such as haue not sildome obserued it, as also the sensible chopping in of thrée or foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnskillfull doo descant manie things.

The iust distâce betwéene one tide and another.

The streame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.

But how so euer these small matters doo fall out, and how often soeuer this course of the streame doth happen to be disturbed; yet at two seuerall times of the age of the moone, the waters returne to their naturall course and limits of time exactlie. Polydore saith, that this riuer is seldome increased or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks by landfloods: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it shalbe more apparentlie séene hereafter. For the more that this riuer is put by of hir right course, the more the water must of necessitie swell with the white waters which run downe from the land: bicause the passage cannot be so swift and readie in the winding as in the streight course. These landfloods also doo greatlie straine the finesse of the streame, in so much that after a great landflood, you shall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whose eies are so blinded with the thicknesse of that element, that they cannot see where to become, and make shift to saue themselues before death take hold of them. Otherwise the water of it selfe is verie cléere, and in comparison next vnto that of the sea, which is most subtile and pure of all other; as that of great riuers is most excellent, in comparison of smaller brookes: although Aristotle will haue the salt water to be most grosse, bicause a ship will beare a greater burden on the sea than on the fresh water; and an eg sinke in this that swimmeth on the other. But he may easilie be answered by the quantitie of roome and abundance of waters in the sea; whereby it becommeth of more force to susteine such vessels as are committed to the same, and whervnto the greatest riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable. I would here make mention of sundrie bridges placed ouer this noble streame, of which that of London is most chieflie to be commended, for it is in maner a cōtinuall street, well replenished with large and statelie houses on both sides, and situat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent free squared stone, euerie of them being thréescore foot in height, and full twentie in distance one from another, as I haue often viewed.

London bridge.

2000 boates vpon the Thames and 3000 poore mē maintained by the same whose gaines come in most plentifulle in the tearme time.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of swans dailie to be séene vpon this riuer, the two thousand wherries and small boats, wherby three thousand poore watermen are mainteined, through the cariage and recariage of such persons as passe or repasse, from time to time vpon the same: beside those huge tideboats, tiltbotes, and barges, which either carrie passengers, or bring necessarie prouision from all quarters of Oxfordshire, Barkeshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Herfordshire, Middlesex, Essex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But for somuch as these things are to be repeated againe in the particular description of London, annexed to his card; I surceasse at this time to speake anie more of them here, as not lingering but hasting to performe my promise made euen now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I thinke it best to resume the description of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatsoever is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonstration of his course. How and where the said streame ariseth, is already & with sufficiencie set downe, noting the place to be within a mile of Tetburie, whereof some doo vtterlie mislike, bicause that rill in summer drouths is oft so drie, that there is little or no water at all séene running aboute ground in the same. For this cause therefore manie affirme the verie head of

Isis.

- Isis to come from the poole about Kemble. Other confound it with the head of the Cirne or Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that riseth about Coberleie. For my part I follow Leland, as he dooth the moonke of Malmesburie, which wrote the historie intituled Eulogium historiarum, who searched the same of set purpose, and pronounced with Leland, although at this present that course be verie small, and choked vp (as I heare) with grauell and sand. Procéeing therefore from the head, it first of all receiueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which riseth about Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it selfe vnto Poole and Somerford, and then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Ashton, Canes, and Howston, holding on in one chanell vntill they méet with the Chirne, the next of all to be described.
- Couus.**
- The Chirne is a faire water arising out of the ground about Coberleie, from whence it runneth to Cowleie, Cowlesburne, Randcome, and so into the Isis on the left side about Crekelade. These thrée waters being thus vnited and brought into one chanell, within a little space of the head of Isis, it runneth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receiueth the Rhe, descending from Elcombe, Escot, Redburne, Widhill, & at the fall into Isis, or not far off ioineth with another that runneth west of Purton by Braden forrest, &c. Next of all our Isis méeteth with the Amneie on the left hand, which comming from about Holie roode Amneie, runneth by Downe Amneie, and finallie into the Isis a little about Iseie. In like sort I read of another that méeteth withall on the right hand about Iseie also, which so far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from about Drifield and falleth so into our Isis, that they run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not so nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this voiage, the maine streame dooth crosse one water that descendeth from Swindon, and going also by Stratton toward Seuingham, is it selfe increased with two rills by the waie, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambreie, as I haue béene informed.
- Corinium.**
- Rhe.**
- Amneie.**
- The Colne is a faire riuer rising by north neere to Witchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Wittenton, Parneworth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winston, Biberie, Colne Alens, Quenington, Faireford, and west of Lachelade into the riuer Isis, which hereabout on the southside also taketh in another, whereof I find this remembrance. The Isis being once past Seuingham, crosseth a brooke from southeast that mounteth about Ashbirie, and receiuing a rill from bywest (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward so diuideth it selfe, that the armes therof include Inglesham, and by reason that it falleth into the Isis at two seuerall places, there is a plesant Iland producted, whereof let this suffice.
- Colneius, Colineus, or Colunus.**
- Being past Lechelade a mile, it runneth to saint Johns bridge, & thereabout méeteth with the Leche on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade taketh the name (a towne wherevnto one péece of an old vniuersitie is ascribed, which it did neuer possesse, more than Crekelade did the other) riseth east of Hampnet, frō whence it goeth to north Lech, Estenton, Anlesworth, east Lech, south Thorpe, Farendon, & so into the Isis. From hence this famous water goeth by Kenskot toward Radcote bridge (taking in the rill that riseth in an od péece of Barkeshire, and runneth by Langford) and being past the said bridge (now notable through a conspiracie made there sometimes by sundrie barons against the estate) it is not long yer it crosse two other waters, both of them descending from another od parcell of the said countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Isis beneath Radcote bridge, wherof the one commeth from Shilton in Barkeshire by Arescote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other also riseth in the same péece, and runneth by Brisenorton vnto Bampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the first that breake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Isis, and leaue a pretie Iland. After these confluences, the maine course of the streame hasteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioineth with the Winrush. The Winrush riseth about Shieburne in Glocestershire, from whence it goeth to Winrush, & cōming by Barrington, Burford, Widbrooke, Swinbecke castell, Witneie, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it méeteth with the Isis west by south of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Ensham, betwéene which and Cassinton, it receiueth (as Leland calleth it) the Bruerne water.
- Lecusor Leche.**
- Winrush.**
- Briwerus.**
- It riseth about Limington, and going to Norton in the Marsh, and through a patch of Worcestershire vnto Euenlode, betweene it and the foure shirestones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this also it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and so to Bleddenton, about which towne it taketh in the Rolrich water that issueth at two heads, in the hils that lie by west of little Rolrich, and ioineth about Kenkeham, and Church hill. From thence also it goeth vnto Bruerne, Shipton vnderwood, Ascot, Short hamton, Chorleburie, Corneburie parke, Stonfield, Longcombe, and southeast of Woodstocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riseth about Emstone, and goeth to Ciddington, Glimton, Wotton (where it is increased with a rill that runneth thither from stéeple Barton, by the Béechin trée) Woodstocke, Blaidon, so that after this confluence, the said Enis runneth to Cassinton, and so into the Isis, which goeth from hence to Oxford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now presentlie to be described.
- Comus.**
- Rolrich.**
- Enis.**
- The head of Charwell is in Northamptonshire, where it riseth out of a little poole, by Charleton village, seuen miles about Banberie northeast, and there it issueth so fast
- Charwell.**

at the verie surge, that it groweth into a pretie streame, in maner out of hand. Soone after also it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere side: but forasmuch as it riseth by Binchester, the whole course therof is not aboute foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine prosecuting the rest of this description reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Oxfordshire, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the same, a little aboute Edgcote, and so descending toward Wardington, it méeteth with another comming from by north west, betweene Wardington and Cropreadie. At Banberie also it méeteth with the Come (which falleth from fennie Conton by Farneboro, and afterwards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the discharge of diuerse rilllets, in one bottome before it come at Clifton. The said water therfore ingendred of so manie brookelets, consisteth chiefelie of two, whereof the most southerlie called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, dooth méet with the other that falleth from by northwest into the same, within a mile of Charwell.

**Bure.** That other (as I coniecture) is increased of thrée waters, wherof each one hath his seuerall name. The first of them therefore hight Tудо, which comming betwéene Epwell and the Lée by Toddington, ioineth about Broughton with the second that runneth from Horneton, named Ornus, as I gesse. The last falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Broughton; and for that it riseth not far from Sotteswell in Warwicksire, some are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbrooke. The next water that méeteth without Charwell beneath Clifton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Sowar or Swere, that riseth north of Michael Tew, and runneth by nether Wotton. The last of all is the Reie aliàs Bure, whose head is not far aboute Burcester, aliàs Binchester, and Burncester: and from whence it goeth by Burecester to Merton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Islip, and so into Charwell, that holdeth on his course after this augmentation of the waters, betwéene Wood and Water Eton, to Marston, and the east bridge of Oxford by Magdalene college, and so beneath the south bridge into our aforesaid Isis.

**Culen.**

**Come.**

**Ocus.**

**Tудо.**

**Ornus.**

**Sotbrooke.**

**Burus.** **Souarus.**  
**Sowar.**

**Middest of England whereabouts.** In describing this riuier, this one thing (right honorable) is come vnto my mind, touching the center and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Helledon parish, not far from Danberie, where a man maie stand and behold the heads of thrée notable riuers, whose waters, and those of such as fall into them, doo abundantlie serue the greatest part of England on this side of the Humber. The first of these waters is the Charwell, alreadye described. The second is the Leme that goeth westward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Nene or fift Auon it selfe, of whose courses there is no card but doth make sufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the same how they doo coast the cuntry, and also measure by compasses how this plot lieth in respect of all the rest, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middest and center of our cuntry.

**Ocus.** But to go forward with my description of the Ouse, which being past Oxford goeth to Iflie, Kennington, Sanford, Rodleie, Newnham, and so to Abington, som time called Sensham, without increase, where it receiueth the Oche, otherwise called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thither of two brooklets, as I take it, whereof one commeth from Compton, out of the vale and west of the hill of the White horse, the other from Kings Letcombe, and Wantage in Barkshire, and in one channell, entreth into the same, vpon the right side of his course. From Abington likewise (taking the Arun withall southwest of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Clifton, Wittenham the lesse, & beneath Dorchester, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Isis loseth the preheminance of the whole denomination of this riuier, and is contented to impart the same with the Thame, so that by the coniunction of these two waters Thamesis is producted, and that name continued euen vnto the sea.

**Arun.**

**Thame.** Thame riuier riseth in the easterlie parts of Chilterne hils, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring west of the said parke, which is seauen miles from the stone bridge, that is betweene Querendon and Ailsburie (after the course of the water) as Leland hath set downe. Running therefore by long Merston, and Puttenham, Hucket, and Bearton, it receiueth soone after a rill that commeth by Querendon from Hardwike, and yer long an other on the other side that riseth aboute Windouer in the Chilterne, and passing by Halton, Weston, Turrill, Broughton, and Ailsburie, it falleth into the Tame west of the said towne (except my memorie doo faile me.) From this confluence the Tame goeth by EThorpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Chersleie, Nottleie abbeie: and comming almost to Tame, it receiueth one water from southeast aboute the said towne, and another also from the same quarter beneath the towne; so that Tame standeth inuironed vpon thrée sides with thrée seuerall waters, as maie be easilie séene. The first of these commeth from the Chiltern east of Below or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Horsenden, Kingseie, Towseie, and so into the Tame. The other descendeth also from the Chilterne, and going by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they procéed together as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dracot, Waterstoke, Milton, Cuddesdon, and Chiselton. Here also it taketh in another water from by-east, whose head commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from



Oxford to London. From whence it runneth to Weston (and méeting beneath Cuxham with Watlington rill) it goeth onto Chalgraue, Stadham, and so into the Tame. From hence our streame of Thame runneth to Newenton, Draton, Dorchester (sometime a bishops see, and a noble citie) and so into the Thames, which hasteth in like sort to Bensington, Crowmarsh, or Wallingford, where it receiue the Blaue, descending from Blaueburg, now Blewberie, as I learne.

Thus haue I brought the Thames vnto Wallingford, situate in the vale of White horsse, that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newenham, north Stoke, south Stoke, Goring, Bassilden, Pangburne, where it meeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamsted Norris, runneth by Frizelham, Buckelburie, Stanford, Bradfeld, Tidmarsh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betweene Mapledorham and Purleie, to Cauersham, and Cauersham manour, and a little beneath receiue the Kenet that commeth thereinto from Reading.

The Kenet riseth aboue Ouerton 5 or 6 miles west of Marleborow, or Marlingsborow, as some call it; & then going by Fifeld, Clatfor, Maulon, & Preshute, vnto Marleburie: it holdeth on in like order to Ramsburie, and northwest of little Cote, taketh in a water by north descending from the hilles aboue Alburne chase west of Alburne town. Thence it runneth to little Cote, Charnhamstréet, & beneth Charnhamstréet it crosseth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bedwijne, & at Hungerford also two other in one botom somewhat beneath the

towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinburie, Hamsted marshall, Euburne, Newberie; and beneath this town, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by

Isberie, Egerston, the Sheffords, Westford, Boxford, Donington castell, and Shaw. From Newberie it goeth to Thatcham, Wolhampton, Aldermaston, a little aboue

which village it receiue the Alburne, another brooke increased with sundrie rils: and thus going on to Padworth, Oston, and Michaell, it commeth at last to Reading, where (as I said) it ioineth with the Thames, and so they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the east side receiue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the south, as by his course appéereth.

The Loddon riseth in Hamshire betwéene west Shirburne and Wooton toward the southwest, afterward directing his course toward the northwest, thorough the Vine, it passeth at the last by Bramlie, and thorough a peece of Wiltshire, to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leauing a patch of Wiltshire on the right hand (as I haue béene informed.) This Loddon not far from Turges town receiue two waters in one bottome, whereof the westerlie called Basing water, commeth from Basingstoke, and thorough a parke vnto the aforesaid place.

The other descendeth of two heads from Mapledour well, and goeth by Skewes, Newenham, Rotherwijn, and yer it come at Hartlie, ioineth with the Basing water, from whence they go together to Turges, where they méet with the Loddon (as I haue

said already.) The next streame toward the south is called Ditford brooke. It riseth not farre from Vpton, goeth by Gruell, and beneath Wharnborow castell receiue the Ikell (comming from a parke of the same denomination) from whence they go together by Maddingleie vnto Swallowfield, and so into the Loddon. In this voiage also the Loddon méeteth with the Elwie or Elueie that commeth from Aldershare, not farre by west of Euersleie: and about Eluesham likewise with another running from

Dogmansfield named the Douke: and also the third not inferior to the rest comming from Erin, whose head is in Surreie, and going by Ash becommeth a limit, first betwéene Surreie and Hamshire; then betwéene Hamshire and Barkeshire, and passing by Ash, Erinleie, Blacke water, Perleie, and Finchamsted; it ioineth at last with the Ditford, before it come at Swallowfield. To conclude therefore with our Loddon, hauing receiued all these waters; and after the last confluence with them now being come to Loddon bridge, it passeth on by a part of Wiltshire to Twiford bridge, then to Wargraue, and so into the Thames that now is maruellously increased and growen vnto triple greatnesse (to that it was at Oxford.)

Being therefore past Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Horsependon, or Harding: then to Henleie vpon Thames, where sometime a great rill voideth it selfe in the same. Then to Remenham, Greneland (going all this waie from Shiplake iust north, and now turning eastwards againe) by Medenham, Hurlie, Bisham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the lesse, it meeteth with a brooke soone after that consisteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Vse, riseth about west Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from thence to east Wickham or high Wickham,

a pretie market town. The other named Higden, descendeth also from those mounteines but a mile beneath west Wickham, and ioining both in one at the last, in the west end of east Wickham town, they go together to Wooburne, Hedsor, & so into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that word doo I vse in my former treatise: but to procéed. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topleie, Maidenhead, aliàs Sudlington, Braie, Dorneie, Clure, new Windsore (taking in neuertheless, at Eaton by the waie, the Burne which riseth out of a Moore, & commeth thither by Burnham) old Windsor, Wraiborow, and a little by east therof doth crosse the Cole, whereof I find this short description insuing.

The Cole riseth néere vnto Flamsted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watford, and so by More to Richmansworth, where there is a

Ikelus.  
Elueius.  
Ducus.

Colus, aliàs Vere and Vertume.

confluence of three waters, of which this Cole is the first. The second called Gadus riseth not farre from Ashridge, an house or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gaddesdin, Hemsted, betwéene Kings Langleie, and Abbots Langleie, then to Hunters, and Cashew bridges, and so to Richmanswoorth, receiuing by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by the northwest, to Northchurch, Barkehamsted, and beneath Hemsted ioining with the same. The last commeth in at northwest from aboue Chesham, by Chesham it selfe, then by Chesham Bois, Latimers, Mawdlens, Cheinies, Sarret and Richmanswoorth, and so going on all in one chanell vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vxbridge, where it taketh in the Missenden water, from northwest, which rising aboue Missenden the greater goeth by Missenden the lesse, Hagmondesham (now Hammersham) the Vach, Chalfhunt Giles, Chalfhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vxbridge (as I haue said.) Soone after this our Cole doth part it selfe into two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie medows straight to Colebrooke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe east of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leauing an Iland betwéene them of no small size and quantitie.

**Vindeles.** Being past the Cole, we come to the fall of the Vindeles, which riseth by northwest néere vnto Bagshot, from whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and méeting with a brooklet comming westward from Bisleie, they run together toward Cherteseie, where when they haue met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windlesoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the northeast side of Cherteseie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came vnto another on the same side, that fell into the Thames betweene Shepperton on the one

**Veius.** side, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waie. The Weie or the Waie rising by west, commeth from Olsted, & soone after taking the Hedleie brooke withall (which riseth in Wulmere forrest, and goeth by Hedleie and Frensham) hasteth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Waiberleie, Elsted, and so to Pepper harrow, where it ioineth with the Thuresbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the same denomination. From hence also it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shawford,

Thuresbie.

**Crawleie.** but yer it come there, it crosseth Craulie becke, which rising somewhere about the edge of Sussex short of Ridgewijc, goeth by Vacherie parke, Knoll, Craulie, Bramleie,

**Abbinger.** Wonarsh, and so into the Waie. From hence then our ruer goeth to Shawford, and soone after (méeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Shere, Alburie, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke side taketh in a brooke that riseth of two heads, whereof one dooth spring betwéene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and so runneth through Henleie parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioining in one, they go fourth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Bifler, Waifred, Oteland, and so into the Thames.

**Molts.** From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, west Moulseie, Hampton, and yer it come at Hampton court on the northside, and east Moulseie on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which giueth name vnto the two townes that stand on each side of the place, where it falleth into our streame. It riseth in Word forrest, and going by Burstow, it méeteth afterward with another gullet, conteining a small course from two seuerall heads, whereof one is also in the forrest aforenamed, the other runneth from Febush wood, and comming by Iseld, méeteth with the first aboue Horleie, and so run on in one chanell, I saie, till they ioine with the Moule water, whereof I spake before.

After this confluence in like sort, it is not long yer the Moule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Mesham on the one side, and another on the other side, running by Ocleie and Capell, and whereinto also a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the northwest part. Finallie, being thus increased with these manie rilles, it goeth by east Becheworth, west Becheworth, and ouer against the Swallow on the side of Drake hill, taking in another that cōmeth thither from Wootton by Darking and Milton, it runneth to Mickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Ashire parke, east Moulseie, and so into the Thames, which after this coniunction goeth on to Kingston, and there also méeteth with another becke, rising at Ewell south of Nonsuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by the old parke, then to Mauldon, & so to Kingston towne. The Thames in like maner being past Kingston, goeth to Tuddington, Petersham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueth a water on the northwest side, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by west of the same, goeth by Haies, Harlington, Felthan, and Thistleworth into the Thames.

**Brane.** The next fall of water is at Sion, néere vnto new Brainford, so that it issueth into the Thames betwéen them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the Brittish toong (as Leland saith) a frog. It riseth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingsburie, Twiford, Periuall, Hanwell, and Austerleie. Thence we followed our ruer to old Brentford, Mortlach, Cheswijc, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it crossed a becke from Wandlesworth, that riseth at Woodmans turne, and going by Easthalton, méeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and so going on to Mitcham, Marton abbeie, and Wandlesworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Next vnto this is Mariburne rill on the other side, which commeth in by S. Iames, so that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames

**Mariburne.**

conueied vs to London, where we rested for a season to take view of the seuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is fortie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the wether alter them. Being past London, and in the waie toward the sea: the first water that it méeteth withall, is the Brome on Kent side, west of Gréenewich, whose head is Bromis in Bromleie parish, and going from thence to Lewsham, it taketh in a water from by east, and so directeth his course fourth right vnto the Thames.

**Bromis.**

**Lée.**

The next water that it méeteth withall, is on Essex side, almost against Woolwich, and that is the Lée or Luie, whose head riseth short of Kempton in Hertfordshire, foure miles southeast of Luton, sometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going through a péce of Brokehall parke (leauing Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the south, with another parke adioining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yer it come there, it receiueth a water (peradventure the Marran) rising at northwest in Brodewater hundred, from aboue Welwin, northeast of Digeswell, and going to Hartingfeld burie, where the said confluence is within one mile of the towne.

**Logus.**

**Marran.**

**Beane.**

Beneath Hatfield also it receiueth the Beane (as I gesse) comming from Boxwood by Benington, Aston, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increase from aboue Ware, which descendeth from two heads: whereof the greatest commeth from Barkewaie in Edwinster hundred, the other Sandon in Oddesey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornemeade, they go together by Pulcherchurch, or Puckrich, Stonden, Thunderidge, Wadesmill, Benghoo, and so into the Lée, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the same 1408, and so to Amwell, where on the north side it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadham, through a péce of Singleshall parke, then by great Hadham, and so from Widford to the aforesaid towne. From hence also they go as one to old Stansted called Le Veil, branching in such wise yer it come there, that it runneth through the towne in sundrie places. Thence it goeth fourth to Abbats Stansted, beneath which it méeteth with the Stoure, west (as I remember) of Roidon.

**Sturus.**

This Sture riseth at Wenden lootes, from whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Manhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill comming from Elsingham, & Stansted Mountfitchet.) Thence it hieth on to Bishops Stourford, Sabrichfoord, and beneath this towne crosseth with another from the east side of Elsingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Brodocke, Shiring, Harlo, & so into the Stoure, and from whence they go together to Eastwic, Parmedon, and next into the Lée. These things being thus performed, the Lée runneth on beneath Hoddesdon, Broxburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by west of the maine streame, a mile lower than Wormleie it selfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormleie locke.

It runneth also by Cheston nunrie, and out of this a little beneath the said house, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, bicause it diuideth Eastsex and Hartford shire in sunder, and in the length of one medow called Fritheie. This lake runneth not but at great flouds, and méeteth againe with a succor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockesditch, halfe a mile from his first breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Marsh point ioineth againe with the streame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the first arme to S. Maulie bridge (the first bridge westward vpon that riuer) vpon Waltham causie, & halfe a mile lower than Maulie bridge, at the corner of Ramnie mead, it méeteth with the kings streame & principall course of Luy, or Lee, as it is commonlie called. The second arme breaketh out of the kings streame at Halifield halfe a mile lower than Cheston nunrie, and so to the fulling mill, and two bridges by west of the kings streame, wherinto it falleth about a stones cast lower at a place called Malkins shelffe, except I was wrong informed. Cheston & Hartfordshire men doo saie, that the kings streame at Waltham dooth part Hartfordshire and Essex, but the Essex men by forrest charter doo plead their liberties to hold vnto S. Maulies bridge. On the east side also of the kings streame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, three quarters of a mile aboue Waltham, & so goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to the K. streame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

**Alfred.**

From hence the Lée runneth on by south on Waltonstow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where it brancheth partlie of it selfe, and partlie by mans industrie for mils. Howbeit heerein the dealing of Alfred (sometimes king of England) was not of smallest force, who vnderstanding the Danes to be gotten vp with their ships into the countrie, there to kill and slaie his subiects, in the yeere of grace 896, by the conduct of this riuer: he in the meane time before they could returne, did so mightilie weaken the maine chanell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the same; that when they purposed to come backe, there was nothing so much water left as the ships did draw: wherefore being set on ground, they were soone fired, & the aduersaries ouercome. By this policie also much medow ground was woone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little inriched, as was also a part of Assyria by the like practise of Cyrus with the Ganges, at such time as he came against Babylon, which riuer before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was so offended, that one of his knights whom he loued déerlie, was drowned and borne awaie with the water in his passage ouer the same, that he sware a deepe oth yer long to make it so shallow that it should not wet a woman to the knées. Which came to passe, for he caused all his armie to dig 46 new draines frō the same, wherby the vow that he had made was at the full performed. Senec. de Tra. li. 3. But to conclude with the Lee

that sometime ouerflowed all those medowes, through which it passeth (as for a great waie not inferior to the Thames) and I find that being past Westham, it is not long yer it fall into that streame. One thing I read more of this riuer before the conquest, that is, how Edward the first, & sonne of Alfred, in the yeare of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time also he had Wittham a towne in Essex in hand, as his sister called Aelfled repaired Oxford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon; of some called Hertford or Herudford betweene three waters, that is, the Lée, the Benefuth, and Memmarran, or rather Penmarran: but how these waters are distinguished in these daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is possible, that the Bene may be the same which commeth by Benington, and Benghoo: which if it be so, then must the Memmarran be the same that descendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time past right well be called Marranfield, for of like inuersion of names I could shew manie examples.

**Rodon or Rodunus.** Being past the Lee (whose chanell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the same to the north side of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Essex side in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the most) from the fall of the Lée. This water riseth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Eithorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelleie, high Ongar, and Cheping Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariseth betwixt Matching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall comming from about Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioine (I saie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland coniectureth that the streame is called Iuell: for my part, I wot not what to say of it. But héerof I am sure, that the whole course being past Ongar, it goeth to Stansted riuers, Theidon mount, Heibridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & so into the Thames.

**Darwent.** The Darwent méeteth with our said Thames vpon Kents side, two miles and more beneath Erith. It riseth at Tanridge, or there abouts, as I haue beene informed by Christopher Saxtons card late made of the same, and the like (I hope) he will doo in all the seuerall shires of England at the infinit charges of sir Thomas Sackford knight, & maister of the requests, whose zeale vnto his countrie héerin I cannot but remember, & so much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & somewhat beside this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which these riuers for the Kentish part do run. Would to God his plats were once finished for the rest! But to procéed. The Darwent therefore, rising at Tanridge, goeth on by Titseie toward Brasted, and receiuing on ech side of that towne (& seuerall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Nockhold, Shorham, Kinsford, Horton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that coms from Orpington by Marie Craie, Paules Craie, North Craie, and Craiford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had once passed the fall of the brooke, it is a world to sée what plentie of Serephium groweth vpon the Kentish shore, in whose description Fuichsius hath not a little halted; whilst he giueth foorth the hearbe Argentaria for Serephium, betwéene which there is no maner of likelihood. This neuerthelessse is notable in the said hearbe, that being translated into the garden, it receiueth another forme cleane different from the first, which it yéelded when it grew vpon the shore, and therevnto appeareth of more fat & foggie substance. Which maketh me to thinke that our physicians do take it for a distinct kind of wormewood, whereof controuersie ariseth among them. The next water that falleth into the Thames, is west of the Waue Iles, a rill of no great fame, neither long course, for rising about Coringham, it runneth not manie miles east and by south, yer it fall into the mouth of this riuer, which I doo now describe.

**Craie.** I would haue spoken of one créeke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Haltsto by S. Maries: but sith I vnderstand not with what backewaters they be serued, I let them passe as not skilfull of their courses. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue doone what I maie, but not what I would for mine owne satisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will ascribe that distichon which Apollonius Rhodius writeth of the Thermodon:

Huic non est aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros  
Vllum dimittit riuos quot fundit vtrinque.

**Midwaie.** Next vnto the Thames we haue the Midwaie water, whereof I find two descriptions, the first beginneth thus. The Midwaie water is called in Latine Medeuaia (as some write) bicause the course therof is midwaie in a manner betwéene London and Dorobernia, or (as we now call it) Canturburie. In British it hight Dourbrée: and thereof Rochester was sometime called Durobreuum. But in an old charter which I haue seene (containing a donation sometime made to the monasterie of saint Andrews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Saxons called this riuer Wedring; and also a towne standing betweene Malling and east Farleie, Wedrington; and finallie, a forrest also of the same denomination, Wedrington, now Waterdon, wherby the originall name appeareth to be fetched from this streame. It ariseth in Waterdon forrest east of Whetlin or Wedring, and ioineeth with another brooke that descendeth from Ward forrest in Sussex: and after this confluence they go on together, as one by Ashhirst, where hauing receiued also the second brooke, it hasteth to Pensherst, and

Frethus.

Theise.

Grane aliàs  
Cranus.

there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the southeast part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the northwest side, and an other little streame that commeth from the hilles betwéene Peuenburie and Horsemon on the southeast. From thence also, and not farre from Yalling it receiueth the Theise (a pretie streame that ariseth about These Hirst) & afterward the Gran or Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbrooke, and méeting with sundrie other riuets by the waie, whereof one branch of These is the last, for it parteth at the Twist, and including a pretie lland, doth ioine with the said Midwaie, a little aboue Yalding, and then with the Lowse. Finallie at Maidstone it méeteth with another brooke, whose name I know not, and then passeth by Allington, Duton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckestane, Rochester, Chattham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, Kingsferrie, and falleth into the maine sea betwéene Shepeie and the Grane.

And thus much out of the first authour, who commendeth it also, for that in time past it did yéeld such plentie of sturgeon, as beside the kings portion, and a due vnto the archbishop of Canturburie out of the same, the deane and chapter of Rochester had no small allowance also of that commoditie: likewise for the shrimps that are taken therein, which are no lesse estéemed of in their kind, than the westernne smelts or flounders taken in the Thames, &c. The second authour describeth it after this manner, and more copiously than the other.

The cheefe head of this streame riseth in Waterdon forrest, from whence after it hath runne a pretie waie still within the same, east of Whetlin, it méeteth with a brooke, whose head is in Ward forrest, southwest of Greenested, which goeth to Hartfield, and so to Whetlin, and yer long ioineth with the Midwaie. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by west from Cowden ward, and the third aboue Pensherst, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other west of Crawherst; and ioining aboue Edinbridge, it doth fall into the midwaie beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingston. From Pensherst our maine streame hasteth to Ligh, Tunbridge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it crosseth a water from North, whereof one head is at the Mote, another at Wroteham, the third at west Peckham, & likewise another from soustest, that runneth east of Capell. Next after this it receiueth the These, whose forked head is at These Hirst, which descending downe toward the north, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a brooke out of the northside of Waterden forrest, whose name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our riuier goeth to Goldhirst, and comming to the Twist, it brancheth in such wise, that one part of it runneth into Midwaie, another into the Garan, or rather Cranebrooke (if my coniecture be anie thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) or the Crane (as I doo take it) riseth néere to Cranebrooke, and going by Siffinghirst, it receiueth yer long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Smerdon, and Hedcorne, crossing two rilles by the waie from by north, Hedcorne it selfe standing betwéene them both. Finallie, the Garan or Crane meeting with Midwaie south of Yalling, they on the one side, and the These on the other, leaue a pretie lland in the midst, of foure miles in length, and two in breadth, wherein is some hillie soile, but neither towne nor village, so farre as I remember.

Garunus,  
Cranus.

From Yalling forward, the Midwaie goeth to west Farlegh, east Farlegh: and yer it come at Maidstone, it interteineth a rill that riseth short of Ienham, and goeth by Ledes and Otteringden, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in drie yéeres: for thither they conueie their clothes to be thicked at the fulling milles, sometimes ten miles for the same: there is also at Ledes great plentie of fulling earth, which is a necessarie commoditie.

Being past Maidstone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Halling, Cuckstane, and Rochester, where it passeth vnder a faire bridge of stone, with a verie swift course, which bridge was begun 1388 by the lord Iohn Cobham, the ladie Margaret his wife, and the valiant sir Robert Knolles, who gaue the first onset vpon that péece of worke, and therevnto builded a chappell of the Trinitie at the end therof, in testimonie of his pietie. In processe of time also one Iohn Warner of Rochester made the new coping thereof; and archbishop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the bishops also of that see were not slacke in their beneuolence and furtherances toward that worke, especiallie Walter Merton founder of Merton college in Oxford, who by misfortune perished by falling from the same, as he rode to surueie the workemen. Being past Rochester, this noble riuier goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, and soone after branching, it imbraceth the Greene at his fall, as his two heads doo Ashdon forrest, that lieth betwéene them both.

## CHAP. XII.

**Stoure.** After the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riseth at Kingeswood, which is fourtéene or fifteene miles from Canturburie. This riuer passeth by Ashford, Wie, Nackington, Canturburie, Fordish, Standish, and Sturemouth, where it receiueth another riuer growing of three branches. After our Stoure or Sture parteth it self in twaine, & in such wise, that one arme therof goeth toward the north, and is called (when it commeth at the sea) the north mouth of Stoure; the other runneth southeastward vp to Richborow, and so to Sandwich, from whence it goeth northeast againe and falleth into the sea. The issue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peradventure the streame that commeth downe thither, after the diuision of the Stoure, maie be the same which Beda calleth Wantsome; but as I cannot vndoo this knot at will, so this is certeine, that the Stoure on the one side, and peradventure the Wantsome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left for an Iland.

*Nailburne water also (as I heare) neer to Cantwarbirie, but I wote not whereabouts: séc Marianus Scotus.*

**Wantsome.** There are other little brookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland speaketh, as Fishpoole becke that ariseth in Stonehirst wood, and meeteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chislet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which sometime inclosed Thanet, as Leland saith: the third issueth out of the ground at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent sometime past held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the said authour reporteth: and the fourth called Bridgewater that riseth by S. Marie Burne church, and going by Bishops Burne, meeteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: also Wiham that riseth about Wiham short of Adsam, and falleth into Bridgewater at Dudmill, or Wenderton: and the third namelesse, which riseth short of Wodensburgh (a towne wherein Hengist & the Saxons honored their grand idoll Woden, or Othine) and goeth by Staple to Wingam: but sith they are obscure I will not touch them here. From hence passing by the Goodwine, a plot verie perilous for sea-faring men (sometime firme land, that is, vntill the tenth of the conquerours sonne, whose name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inheritance of erle Goodwine in time past was knowne to lie) but escaping it with ease, we came at length to Douer. In all which voiage we found no streame, by reason of the cliffes that inuiron the said coast. Howbeit vpon the south side of Douer, there is a pretie fresh riuer, whose head ariseth at Erwell, not passing foure miles from the sea, and of some is called Dour, which in the British toong is a common name for waters, as is also the old British word Auon for the greatest riuers, into whose mouthes or falles shippes might find safe entrance; and therefore such are in my time called hauens, a new word growen by an aspiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But more of this else-where, sith I am now onelie to speake of Dour, wherof it is likelie that the towne & castell of Douer did sometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peradventure here and there sundrie small creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble riuer falleth into the sea. This Rother separateth Sussex from Kent, and hath his head in Sussex, not farre from Argas hill néere to Waterden forrest, and from thence directeth his course vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and so foorth by Newendon vnto Mattham ferrie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a castell sometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beamflete) and at this towne, where it méeteth the Bilie that riseth about Bilsington, the other by Iden, so that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Oxneie, which in time past was reputed as a parcell of Sussex; but now vpon some occasion or other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence also growing into some greatnesse, it runneth to Rie, where it méeteth finallie with the Becke, which commeth from Beckleie: so that the plot wherein Rie standeth, is in manner a by-land or peninsula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and most men are of the likeliest opinion, that this riuer should be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhull saith) doth issue out of Andredeswald, where the head thereof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Limen, bicause the Danes are noted to enter into these parts by the Limen; and sailing on the same to Appledoure, did there begin to fortifie, as I haue noted alreadye. Howbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother or Appledoure water, whereof let this suffice.

**Dour.** Being thus crossed ouer to the west side of Rie hauen, & in vewing the issues that fall into the same, I meet first of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one chanell into the east side of the mouth of the said port. The first therfore that falleth into it descendeth from Beckleie or thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Pesemarsch, & soone after ioining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the same at the westerlie side of Rie: the third streame commeth from the north, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Munfield, so it runneth betweene Sescambe and Wacklinton néere vnto Bread, taking another rill withall

**Rother.** **Bilie.** **Becke.** **Limenus.**

that riseth (as I heare) not verie far from Westfield. There is likewise a fourth that groweth of two heads betweene Ielingham and Pet, and going by Winchelseie it méeteth with all about Rie hauen, so that Winchelseie standeth inuironed on thrée parts with water, and the streames of these two that I haue last rehearsed.

**Aestus.** The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by southwest of Hastings, or therabouts, is called Æstus or Asten: perhaps of Hasten or Hasting the Dane, (who in time past was a plague to France and England) & rising not far from Penhirst, it meeteth with the sea (as I heare) by east of Hollington. Buluerhith is but a creeke (as I remember) serued with no backewater; and so I heare of Codding or Old hauen, wherefore I meane not to touch them.

**Buluerhith.**

**Peuenseie.** Into Peuenseie hauen diuerse waters doo resort, and of these, that which entereth into the same on the east side riseth out from two heads, whereof the most easterlie is called Ash, the next vnto the Burne, and vniting themselues not farre from Ashburne, they continue their course vnder the name and tide of Ashburne water, as I read. The second that commeth thereinto issueth also of two heads, whereof the one is so manie miles from Boreham, the other not far from the Parke east of Hellingstowne, and both of them concurring southwest of Hirstmowsen, they direct their course toward Peuenseie (beneath which they méet with another rising at Foington) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till they fall together into Peuenseie hauen. The Cuckmer issueth out at seuerall places, and hereof the more easterlie branch commeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Bishops wood, and méeting beneath Halling, they run one bottome by Micham, Arlington, Wellington, old Frithstan, and so into the sea.

**Isis.**  
**Ni fallor.** Vnto the water that commeth out at Newhauen, sundrie brookes and riuers doo resort, but the chiefe head riseth toward the west, somewhat betwéene Etchinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The first water therefore that falleth into the same on the east side, issueth out of the ground about Vertwood, and running from thence by Langhton and Ripe, on the west side; it falleth into the aforesaid riuier beneath Forle and Glime, or thrée miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The next herevnto hath his head in Argas hill, the third descendeth from Ashedon forrest, and ioining with the last mentioned, they crosse the maine riuier a little beneath Isefield.

**Sturewell.** The fourth water commeth from Ashedon forrest by Horstéed Caines (or Ousestate Caines) and falleth into the same, likewise east of Linfield. Certes I am deceiued if this riuier be not called Isis, after it is past Isefield. The fift riseth about Storuelgate, and meeteth also with the maine streame aboue Linfield, and these are knowen to lie vpon the right hand as we rowed vp the riuier. On the other side are onelie two, whereof the first hath his originall neere vnto Wenefield, and holding on his course

**Plimus.** toward the east, it meeteth with his maister betweene Newicke and Isefield (or Ifield) as some read it. The last of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like sort with the maine riuier about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, & they rest in one chanell by Barcham, Hamseie, Malling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and so fourth into the maine.

**Soru.** The next riuier that we came vnto west of Brighthemston is the Sore, which notwithstanding I find to be called Brember water, in the ancient map of Marton colledge in Oxford: but in such sort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Appledoure streame, bicause of the said towne that standeth thervpon. But to procéd, it is a pleasant water, & thereto if you consider the situation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much resembling a foure stringed whip. Whereabout the head of this riuier is, or which of these branches may safelie be called Sora from the rising, in good sooth I cannot say. For after we had passed nine or ten mils thereon vp into the land, suddenlie the crosse waters stopped vs, so that we were inforced to turne either east or west, for directlie fourth right we had no waie to go. The first arme on the right hand as we went, riseth out of a parke by south of Alborne, and going on for a certeine space toward the northwest, it turneth southward betwéene Shermonburie and Twinham, and soone after méeteth with the

**Bimarus.** Bimar, not much south from Shermonburie, whence they run together almost two miles, till they fall into the Sore. That on the west side descendeth from about Billingshirst, & going toward the east, it crosseth with the fourth (which riseth a litle by west of Thacam) east from Pulborow, and so they run as one into the Sore, that after this confluence hasteth it selfe southward by Brember, Burleis, the Combes, and yer long into the Ocean.

**Arunus.** The Arun (of which beside Arundell towne the castell and the vallie wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in English) is a goodlie water, and thereto increased with no small number of excellent & pleasant brookes. It springeth vp of two heads, whereof one descendeth from the north not far from Gretham, and going by Lis, méeteth with the next streame (as I gesse) about Doursford house. The second riseth by west from the hils that lie toward the rising of the sunne from East maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Beriton ward, and ioineth with the second betwéene Peterfield and Doursford, after which confluence they go together in one chanell still toward the east (taking a rill with them that cōmmeth betwéene Fernehirst and S. Lukes chappell, southwest of Linchmere, and meeting with it east of Loddsworth (as I doo read, and likewise sundrie other in one chanell

beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington ford, Climping (all on the west side) and so into the sea.

Hauing thus described the west side of Arun, let vs doo the like with the other in such sort as we best may. The first riuer that we come vnto therfore on the east side, and also the second, rise of sundrie places in S. Leonards forrest, & ioining a little aboue Horsham, they méet with the third, which commeth from Ifield parke, not verie farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riseth in Witleie parke, the other by west, neere vnto Heselméere chappell, and meeting by west of Doursfeld, they vnite themselues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I spake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingshirst. The last water commeth from the hils aboue Linchemere, and runneth west and south, and passing betwéene Billingshirst and Stopham it commeth vnto the chanell last mentioned, and so into the Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further increase, at the least that I doo heare of.

- Burne.** Burne hath his issue in a parke néere Aldingburrie (or rather a little aboue the same toward the north, as I haue since beene informed) and running by the bottomes toward the south, it falleth betwéene north Berflete and Flesham. Erin riseth of sundrie heads, by east of Erinleie, and directing his course toward the sunne rising, it peninsulateth Seleseie towne on the southwest and Pagham at northwest. Deel springeth about Benderton, and thence running betwéene middle Lauant and east Lauant, it goeth by west of west Hampnet, by east of Chichester, or west of Rumbaldesdowne, and afterward by Fishburne, where it meeteth with a rill comming north west from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one streame toward the sea, it méeteth with another rillet comming by north of Bosham, and so into Auant gulfe by east of Thorneie Iland.
- Racunus.** The Racon riseth by east of Racton or Racodunum (as Leland calleth it) and comming by Chidham, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Thorneie aforesaid. The Emill commeth first betwéene Racton and Stansted, then downe to Emilsworth or Emmesworth, & so vnto the Ocean, separating Sussex from Hampshire almost from the very head. Hauing in this maner passed along the coasts of Sussex, the next water that I remember, riseth by east of the forrest of Estbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, west Burhunt, Farham, and so into the gulfe almost full south. Then come we to Bedenham creeke (so called of a village standing thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almost directlie against Porchester castell, which is situat about three miles by water from Portesmouth towne, as Leland dooth report. Then go we within halfe a mile further to Forten creeke, which either giueth or taketh name of a village hard by. After this we come to Osterpoole lake, a great créeke, that goeth vp by west into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of stone, from whence also there goeth a chaine to another tower on the east side directlie ouer against it, the like whereof is to be séene in diuerse other hauens of the west countrie, wherby the entrance of great vessels into that part may be at pleasure restrained.
- Forten or Fordon.** Osterpoole.
- Tichefeld.** From hence we go further to Tichefeld water, that riseth about Eastmaine parke, ten or twelue miles by northeast or there abouts from Tichefeld. From Eastmaine it goeth (parting the forrests of Waltham, and Eastberie by the way) to Wicham or Wicombe, a pretie market towne & large throughfare, where also the water separateth it selfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood commeth yer long againe vnto one chanell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maister Writhoseleies house (leauing Tichfeld towne on the right side) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the sea floweth as hir naturall course inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, whervnto diuerse streames resort, as you shall heare hereafter.
- Hamelrish.** After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelrish créeke, whose fall is betwéene saint Andrewes castell, and Hoke. It riseth about Shidford in Waltham forrest, & when it is past Croke bridge, it méeteth with another brooke, which issueth not farre from Bishops Waltham, out of sundrie springs in the high waie on Winchester, from whence it passeth (as I said) by Bishops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then ioining with the Hamble, they run together by Prowlingsworth, Vpton, Brusill, Hamble towne, and so into the sea.
- Southampton.** Now come we to the hauen of Southampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefelie describe so néere as I can possiblie. The bredth or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by estimation two miles from shore to shore. At the west point therof also is a strong castell latelie builded, which is rightlie named Caldshore, but now Cawshot, I wote not by what occasion. On the east side thereof also is a place called Hoke (afore mentioned) or Hamell hoke; wherein are not aboue thrée or foure fisher houses, not worthie to be remembered. This hauen shooteth vp on the west side by the space of seuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, standing on the other side, where it is by estimation a mile from land to land. Thence it goeth vp further about thrée miles to Redbridge, still ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, so farre as my memorie dooth serue mee. Now it resteth that I describe the Alresford streame, which some doo call the Arre or Arle, and I will procéed withall in this order following.



**Alresford.** The Alresford beginneth of diuerse faire springs, about a mile or more frō Alresford, or Alford as it is now called, and soone after resorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the most part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow chanell, it goeth through a stone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leauing the towne it selfe on the left hand) toward Hichingstocke thrée miles off, but yer it commeth there, it receiueth two rils in one bottome, whereof one commeth from the Forrest in maner at hand, and by northwest of old Alresford, the other frō Browne Candiuier, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aberstone, &c: vntill we méet with the said water beneath Alford towne. Being past Hichinstocke, it commeth by Auington to Eston village, and to Woorthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it selfe into other that resort to Hide and the lower soiles by east of Winchester, there seruing the stréets, the close of S. Maries, Wolueseie, and the new college verie plentifullie with their water. But in this meane while, the great streame commeth from Worthie to the east bridge, and so to saint Elizabeth college, where it dooth also part in twaine, enuironing the said house in most delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Crosses, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth six miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall on the east side, and so into the salt créeke that leadeth downe to the hauen.

**Stocke.** On the other side of Southhampton, there resorteth into this hauen also both the Test & the Stockbridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large description insuing. The verie head of the Stockewater, is supposed to be somewhere about Basing stoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betwéene Ouerton and Steuenton, it commeth at last by Lauerstocke & Whitchurch, and soone after receiuing a brooke by northwest, called the Bourne (descending from S. Marie Bourne, southeast from Horsseburne) it procédeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the east side (a pretie rieulet rising about Michelneie, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cramburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increased yer it come there by an other brooke, whose name I doo not know. This Andeuer streame riseth in Culhamshire forrest, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, yer it touch there it receiueth the rill of which I spake before, which rising also néere vnto Anport, goeth to Monketon, to Abbatesham, the Andeuer, and both (as I said) vnto the Test beneath Horwell, whereof I spake euen now.

These streames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the south vnder Stockbridge, and soone after diuiding it selfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that commeth from bywest of S. Ans hil, and goeth by east of vpper Wallop, west of nether Wallop, by Bucholt forrest, Broughton, and called (as I haue béene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north west of kings Somburne, and vniting themselues againe, they go forth by Motteshunt, and then receiue the Test, a pretie water rising in Clarendun parke, that goeth by west Deane, and east Deane, so to Motteshunt, and finallie to the aforesaid water, which from thencefoorth is called the Test, euen vnto the sea. But to procéd. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Rumseie, Longbridge, and beneath the same receiueth a concourse of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherefield, the other from the new Forrest, and ioining in Wadeleie parke, they beat vpon the Test, not verie farre from Murseling. From thence the Test goeth vnder a pretie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the hauen.

**Eling.** The next riuier that runneth into this port, springeth in the new Forrest, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not passing one mile by west of the fall of Test. From hence casting about againe into the maine sea, and leauing Calde shore castell on the right hand, we directed our course toward the southwest, vnto Beaulieu hauen, whereinto the Mineie descendeth. The Mineie riseth not far from Mineiestéed, a village in the north part of the new Forrest; and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the sea southwest (as I take it) of Exburie, a village standing vpon the shore.

**Limen.** Being past the Mineie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the verie hart of the new Forrest (sometime conuerted into a place of nourishment for déere by William Rufus, buieng his pleasure with the ruine of manie towns and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or enlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running southwest of Lindhirst & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenhirst, west of Bulder, & finallie into the sea south and by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the hauen, for Limen in Gréeke is an hauen: so that Limendune is nothing else, but a downe or higher plot of ground lieng on the hauen: neuerthelesse, sith this denomination of the riuier hath now hir free passage, I think it not conuenient to séeke out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we passed by is namelesse, except it be called Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the next vnto it hight Mile, as I haue heard in English. Certes the head thereof is also in the southwest part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Milford bridge, beyond the which I find a narrow going or strictland leading frō the point to Hirst castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hoong by a thred, from the maine of the lland, readie to be washed awaie by

**Bure.  
Milis.**

the continuall working and dailie beating of the waues.

**Auon.**

The next riuer that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth by northeast, and not far from Woolfehall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomie called Halenus. The first notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is at Vphauen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambresburie, and there is another bridge, from thence to Woodford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Woodford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogether, because it was somewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fisherton bridge, to Cranebridge, old Salisburie, new Salisburie, and finallie to Harnham, which is a statelie bridge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bridge, a little lland, that lieth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure pretie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & soone after it reunith it selfe againe: or else that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harnham bridge it goeth to Dounton, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge fiue miles, to Christes church Twinham fiue miles, and streight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficientlie described. Wherefore I thinke good to deliuer a second receiued of another, which in more particular maner dooth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, rising (as I said before néere) vnto Wolfe hall; although he that will seeke more scrupulouslie for the head in déed, must looke for the same about the borders of the forrest of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were imbraced betwéene the first armes thereof, as I haue benee informed. These heads also doo make a confluence by east of Martinshall hill, and west of Wootton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powseie, Manningfield abbeie, Manningfield crosse, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill west from Rudborow, and another a little lower that riseth also west of Alcanninges, and runneth into the same by Patneie, Merden, Wilford, Charleton, and Rustisall. Being therefore past Newington, it goeth to Vphauen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chesilburie, Compton, Ablington, little Almsburie, Darntford, Woodford, old Salisburie, and so to new Salisburie, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by northwest, & another from north east, which two I will first describe, leauing the Auon at Salisburie for a while. The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire dooth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as some fantastical heads doo imagine: whereof also there is more plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Vpton by Werminster at northwest. From Bishops straw it goeth to Norton, Vpton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hasteth to Wishford, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither commeth a water vnto it from southwest, which riseth of two heads aboue Ouerdonet. After this it goeth by Wordcastell, to Tisburie, and there receiueth a water on ech side, whereof one commeth from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Austie, the other at Swalodise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth next of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberstocke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nader water) Westharnam, Salisburie, and Eastharnam: and this is the race of Wilugh.

**Wilugh.**

**Nader  
becke.**

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth aboue Colingburne Kingston in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more southerlie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Toneie, Idmerson, Porton, the Winterburns, Lauerstocke, and so into Auon east of Salisburie.

**Becquith  
brooke.**

And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes brooke) a mile beneath Harnham bridge, whose head is fiue miles from Sarum, and thrée miles aboue

**Chalkeburne.**

Becquithes bridge, as Leland doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid riuer. Certes it is a pretie brooke, and riseth six miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisburie in a bottome on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knighton and Fennistratford, to Honington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneath Odstocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bridge, except he forget himselfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a pretie village before the erection of new Salisburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in stéed of this church, there is onelie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the northside of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie laie sometime through Wilton, licence was obteneid of the king and Richard bishop of Salisburie, to remooue that passage vnto new Salisburie in like maner, and vpon this occasion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harnham. By this exchange of the waie also old Salisburie fell into vtter decaie, & Wilton which was before the head towne of the shire, and furnished

Thrée towns  
decaied by  
changing one waie.

with twelue parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cause of the ruine of old Salisburie, sith I read of two other, whereof the first was a salue vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was giuen out, that the townesmen wanted water in old Salisburie, it is flat otherwise; sith that hill is verie plentifulle serued with springs and wels of verie swéet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

**An holie  
conflict.**

In the time of ciuill warres, the souldiors of the castell and chanons of old Sarum fell at ods, insomuch that after often bralles, they fell at last to sad blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke that the cleargie going in solemne procession, a controuersie fell betwéene them about certaine walkes and limits, which the one side claimed and the other denied. Such also was the hot intertainment on ech part, that at the last the Castellanes espieng their time, gate betwéene the cleargie and the towne, and so coiled them as they returned homeward, that they feared anie more to gang about their bounds for the yeare. Héerevpon the people missing their bellie cheare (for they were woont to haue banketing at euerie station, a thing commonlie practised by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, or as Latimer said, with beefe, bread and beere) they conceiued fourthwith a deadlie hatred against the Castellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they consulted with Richard Pore their bishop, and he with them so effectualle, that it was not long yer they, I meane the chanons, began a new church vpon a péce of their owne ground called Mirifield, pretending to serue God there in better safetie, and with far more quietnesse than they could doo before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentieth of Aprill, and finished with the expenses of 42000 marks, in the yeare 1260, and fiue & twentieth of March, whereby it appeereth that it was aboue fortie yéers in hand, although the clearks were translated to the new towne 1220, or the third yeere after the fraie. The people also séeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputing their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earnest on the other side to be néere vnto these prelates, and therefore euerie man brought his house vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeeres vtterlie desolate, and new Salisburie raised vp in stéed thereof, to the great decaie also of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I spake of late. Neuerthelesse it should séeme to me that this new citie is not altogether void of some great hinderances now and then by water: for in the second of Edward the second (who held a parlement there) there was a sudden thaw after a great frost, which caused the waters so fast to arise, that euen at high masse time the water came into the minster, and not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the same, but came vp all to the kings pauase where he sate, whereby he became wetshod, and in the end inforced to leaue the church, as the executour did his masse, least they should all haue béene drowned: and this rage indured there for the space of two daies, wherevpon no seruice could be said in the said minster.

**New  
Salisburie  
begun.**

**Sturus.**

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digressed. Our Auon therefore departing from Salisburie, goeth by Burtford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the waie, it goeth by Stanleie, Dunketon, Craiford, Burgate, Fording bridge, Ringwood, Auon, Christes church; and finallie into the sea. But yer it come all there & a litle beneth Christes church, it crosseth the Stoure or Sture, a verie faire streame, whose course is such as may not be left vntouched. It riseth of six heads, whereof thrée lie on the north side of the parke at Sturton within the pale, the other rise without the parke; & of this riuier the towne and baronie of Sturton dooth take his name as I gesse, for except my memorie do too much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the six heads of the said water in his armes. But to procéed. After these branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to long Laime mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gillingham receiueth a water that descendeth from Mere. Thence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Westouer bridge, Stoure prouost, and yer long it taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton to Moreland, & so to Stapleford, seuen miles from Wickhampton, passing in the said voiage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Maries, and soone after crosseth the Lidden and Deuilis waters all in one chanell, whereof the first riseth in Blackemore vale, and goeth to the bishops Caundell: the second in the hils south of Pulham, and so runneth to Lidlinch; the third water issueth néere Ibberton, and going by Fifehed to Lidlington, and there méeting with the Lidden, they receiue the Blackewater about Bagburne, and so go into the Stoure.

**Cale.**

**Blackewater.**

**Lidden.  
Deuilis.**

**Iber.**

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stoureton minster, Fitleford, Hammond, and soone after taking in one water that commeth from Hargraue by west Orchard, and a second from Funtmill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweston, Knighton, Brainston, Blandford, Charleton: and crossing yer long a rill that riseth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launston, Munketon, Caunston, Tarrant, it proceedeth fourth by Shepwijc, and by and by receiuing another brooke on the right hand, that riseth about Stricland, and goeth by Quarleston, Whitchurch, Anderston, and Winterburne, it hasteth forward to Stoureminster, Berford lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, aliàs Twinburne minster, whither commeth a water called Alen (from Knolton, Wikehampton, Estambridge, Hinton, Barnsleie) which hath two heads, whereof one riseth short of Woodcotes, and east of Farnham, named Terig, the

other at Munketon about S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Ashleie, it taketh in the Horton becke, as the Horton dooth the Cranburne. Finallie, meeting with the Terig about Knolton, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Canfords, Preston, Kingston, Perleie, and Yolnest: but yer it come at Yolnest it taketh in two brookes in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from about vpper Winburne, by Edmondesham, Vertwood, and Mannington, and ioining about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebridge, and so into Stoure. After which confluence, the said Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and so into Auon, leauing Christs church about the méeting of the said waters (as I haue said before.)

**This Stoure  
aboundeth  
with pike,  
perch, roch,  
dace,  
gudgeon  
and éeles.**

**Burne.**

Hauing in this maner passed Christes church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little brooke running from Stourefield heath, without branches; from whence we proceeded: & the next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whose mouth vpon the shore, by southwest in a baie of thrée miles off, is a poore fisher towne called Sandwich, where we saw a péere and a little fresh brooke. The verie vtter part of saint Adelmes point, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth west Lilleworth, where (as I heare) is some profitable harborough for ships. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it standeth almost as an Ile in the hauen. The hauen it selfe also, if a man should measure it by the circuit, wanteth little of twentie miles, as I did gesse by the view.

**Poole.**

**Piddle.**

**Deuils.**

Going therefore into the same, betwéene the north and the south points, to sée what waters were there, we left Brunkesie Iland, and the castell on the left hand within the said points; and passing about by Pole, and leauing that créeke, bicause it hath no fresh, we came by Holton and Kesworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the south waters. The north streame high Piddle as I heare. It riseth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walterstow, and yer it come at Birstam, receiueth Deuils brooke that commeth thither from Brugham and Melcombe by Deuilish towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Ashe piddle, Turners piddle (taking in yer it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Middleton, Milburne & Biere) then to Hide, and so into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus speaketh, except I be deceiued. The south water is properlie called Frome for Frame. It riseth néere vnto Euershot, and going downe by Fromequitaine, Chelmington, and Catstocke, it receiueth there a rill from beside Rowsham, and Wraxehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newton, where it méeteth with the Owke, that riseth either two miles about Hoke parke at Kenford, or in the great pond within Hoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, & so go as one from thence to Fromevauchurch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth néere vnto the same a rill from about Vpsidling by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Grimston. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bradford Peuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it crosseth the Silleie aliàs Minterne and Cherne brooks both in one chanell: whereof the first riseth in vpper Cherne parish, the other at Minterne, and méeting about middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Forston, Godmanston, and about Charneminster into Frome. In the meane time also our Frome brancheth and leaueth an Iland about Charneminster, and ioining againe néere Dorchester, it goeth by Dorchester, and Forthington; but yer it come at Beckington, it méeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinstow, Heringstow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without anie further increase as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Morton, Wooll, Bindon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiueth the issue of the Luckford lake, from whence also it passeth by Eastholme, Warham, and so into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we saw a little créeke, then by Owre, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe toward the entrance by saint Helens, and Furleie castell, we went abroad into the maine, and found ourselues at libertie.

**Frome.**

**Ocus.**

**Silleie.  
Minterne.  
Cherne.**

**Luckford.**

**Séeke more  
for Willie  
brooke that  
goeth by  
West burie  
to Pole  
hauen.**

When we were past Pole hauen, we left the Handfast point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at last to Lughport hauen, whereby and also the Luckeford lake, all this portion of ground last remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninsula, and called the Ile of Burbecke, wherein is good store of alum and hard stone. In like sort going still westerlie, we came to Sutton points, where is a créeke. Then vnto Waie or Wilemouth, by kings Welcombe, which is twentie miles from Pole, and whose head is not full foure miles about the hauen by northwest at Vphill in the side of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we saw three falles, whereof the first and greatest commeth from Vpweie by Bradweie, and Radipoole, receiuing afterward the second that ran from east Chekerell, and likewise the third that maketh the ground betwéene Weimouth and Smalmouth passage almost an Iland. There is a little barre of sand at the hauen mouth, and a great arme of the sea runneth vp by the right hand; and scant a mile about the hauen mouth on the shore, is a right goodlie and warlike castell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth vp also further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a passage is into Portland, by a little course of pibble sand. It goeth vp also from the said passage vnto Abbatsbirie about seauen miles off, where a litle fresh rondell resorteth to the sea. And somewhat about this, is the head or point of the Chesill lieng northwest, which stretcheth vp from thence about seauen miles, as a maine

**Chesill.**

narrow banke, by a right line vnto the southeast, and there abutteth vpon Portland scant a quarter of a mile about the Newcastle there. The nature of this banke is such, that so often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at southeast, so often the sea beateth in, and losing the banke soketh through it: so that if this wind should blow from that corner anie long time together, Portland should be left an Iland as it hath béene before. But as the southwest wind dooth appaire this banke, so a northwest dooth barre it vp againe. It is pretie to note of the Townelet of Waimouth, which lieth streight against Milton on the other side, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of small breadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one side of the shore to another, whereby the ferrie men doo guide their botes without anie helpe of Ores. But to procéed with our purpose. Into the mouth of this riuer doo ships often come for succour.

Going by Portland and the point thereof called the Rase, we sailed along by the Shingle, till we came by saint Katharins chappell, where we saw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdéene Beaconward, by Portsham and Abbatsburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the sea, neere Birton, and descended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Bride or Brute port, a pretie hauen, and the riuer it selfe serued with sundrie waters. It riseth halfe a mile or more about Bemister, and so goeth from Bemister to Netherburie by Parneham, then to Melpash, and so to Briteport, where it taketh in two waters from by east in one chanell, of which one riseth east of Nettlecort, and goeth by Porestoke and Milton, the other at Askerwell, and runneth by Longlether. From hence also our Bride going toward the sea, taketh the Simen on the west that commeth by Simensburge into the same, the whole streame soone after falling into the sea, and leauing a pretie hauenet.

The next port is the Chare, serued with two rils in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The cheefe head of this riuer is (as Leland saith) in Marshwood parke, and commeth downe by Whitechurch: the other runneth by west of Wootton, and méeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I said) dooth fall into the sea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Buddle, which commeth about thrée miles by north of Lime, from the hils, fleting vpon Rockie soile, and so falleth into the sea. Certes, there is no hauen héere that I could see, but a quarter of a mile by west southwest of the towne, is a great and costlie iuttie in the sea for succour of ships. The towne is distant from Coliton, about fiue miles. And heere we ended our voiage from the Auon, which conteineth the whole coast of Dorcester, or Dorcetshire, so that next we must enter into Summerset countie, and see what waters are there.

The first water that we méet withall in Summersetshire is the Axe, which riseth in a place called Axe knoll, longing to sir Giles Strangwaie, néere vnto Cheddington in Dorsetshire, from whence it runneth to Mosterne, Feborow, Claxton, Weiford bridge, Winsham foord, and receiuing one rill from the east by Hawkechurch, and soone after another comming from northwest by Churchstoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Axeminster, beneath which it crosseth the Yare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitstaunton, Yarecombe, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a brooke from by south, that runneth by Dalwood) and so into the Axe. From hence our Axe goeth to Drake, Musburie, Culliford: but yer it come altogether at Culliford, it méeteth with a water that riseth about Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widworthie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill also, procéedeth on after the confluence about Culliford bridge, into the Axe, and from thence hold on together into the maine sea, whereinto they fall vnder the roots of the winter cliffes, the points of them being almost a mile in sunder. The most westerlie of them called Berewood, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

But the other toward the east is named Whitecliffe, of which I saie no more, but that "in the time of Athelstane, the greatest nauie that euer aduentured into this Iland, arriued at Seton in Deuonshire, being replenished with aliens that sought the conquest of this Iland, but Athelstane met and incountered with them in the field, where he ouerthrew six thousand of his aforesaid enimies. Not one of them also that remained alieue, escaped from the battell without some deadlie or verie gréeuous wound. In this conflict moreouer were slaine fiue kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Axe minster, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the chéefe of his nobilitie, and they also buried in the churchyard aforesaid. Héervnto it addeth how the bishop of Shireburne was in like sort slaine in this battell, that began at Brunedune neere to Coliton, and indured euen to Axe minster, which then was called Brunberie or Brunburg. The same daie that this thing happened the sunne lost his light, and so continued without anie brightness, vntill the setting of that planet, though otherwise the season was cléere and nothing cloudie."

As for the hauen which in times past as I haue heard, hath béene at Sidmouth (so called of Sidde a rillet that runneth thereto) and likewise at Seton, I passe it ouer, sith now there is none at all. Yet hath there béene sometime a notable one, albeit, that at this present betweene the two points of the old hauen, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble stones, in the verie mouth of it, and the riuer Axe is driuen to the verie east point of the hauen called Whitecliffe. Thereat also a verie little gull goeth into

Bride.

Nature hath set the mouth of this riuer in maner betwixt two hils, so that a little cost would make an haue there.

Buddle.

Axe.

Yare aliàs Arte.

Sidde. Seton.

Simen.

Chare.

the sea, whither small fisherboates doo oft resort for succour. The men of Seton began of late to stake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue changed the course of the Axe, and (almost in the middle of the old hauen) to haue trenched through the Chesill, thereby to haue let out the Axe, & to haue taken in the maine sea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton westward lieth Coliton, about two miles by west northwest, whereof riseth the riuier Colie, which going by the aforesaid towne, passeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betweene Axe bridge and Axe mouth towne into the Axe riuier.

Colie.

By west of Bereworth point lieth a créeke, serued (so farre as I remember) with a fresh water that commeth from the hilles south of Soutleie or Branscombe. Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither commeth a fresh water by S. Maries from the said hils, that goeth from S. Maries aforesaid to Sidburie, & betweene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine sea. By west of Auterton point also lieth another hauen, and thither commeth a pretie riueret, whose head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe first by Vpauter, then by a parke side to Mohuns Auter, Munketon, Honniton, Buckewell, and north of Autrie receiueth a rill called Tale, that riseth northwest of Brodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Pehemburie, Vinniton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwéene Cadde and Autrie, to Herford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and so into the sea. On the west side of this hauen is Budeleie almost directly against Otterton. It is easie to be seene also, that within lesse space than one hundred yeers, ships did vse this hauen, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie hauen of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little créeke comming out of the maine hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time past béene a towne of great estimation.

Sid.

Autrie aliàs  
Ottereie.

Tale.

Exe.

The Ex riseth in Exmore in Summersetshire, néere vnto Ex crosse, and goeth from thence vnto Exeford, Winsford, and Extun, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the south, till it méet with a pretie brooke rising northeast of Whettell (going by Brunton Regis) increased at the least with thrée rilles which come all from by north. These being once met, this water runneth on by west of the beacon that beareth the name of Haddon, & soone after taketh in the Barleie, that receiueth in like sort the Done at Hawkbridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth méet with the Exe, almost in the verie confines betwéene Dorset & Summersetshires. Being past this coniunction, our Exe passeth betwéene Brushford and Murbath, and then to Exe bridge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by west from east Austie: and after this likewise another on ech side, whereof one commeth from Dixford, and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, somewhat by east of Okeford. From these meetings it goeth to Caue and through the forrest and woods to Hatherland and Washfields, vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water that riseth aboue Ashbrittle, & commeth downe by Hockworthie, vpper Loman, and so to Tiuerton that standeth almost euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Simming brooke or Sunnings bath. After this our Exe goeth to Bickleie, Theuerten, (taking in a rill by west) nether Exe, Bramford, beneath which it ioineth with the Columbe that riseth of one head northeast of Clarie Haidon, and of another south of Shildon, and méeting beneath Columbe stocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there crossing a rill that commeth by Ashford, it runneth south to Wood, More haies, Columpton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe Iohn, Hoxham, and ioining (as I said) with the Exe at Bramford, passing vnder but one bridge, yer it meet with another water by west, growing of the Forten and Cride waters (except it be so that I doo iudge amisse.) The Cride riseth aboue Wollesworthie, and néere vnto Vpton: after it is past Dewrish, crosseth a rill from betweene Puggill and Stockeleie by Stocke English, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford, where it méeteth with the Forten, wherof one branch commeth by Caldbrooke, the other from S. Marie Tedburne, and ioining aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which yer long also receiueth another from by north, comming by Stockeleie and Combe) then betwéene Haine and Newton Sires, to Pines, and so into the Exe, which staieth not vntill it come to Excester. From Excester (whither the burgesses in time past laboured to bring the same, but in vaine) it runneth to Were, there taking in a rill from by west, and an other lower by

Barleie.

Done aliàs  
Dones  
broke.

Woodburne.

Lomund or  
Simming.

Columbe.

Cride.  
Forten.

Cluius.

Ken.

The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came to, & it is a goodlie port foure miles from Exemouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the sea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie towne, Teignton drue, where it receiueth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewise an other west of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bridford, Kirslowe, Chidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiueth the Bouie, whose course is to north

Teigne.

Crokerne.

Bouie.  
Eidis.

- Bouie, Lilleie, and Bouitracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eidis, a brooke beneath Preston that commeth from Edeford by the waie. And when it is past this confluence, at kings Teignton, it crosseth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Bushels: and soone after the Aller that riseth betwéene Danburie and Warog well, afterward falling into the sea by Bishops Teignton, south of Teignmouth towne. Leman.
- The verie vtter west point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Nesse, and is a verie high red cliffe. The east part of the hauen is named the Poles, a low sandie ground, either cast vp by the spuing of the sand out of the Teigne, or else throwne vp from the shore by the rage of wind and water. This sand occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betwéene the hauen where the sand riseth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (surnamed Regis) hath in time past béene sore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.
- From Teignemouth we came to Tor baie, wherof the west point is called Birie, and the east Perritorie, betwéene which is little aboue foure miles. From Tor baie also to Dartmouth is six miles, where (saith Leland) I marked diuerse things. First of all vpon the east side of the hauen a great hillie point called Downesend, and betwixt Downesend, and a pointlet named Wereford is a little baie. Were it selfe, in like sort, is not full a mile from Downesend vpward into the hauen. Kingswere towne standeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the second baie. Somewhat moreouer aboue Kingswere towne goeth a little créeke vp into the land from the maine streame of the hauen called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for vessels to be made in. In like sort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer créeke, and aboue that also a greater than either of these called Gawnston, whose head is here not halfe a mile from the maine sea, by the compassing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.
- Dart.** The riuer of Dart or Darent (for I read Derenta muth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fiftéene miles aboue Totnesse, in a verie large plot, and such another wild morish & forrestie ground as Exmore is. Of it selfe moreouer this water is verie swift, and thorough occasion of tin-workes whereby it passeth, it carrieth much sand to Totnesse bridge, and so choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it selfe is almost spoiled by the same. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vprising, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and soone after taking in the Ashburne water on the one side that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfastlich that commeth from north west, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemston, and there also crossing a rill on ech side passeth fourth to Totnesse, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke, méeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Rost bridge, two miles aboue Totnes, or (as another saith) by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Asprempton into Darent, which yon long also commeth to Corneworthie, Grenewaie, Ditsham, Darntmouth towne (wherenvto king Iohn gaue sometimes a maior, as he did vnto Totnesse) from thence betwéene the castelles, and finallie into sea. Buckfastlich.
- Ashburne.**
- Hartburne.**
- From hence we went by Stokeflemming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the second that falleth in east of Slapton, and so coasting out of this baie by the Start point, we saile almost directlie west, till we come to Saltcombe hauen. Certes this port hath verie little fresh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (such as it is) riseth néere Buckland, and goeth to Dudbrooke, which standeth betwéene two créekes. Thence it hieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill, whose head commeth from south and north of Shereford. Finallie it hath another créeke that runneth vp by Ilton: and the last of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whose head is so néere the baie last afore remembred, that it maketh it a sorie peninsula (as I haue heard it said.)
- Awne.** Then come we to the Awne, whose head is in the hils farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dixford wood, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleston, and so into the sea ouer against a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arme riseth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, Iuie bridge, Armington bridge, Fléet, Orchardton, Ownewell, and so vnto the sea, which is full of flats and rocks, so that no ship commeth thither in anie tempest, except it be forced therto, through the vttermost extremitie and desperat hazard of the fearefull mariners. King Philip of Castile lost two ships here in the daies of king Henrie the seuenth, when he was driuen to land in the west countrie by the rage of weather. Yalme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratleie, Yalmeton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and so into the sea, about foure miles by south east from the maine streame of Plimmouth. Being past these portlets, then next of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a verie busie péece to describe, bicause of the numbers of waters that resort vnto it, & small helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courses; yet will I doo what I may in this, as in the rest, and so much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as shall suffice my purpose in this behalfe. Yalme.
- Arme.**
- Sée Hen. 7. pag. 792, 793, 794.**
- Plim.**
- Plim.** The Plimne or Plim, is the verie same water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ships doo ride, is walled on ech side and chained ouer in time of necessitie, and on the south side of the hauen is a blocke house vpon a rockie hill: but as touching the riuer it selfe, it riseth in the hils west of Cornewood,

and commeth downe a short course of thrée miles to Newenham after it be issued out of the ground. From Newenham also it runneth to Plimpton, and soone after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariseth northwest of Shepistour, & goeth frō thence to Memchurch, Hele, Shane, Bickleie, and so to Eford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plim, vntill it go past Plimmouth, and fall into the hauen south east of Plimmouth aforesaid. I haue oftentimes trauelled to find out the cause whie so manie riuers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the British word for a streame, I rested therevpon as resolved for a season: but afterward finding the word to be méere Saxon, and that Stouremare is a prouince subiect to the duke of Saxonie, I yéelded to another opinion: whereby I conceiue that the said name was first deriued from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpose.

Plimmouth it selfe standeth betweene two créeks, not serued with anie backewater, therefore passing ouer these two, we enter into the Thamar that dischargeth it selfe into the aforesaid hauen. Going therefore vp that streame, which for the most part parteth Deuonshire from Cornewall, the first riueret that I met withall on the east side is called Tauie, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles about Peters Tauie, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include Marie Tauie betwéene them, though nothing neere the confluence. From hence the Taue or Tauie runneth to Tauistocke, about which it taketh in a rill from by west, and another about north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmore, and commeth therevnto by Sandford and Harrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, moonks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton follie.

Lidde. Hauling thus dispatched the Tauie, the next that falleth in on the east side vpwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hils about Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, about which it receiueth the Trushell brooke, which rising north east of Brediston, goeth by Trusholton to Ibaine, where it receiueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanswike, and after the confluence runneth to Liston, and from thence into the Thamar. The next about this is the Corewater, this ariseth somewhere about Elwell or Helwell, and going by Virginston, runneth on by saint Giles without anie increase vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glanton, the other from Holsworthie, and both east of Tamerton, which standeth on the further banke, & other side of the Thamar, and west northwest of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Thamar. Certes, the Thamar it selfe riseth in Summersetshire, about thrée miles northeast of Hartland, and in maner so crosseth ouer the whole west countrie betwéene sea and sea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the head, by a tract of six miles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancrase well, Bridge Reuell, Tamerton, Tetcote, Luffencote, Boiton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water on the west side called Arteie, that riseth short of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort frō this confluence, we met with the Kenseie, whose head is short of Warpeston by south east: from whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Tresmure, Trewen, Lanston, and so into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lowwhitton vnto Bradston, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from south Pitherwjc, and by Lesant; beneath Dunterton also it crosseth the Enian. This riuier riseth at Daidston, and directeth his race by saint Clethir, Lancast, and Trelaske first; and then vnder sundrie bridges, vntill it méet with the Thamar. From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calstocke bridge, Calstocke towne, Clifton, Cargreue (there abouts taking in a créeke about Landilip) and running on from thence, hasteth toward Saltash, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Broomwellie hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from about Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wootton, Blossfleming, saint Erne, and beneath this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Quithiocke, saint Germans, and Sheuiocke. But to procéed. After the confluence, it goeth betweene Erlic and Fro Martine castell, and soone after taking in a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Steuens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbrooke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betwéene saint Michaels Ile and Ridden point into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the description of Plimmouth water, and all such falles as are betwéene Newston rocke on the east side, and the Ram head on the other.

After this we procéeded on with our iournie toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came soone after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is about Liscard, & his course by Minheniet, Chafrench, Tregowike, Sutton and so into the sea. Then came we to Low, and going in betwéene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence about Low. The chiefe head riseth in the hils, as it were two miles about Gaine, and going by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little about Low, where it crosseth and ioineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and so into the sea. Next vnto these are two other rils, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawy.

Fawie. Foy or Fawy riuier riseth in Fawy moore, on the side of an hill in Fawy moore, from



**Glin.** whence it runneth by certeine bridges, till it méet with the Glin water west of Glin towne, which rising aboue Temple, & méeting with a rill that commeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Resprin from by east. After this confluence then, it goeth to Resprin bridge, Lestermen castell, Lostwithiell bridge, **Lerinus.** Pill, saint Kingtons, saint Winnow, and Golant, and here also receiuethe the Lerne water out of a parke, that taketh his waie into the maine streame by Biconke, Tethe, and the Fining house. Being thus vnited, it proceedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or creeke from aboue it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Halling on the other: of which two this latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth thrée good miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this riuier addeth verie largelie vnto it after this maner. The Fawy riseth in Fawy moore (about two miles from Camilford by south, and sixtéene miles from Fawy towne) in a verie quauere mire on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Resprin bridge, and Lostwithiell bridge, where it meeteth with a little brooke, and néere therevnto parteth it selfe in twaine. Of these two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of stone, the other to another of timber, and soone after ioining againe, the maine riuier goeth to saint Gwinnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Gwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie dooth faile me. Here goeth in a salt créeke halfe a mile on the east side of the hauen, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerne bridge; the créeke it selfe in like maner bearing the same denomination.

**In the middle of this créeke was a cell of S. Ciret in an Islet longing sometime to Mountegew a priorie.** From Lerne créeke, to S. Caracs pill or créeke, is about halfe a mile, and Lower on the east side of the said hauen: it goeth vp also not aboue a mile and an halfe into the land. From Caracs créeke to Poulmorland a mile, and this likewise goeth vp scant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it parteth it selfe in twaine. From Poulmorland vnto Bodnecke village halfe a mile, where the passage and repassage is commonlie to Fawy. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a créeke goeth vp not fullie a thousand paces into the land) a mile, thence to Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching against the tower on Fawy side, betwéene which (as I doo heare) a chaine hath sometime beene stretched, and likelie inough; for the hauen there is hardly two bow shot ouer. The verie point of land at the east side of the mouth of this hauen, is called Pontus crosse, but now Panuche crosse. It shall not be amisse in this place somewhat to intreat of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Cornish Comwhath, and being situat on the northside of the hauen, is set hanging on a maine rockie hill, being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memorie deceiue me.

The renowme of Fawy rose by the wars vnder king Edward the first, Edward the third, and Henrie the fift, partlie by feats of armes, and partlie by plaine pirasie. Finallie, the townesmen feeling themselues somewhat at ease and strong in their purses, they fell to merchandize, and so they prospered in this their new deuise, that as they trauelled into all places, so merchants from all countries made resort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding rich. The ships of Fawy sailing on a time by Rhie and Winchelseie in the time of king Edward the third, refused stoutlie to vale anie bonet there, although warning was giuen them so to doo by the portgreues or rulers of those townes. Herevpon the Rhie and Winchelseie men made out vpon them with cut and long taile: but so hardlie were they interteined by the Fawy pirates (I should saie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no small losse and hinderance. Such fauour found the Fawy men also immediatlie vpon this bickering, that in token of their victorie ouer their winching aduersaries, and riding rapiers (as they called them in mockerie) they altered their armes and compounded for new, wherein the scutchion of Rhie and Winchelseie is quartered with theirs, and beside this the Foyens were called the gallants of Fawy or Foy, whereof they not a little reioiced, and more peradventure than for some greater bootie. And thus much of Fawy towne, wherein we see what great successe often commeth of witlesse and rash aduentures. But to returne againe to our purpose from whence we haue digressed, and as hauing some desire to finish vp this our voiage, we will leaue the Fawmouth & go forward on our iournie.

**Gallants of Foy or Fawy.**

Being therefore past this hauen, we come into Trewardith baie, which lieth into the land betwéene Canuasse and the Blacke head point, and here about Leland placeth Vrctoum promontorium. In this we saw the fall of two small brookes, not one verie far distant from another. The first of them entring west of Trewardith, the other east of saint Blaies, and both directlie against Curwarder rocke, except I mistake my compasse. Neither of them are of anie great course, and the longest not full thrée miles and an halfe. Wherefore sith they are neither branched nor of anie great quantitie, what should I make long haruest of a little corne and spend more time than may well be spared about them?

When we were past the Blacke head, we came to Austell brooke, which is increased with a water that commeth from aboue Mewan, and within a mile after the confluence, they fall into the sea at Pentoren, from whence we went by the Blacke rocke, and about the Dudman point, till we came to Chare haies, where falleth in a pretie water, whose head is two miles aboue saint Tues. Thence we went by here and there a méere salt créeke, till we passed the Graie rocke, in Gwindraith baie, and S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt to enter into Falamouth hauen.

**Austell.**

**Chare.**

**Fala.** The Fala riseth a little by north of Penuenton towne, and going westward till it come downwards toward saint Dionise, it goeth forth from thence to Melader, saint Steuens Grampont, Goldon, Crede, Corneleie, Tregue, Moran, Tregunna, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force: and this is the course of Fala. But least I should séeme to omit those creekes that are betwéene this and S. Anthonies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch in so manie of them, as come now to my remembrance. Entring therefore into the port, we haue a créeeke that runneth vp by saint Anthonies toward saint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land by east of saint Maries castell, with a forked head, passing in the meane time by a great rocke that lieth in the verie midst of the hauen, in maner of the third point of a triangle, betwéene saint Maries castell and Pendent.

Thence we cast about by the said castell, and came by another créeeke that falleth in by east, then the second aboue saint Iustus, the third at Ardenora, the fourth at Rilan. And hauing as it were visited all these in order, we came backe againe about by Tregonna, and then going vpward betwéene it and Taluerne, till we came to Fentangolan, we found the confluence of two great creekes beneath saint Clements, whereof one hath a fresh water comming downe by S. Merther, the other another from Truro, increased with sundrie branches, though not one of them of anie greatnesse, and therefore vnworthie to be handled. Pole hole standeth vpon the head almost of the most easterlie of them. S. Kenwen and Truro stand about the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by west from certeine hils: as for the fift and sixt, as they be little créeks and no fresh, so haue I lesse language and talke to spend about them.

**S. Caie.**  
**S. Feoks.** Of saint Caie, and saint Feokes créeeke, whose issue is betwéene Restronget and créeeke of Trurie, I sée no cause to make any long spéech; yet I remember that the towne of S. Feoke standeth betwéene them both. That also called after this saint, rising aboue Perannarwothill, and comming thence by Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeast of Milor, which standeth vpon the point betwéene it and Milor créeeke. Milor creeke is next Restronget: some call it Milor poole, from whence we went by Trefusis point, and there found an other great fall from Perin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin towne almost in the verie confluence. And thus much by my collection of the fall. But for somuch as Leland hath taken some paines in the description of this riuier, I will not suffer it to perish, sith there is other matter contained therein worthie remembrance, although not deliuered in such order as the thing it selfe requireth.

**Milor.**

**Fala.** The verie point (saith he) of the hauen mouth (being an hill whereon the king hath builded a castell) is called Pendent. It is about a mile in compasse, almost inuironed with the sea: and where the sea couereth not, the ground is so low that it were a small mastrie to make Pendent an Iland. Furthermore, there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauen a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maister Killigrewes house one great arme of the hauen runneth vp to Penrine towne, which is three miles from the verie entrie of Falamouth hauen, and two good miles from Penfusus. Moreouer there is Leuine, Priselo, betwixt saint Budocus and Pendas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of sand. But to procéed.

**Leuine.** The first creeke or arme that casteth on the northwest side of Falamouth hauen, goeth vp to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the lesse runneth to Glasenith, Viridis nidus, the gréene nest, or Wagméere at Penrine: the other to saint Glunias the parish church of Penrine. In like sort out of each side of Penrine créeeke, breaketh an arme yer it come to Penrine. This I vnderstand also that stakes and foundations of stone haue béene set in the créeeke at Penrine a little lower than the wharfe, where it breaketh into armes: but howsoeuer this standeth, betwixt the point of Trefusis and the point of Restronget is Milor créeeke, which goeth vp a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ships. The next creeke beyond the point of Restronget wood, is called Restronget, which going two miles vp into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Restronget and the creeke of Trurie be two créekes; one called saint Feokes, the other saint Caie, next vnto which is Trurie créeeke that goeth vp about two miles créeking from the principall streame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Trurie, casting in a branch westward euen hard by Newham wood.

**Milor.**

**Restronget.**

**S. Feoks.**  
**S. Caie.**

**Trurie**  
**créeeke.**

This creeke of Trurie is diuided into two parts before the towne of Trurie, and each of them hauing a brooke comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trurie standeth betwixt them both. In like sort Kenwen stréet is seuered from the said towne with this arme, and Clements street by east with the other. Out of the bodie also of Trurie creeke breaketh another eastward a mile from Trurie, and goeth vp a mile and a halfe to Cresilian bridge of stone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this créeeke is a rode of ships called Maples rode: and here fought not long since eightéene ships of Spanish merchants, with foure ships of warre of Deepe, but the Spaniards draue the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe aboue the mouth of Curie creeke, is another named Lhan Moran of S. Morans church at hand. This créeeke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine streame into the hauen, as the maine streame goeth vp two miles aboue Moran créeeke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher, is the towne of Cregowie, where we found a bridge of stone vpon

**Moran.**

the Fala riuier. Fala it selfe riseth a mile or more west of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I saw a bridge of stone.

**Graund pont.**

This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his course. From Cregowie to passe downe by the bodie of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanie horne pill or créeke, on the south side of the hauen is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth vp halfe a mile from the principall streame of the hauen. From Lanihorne pill also is a place or point of sand about a mile waie of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninsula) called Ardeuerauter. As for the water or créeke that runneth into the south southeast part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile vp into the land, and the créeke that hemmeth in this peninsula, of both dooth seeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the west creeke of this peninsula, vnto saint Iustes creeke, is foure miles or more.

**S. Iustus.  
S. Mawes.**

In like maner from saint Iustes pill or créeke (for both signifie one thing) to saint Mawes creeke is a mile and a halfe, and the point betwéene them both is called Pendinas. The créeke of saint Mawes goeth vp a two miles by east northeast into the land, and beside that it ebbeth and floweth so farre, there is a mill driuen with a fresh créeke that resorteth to the same. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the hauen, is a créeke in maner of a poole, whereon is a mill also that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the south side entereth a créeke (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine sea by a small sandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little créekelet. But how so euer these créekes doo run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are meruellouslie well woodded. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being past Falmouth hauen therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, maister Killegregwes place which standeth on the brimme or shore within Falmouth) we came to a little hauen which ran vp betwéene two hilles, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were serued with anie backe fresh water or not.

**Polwitherall.  
Polpenrith.**

From thence we went by Polwitherall creeke (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenrith, wherevnto a riuieret falleth that riseth not farre from thence, and so goeth to the maine streame of the hauen at the last, whither the créeke resorteth about thrée miles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare bridges, doo fall in one bottome (as Leland hath reported.) Vnto this hauen also repaireth the Penkestell, the Callous, the Cheilow, and the Gilling, although this latter lieth against saint Mawuons on the hither side hard without the hauen mouth (if I haue doone aright.) For so motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are those bookes of Leland which I haue, and beside that, his annotations are such and so confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie sense from them by a leafe together. Wherefore I suppose that he dispersed and made his notes intricate of set purpose: or else he was loth that anie man should easilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no lesse trauell attained vnto by experience. Thus leauing Fala hauen, as more troublesome for me to describe, than profitable for seafaring men, without good aduise to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came straight southwest to Helford hauen, whose water commeth downe from Wréeke (where is a confluence of two small rilles whereof that rill consisteth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receiueth a rill on the north ripe from Constantine, after whose confluence it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is spoiled by sand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this also is another rill comming from S. Martyrs, by whose course, and another ouer against it on the west side that falleth into the sea by Winniton, all Menage is left almost in maner of an Iland. From hence we go south to the Manacle point, then southwest to Lisard, and so north and by west to Predannoche points, beyond which we méet with the fall of the said water that riseth in the edge of Menag, and goeth into the sea by Melien on the north, and Winniton on the south. By north also of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth short of Magan, and toucheth with the Ocean south of Pengwenian point.

**Wike.  
Gare. Mogun.  
Penkestell.  
Callous.  
Cheilow.  
Gilling.**

**Haile.**

**Curie.**

**Loo.**

From hence we sailed to the Loo mouth, which some call Lopoole, because it is narrower at the fall into the sea, than it is betwéene the sea and Hailston. It riseth aboue S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wendron, it hasteth to Hailston or Helston, from whence onelie it is called Loo: but betwéene Helston and the head, men call it commonlie Cohor. Of this riuier Leland saith thus: The Lopoole is two miles in length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of sand that once in thrée or foure yéeres, what by weight of the fresh water, and working of the sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noise: but soone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the superfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and éele) draineth out through the sandie barre into the open sea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie hauen vp vnto Haileston towne, where coinage of tin is also vsed, as at Trurie and Lostwithiell, for the quéenes aduantage.

**Simneie.**

Being passed the Loo, I came to another water that descendeth without anie increase from Crowan by Simneie, whose whole course is not aboue thrée miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Baie, and going streight north

**Lid.**

(leaving S. Michaels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which rising short of Tewidnacke, descendeth by Lidgenan, and so into the sea. Certes the course of these waters cannot be long, sith in this verie place this breadth of land is not about foure miles, and not more than fiue at the verie lands end. There is also a rill east of Korugie, and Guluall, and another west of the same hard at hand, and likewise the third east of Pensants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the second, southwest of Pensants also lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Newlin, from whence going southwest out of the baie by Moushole Ile, that lieth south of Moushole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels & Lamoriele point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by west of Sancrete, the other from by west of an hill that standeth betwéene them both, and ioining about Remels, it is not long yer they salute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Rosecastell, there are two other créekes, whereof one is called Boskennie, that riseth south of saint Buriens, and an other somewhat longer than the first, that issueth by west of the aforesaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore doo appoint S. Buriens to be at the véere lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not néere the lands end by thrée miles. This latter rill also is the last that I doo reade of on the south side, and likewise on the west and north, till we haue sailed to S. Ies baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Bresan Ile eastward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middest and highest part of the baie of the same. The soile also is verie hillie here, as for saint Ies towne, it is almost (as I said) a byland, and yet is it well watered with sundrie rilles that come from those hilles vnto the same.

**Bresan Ile.**

**Haile.**

The Haile riseth in such maner, and from so manie heads, as I haue before said: howbeit I will adde somewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the chéefe head of Haile riseth by west of Goodalfin hilles, and going downe toward saint Erthes, it receiueth the second, and best of the other three rilles from Goodalfin towne: finallie, comming to saint Erthes, and so vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, south of Phelacke, which hath two heads, the said village standing directlie betwixt them both.

**Clowart.**

**Caine.**

The Caine riseth southeast of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increase by west of Gwethian, and so into the sea west of Mara Darwaie. From hence we coasted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riseth of two heads from those hilles that lie by south of the same: one of them also runneth by saint Vni, another by Redreuth, and méeting within a mile, they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another small rill, and likewise two other créekes, betwixt which the towne of saint Agnes standeth; and likewise the fourth halfe a mile beyond the most easterlie of these, whose head is almost thrée miles within the land in a towne called saint Alin. Thence going by the Manrocke, and west of saint Piran in the sand, we find a course of thrée miles and more from the head, and hauing a forked branch, the parts doo méet at west about saint Kibbard, and so go into the sea. I take this to be saint Pirans créeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or créeke, whose head is at Guswarth, from whence it goeth vnto Trerise, and soone after taking in a rill from by west, it runneth into the sea coast of saint Carantakes. Beyond this is another créeke that riseth about little saint Colan, and goeth by lesse saint Columbe: and east and by north hereof commeth downe one more whose head is almost south of the Nine stones, & going from thence to great saint Columbes, it passeth by Lamberne, and so into the sea. S. Merous créeke is but a little one, rising west of Padstow, and falling in almost ouer against the Gull rocke. Then turning betwéene the point and the blacke rocke, we entred into Padstow hauen thrée miles lower than port Issec, and a mile from port Ewin, whose waters remaine next of all to be described.

**Luggam.**

**S. Pirans  
créeke.  
Carantocke.**

**Padstow.  
Locus  
bufonis.**

**Alannus.  
Eniam.**

The Alan ariseth flat east from the hauen mouth of Padstow, well néere eight or nine miles about Daudistone, neere vnto which the Eniam also issueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it passeth to Camelford, saint Aduen, saint Bernard (both Cornish saints) and soone after receiueth a rill at northeast, descending from Rowters hill. Thence it goeth to Bliseland, and Helham, the first bridge of name that standeth vpon Alin. Yer long also it taketh in one rill by south from Bodman, another from saint Laurence, the third by west of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethiell, no one of them excéeding the course of thrée miles, and all by south. From hence it goeth toward Iglesaleward, and there receiueth a water on the east side, which commeth about two miles from saint Teath, by Michelston, saint Tuchoe, saint Maben (mo Cornish patrons) and finallie south of Iglesall, méeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Woodbridge.

**Carneseie.  
Laine.**

Hereabout I find, that into our Alein or Alen, there should fall two riuers, whereof the one is called Carneseie, the other Laine, and comming in the end to full notice of the matter, I sée them to issue on seuerall sides beneath Woodbridge almost directlie the one against the other. That which descendeth from northwest, and riseth about saint Kew, is named Carneseie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the southwest banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to rise two miles about S. Esse. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, there are two other créekes on ech side also, beneath these, as Pethrike creeke, and Minner créeke (so called of the Cornish

**Pethrike.  
Minner.  
Dunmere.**

saints) for that soile bred manie, wherewith I finish the description of Alen, or (as some call it) Dunmere, and other Padstow water.

From Padstow hauen also they saile out full west to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewise two rockes, which lie in the east side of the hauen, secretlie hidden at full sea, as two pads in the straw, whereof I think it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I haue read that Padstow is a corrupted word for Adlestow, and should signifie so much as Athelstani locus, as it may well be. For it is euident that they had in time past sundrie charters of priuilege from Athelstane, although at this present it be well stored with Irishmen. But to our purpose. Leland supposed this riuier to be the same Camblan, where Arthur fought his last and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that doo eare the ground there, doo oft plow vp bones of a large size, and great store of armour, or else it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romans had some field (or Castra) thereabout, for not long since (and in the remembrance of man) a brasse pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus passed Padstow hauen, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a poore fisher towne, where I find a brooke and a péere. Then I came to Portissec aliàs Cunilus two miles further, and found there a brooke, a péere, and some succor for fisher boats. Next of all vnto a brooke that ran from south east, directlie north into the Sauerne sea, and within halfe a mile of the same laie a great blacke rocke like an Iland. From this water to Treuenni is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to saint Simphorian, and in which paroch also Tintagell or Dundagie castell standeth, which is a thing inexpugnable for the situation, and would be made with little reparations one of the strongest things in England. For it standeth on a great high terrible crag inuironed with the sea. There is a chappell yet standing in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to saint Vlet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a mile in sunder.

**Tredwie.** The next créeke is called Bosinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the same Tredwie water resorteth, and so they go to the sea betwixt two hils, whereof that on the one side lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the fashion of an hauenet or peere, whither shiplets sometime doo resort for succour. A frier of late daies tooke vpon him to make an hauen at this place, but in vaine. There lie also two blacke rocks as Ilets, at the west northwest point, or side of this créeke, the one (sauing that a little gut dooth part them) ioining with the other, and in these by all likelihood is great store of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by

**Boscastell.** Boscastell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this description of the latter. Boscastell créeke that lieth east of Tintagell, is but a small thing, running at the most not aboue two miles into the land, yet it passeth by foure townes, whereof the first is called Lesneth, the second saint Juliet, the third Minster, and the fourth Boscastell or Bushcastell, as some men doo pronounce it.

**Bede. Lancel.** In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whose chiefe head is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueth the Lancel rill before it come at Norham. And here also it crosseth another whose head is east of saint Marie wijke, from whence it runneth by Wolston and Whalesborow, and thence into the sea betweene Efford and Plough hill. And thus much of the waters that lie betwéene the point of Cornwall, and the Hartland head vpon the north side of Cornwall. Now let vs doo the like with those that remaine of Deuonshire, whereo the said Hartland is the verie first point in this our poetically voiage. Hauing therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barstable bar, and so into the hauen, whereinto two principall streams doo perpetuallie vnburden their chanel.

**Ocus.** The first and more westerlie of these is called Ocus, whose head is not farre west of the head of Darnt, and Loth in Darntmore. Rising therefore in the aforesaid place, it runneth northwest to Snorton, and so to Okehampton, beneath which towne it méeteth with an other water comming from southeast, & riseth not much west from the head of Tawe. From hence it goeth to Stow Exborne, Moonke Okington, & Iddesleie, where it taketh in the Tanridge a verie pretie streamelet, whose issue is not full a mile by east from the head of Thamar, thrée miles by north east from Hartland. Comming therefore by west and east Putford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from each side of Bradworthie by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, & so to Thornebirie, where méeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunsland, ioineth with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with speed into the Tanridge water. After this confluence it runneth on to Shéepewash (by west whereof falleth in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and so to Haitherlaie, north wherof it taketh in a rill from by south, and endeth his race at Iddesleie, by ioining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus hasteth to Dowland, and betwéene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by east, as it dooth an other betwéene Doulton and Marton from by west, and so procéeding on with his course, it commeth east of Torrington the lesse, and taking in a water at east, that runneth from thrée heads (by Wollie parke) betweene which Combe and Roughborow are situat, it descendeth to

**Buckland.** Torrington the more, and meeting with the Langtrée water on the one side, and the Ware brooke on the other, it procéedeth to Bediford, crossing a rill by the waie that commeth vnto it betwéene Annarie & Littham. From Bediford bridge it goeth without anie increase to Westleie, Norham, Appledoure, and so into the hauen.

**Tanridge.  
Turrege.**

**Were or Ware.**

**Taw.** The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithstanding that his hauen be barred with sand; and thereby dangerous, and hath most rills descending into his chanell. Howbeit, by these two is all the hart of Deuonshire well watered on the northside of the moores. The Tawy riseth directlie at south west of Throwlie, and north of the head of Darnt, or (as Leland saith) in Exmore south east from Barstable. From thence also it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bath, Northtaueton, Ashridge, **Bowmill.** Colridge, and soone after receiue the Bowmill créeke, wherof one head riseth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meeting beneth Bishops Morchard, they fall into the Taw north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue béene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by south whereof it méeteth with a rill comming downe of two heads from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawleie. Thence it goeth to **Moulebraie.** Burrington, and Chiltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Moulebraie water consisting of two in one chanell, wherof the Moll dooth rise aboue north Moulton, and comming to Moulton receiue another rill running from Molland, and soone after the second that growing by two brookes (the head of one being at Knawston, and of the other west of Crokeham, and both vniting themselues beneth Mariston) dooth fall into the same yer long also, and so go together till it crosse the Braie, **Braie.** which (being the second of the two that maketh the Moulbraie) riseth at Braie, commeth by Buckland, and south of Holtwood dooth make his confluence with Taw. Being past the wood, it goeth on to Brightleie hall, Taueton, Tauestocke, & Berstable, sometime a pretie walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and such in déed, as that the suburbes thereof are greater than it selfe. I suppose that the name of this towne in the British speach was Abertaw, bicause it stood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdnesse pronounced short (as I gesse) for Abernesse. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to doo in the proper name of the towne. King Athelstane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is also worthie to be noted hereof, that the houses there are of stone, as most are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpose. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head néere about Challacombe, & another at east Downe, whereof this descending by Stoke riuier, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themselues within thrée miles of Berstable. Soone after also it taketh in another that descendeth from **Doneham.** Bitenden by Ashford, and the last of all east of saint Anthonies chappell, named the Doneham, bicause one head is at west Done, and the other at Ham, both of them méeting west of Ash. And thus is Taue described, which is no great water nor quicke streame, as may appéere in Low water marke at Berstable and yet is it a pretie riueret. This also is worthie to be noted thereof, that it receiue no brooke from by west, whereof I would somewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Being past the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint aliàs Bagpoint, we go by More baie, Morstone aliàs Mortstone, and then toward the northeast, till we come by a créekelet to Ilfare combe, & so to Combe Marton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are sundrie créekees of salt water, but not serued with anie fresh that I as yet doo heare of. Marrie there is betwéene Martinbow & Trensow, a créeke that hath a backwater, **Paradine.** which descendeth from Parracombe (so farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greatest of all is betweene Linton and Connisberie called Ore, which **Orus.** riseth in Summersetshire in Exmore (east of Hore oke, more than a mile) and going by Owre, falleth into the sea betwéene Linton and Consiberie, so that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finished the discourse of the waters of Deuonshire, whose breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkstones in the mouth of Ex, on the south side of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and so much likewise is it from Plimmouth to Hartland point, but the broadest part there commeth to six and thirtie miles, whereas the broadest part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

**Loch.** Being past the aforesaid limits of the counties we came to Portlochbaie, whither commeth a water named Loch that descendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increase. Thence to Dunsteir brooke, which runneth from about Wootton, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunsteir, then to another that commeth west of **Durus.** Old Cliffe, leauing a parke on the west side, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quantocke hils south of Bickualer by Westquantocke head, and almost at Doniford, receiue the Williton becke, then to east Quantocke brooke (omitting a créekelet) & next of all to Doddington water, that goeth by Holford, **Doddington.** Alfoxton, and afterward into the sea. From hence we go by Bottesall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers doo make their confluence, which I will seuerallie describe, as to my purpose apperteineth.

**Iuelus.** The first of these is called the Iuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Yoo, who saith that the riuier Yoo dooth runne from Ilchester to Bridgewater, and so into the sea. It riseth aboue Oburne, and at Shirburne receiue a water, whereof Leland saith thus. There are seuen springs in an hill called the seuen sisters, north east from Shireburne, which gather into one bottome, & come into the Mere. Another brooke likewise commeth by Heidon from Puscandell, three miles from thence by flat east, betwixt the parke and the Mere full so great as the streame of the Mere, and ioining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long yer it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on towards Glasen Bradford, and yer it come there

**The seuen sisters.**

**Cade.** taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorsetshire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the same, so that they run foorth by Bearhaggard and Thorneford (till they méet with the Iuell) and so to Clifton, Euill a proper market towne, Trent, Mutford, Ashinton, and east of Limminton it méeteth with the Cade that runneth from Yarlington, by north Cadbirie, and soone after crossing a rill also from by east, that commeth from Blackeford by Compton, it hasteth to south Cadbirie, Sparkeford, Queenes Camell, west Camell, and so into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilchester, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The first of all these riseth southeast betwéene the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Meriot taketh in a brooke from the east, which consisteth of two courses vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one descendeth from Pen by Hasilburie, the other from aboue the thrée Chenocks, as I doo vnderstand.

**Parret.** From hence also they go as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambrooke, Thorneie bridge, and Muchelneie where it méeteth with the second called Ill or Ilus, whose head is aboue Chellington, & comming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chascombe and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilmister on the east side, it meeteth with another from by east, descending from about Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it crosseth the Ilton water by west) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioineth with a rillet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Iuell looseth his name, and is called Parret: but this coniecture cannot hold, sith in the old writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the sea. Neuerthelesse, how soeuer this matter standeth, being past Langport, it goeth by Awber toward saint Anthonies, where it méeteth with the Tone next of all to be described.

**Ill.** The Tone issueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by west of Wiuelscombe, to Stawleie, Ritford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water cōming from Sanford Combe, Elworthie, Brunt Rafe, Miluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence also it runneth to Helebridge, and there below méeteth with one water that runneth by Hawse, Hethford, and Norton, then another from Crokeham by bishops Slediard, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that descendeth from Kingston by north, and another by south that riseth about Pidmister. And thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taunton to Riston, Crech, Northcurrie, Ling, and so by Anthonie into the Iuell, that after this confluence méeteth yer long with the Chare, a pretie riuier that commeth by east from Northborow, by Carleton, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Higham, Audrie moore, Audrie, and Michelsborow. From whence going on betweene Quéenes moore and North moore, it receiueth one brooke called Peder from by southwest, that runneth through Pederton parke and North moore; and likewise another that passeth by Durleie, yer it doo come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directlie northwest, and then turning flat west, it goeth northward towards the sea, taking in two waters by the waie, whereof one runneth by Coripole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Siddington and Comage, and then receiuing the Brier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this suffice for the description of the Iuell, whose streame dooth water all the west part of Summersetshire and leaueth it verie fruitfull.

**Tone.** The Brier, Bruer, or Bréer, riseth of two waters, wherof one is in Selwood forest, & commeth downe by Bruecombe, Bruham, and Bruton. The other which Leland nameth Mellos, is northest of Staffordell towne, and going by the same, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wike; where it méeteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Awnsford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riseth néere Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Basborow wood, the Torhill, Pont perilous (whereinto they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calibur his sword) by Glastenburie and so into the Méere. Beside this riuier there are two other also that fall into the said Méere, whereof the one called Sowaie commeth from Créechurch parke, and Pulton by Hartlacke bridge, the other named Cos or the Coscombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which east of Wike taketh in a water comming from Welles) by Wike, Gedneie, and so into the Méere. Finallie, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Burtlehouse, and soone after diuiding it selfe, one arme goeth by Bastian aliàs Brent bridge, to High bridge, leauing Huntspill a market towne by southwest, the other by Marke to Rokes bridge, Hebbes passage, and so into the sea, leauing a faire Iland, wherin beside Brentmarsh are seuen or eight townes, of whose names I haue no knowledge.

**Brier.** Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I said) into the Coscombe water on the right hand of the Cawseie; you shall vnderstand that as manie springs are in Wels, so the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which riseth in a medow plat not farre from the east end of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coscombe, in such place as I haue noted. Leland speaketh of the Milton & Golafer waters, which should fall likewise into the Brier: but whether those be they whereof the one riseth aboue Staffordell, and in the descent runneth by

**Brier.**

*Leland writeth the first Brieuelus and the second Mellodunus or the Milton water.*

**Milton.  
Golafer.**

Shipton, Pitcombe, and so to Awnsford on the one side, as the other dooth rise betwéene Batcombe and Vpton noble on the other halfe; or vnto whether of them either of these names are seuerallie to be attributed: as yet I doo not read.

The second Axe which commeth by Axe towne in old time called Vexa, issueth out of Owkie hole, from whence it goeth by Owkie towne, afterward meeting with the Chederbrooke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Æoli, wherof much hath béene written & surmised past credit. It runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compasse into the northeast branch of the aforesaid riuier last described, betweene Rokes bridge and Hebbes passage, as I haue beene informed. From the fall of Axe we come to an other called Bane, northeast of Woodspring, whose head is about Banwell parke, or else in Smaldon wood. Then to an other, and to the third, called Artro, which riseth about Litton, and going by the Artroes, Vbbeie, Perribrige (receiuing a rill yer it come thither from by south) beneath Cungesbirie, or (as I learne) betwéene Kingston and Laurence Wike, it méeteth with the sea.

Axe. 2.

Bane.

Cleueden.

Sottespill water riseth betwéene Cheueleie and Naileseie, howbeit it hath no increase before it come into the sea at Sottespill, more than the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certeine towne neere to the fall thereof. It riseth southeast of Barrow, goeth by Burton Naileseie, and so vnto Cleuedon. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verie famous by sundrie occasions, to be particularlie touched in our description of Bristow. Yet thus much will I note héere thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verie same year that the old monasterie of Euesham fell downe by itselfe, a porpasse was taken therein neere to the said monasterie, and neuer anie before or since that time heard of to haue béene found in that streame. And euen so not manie yeares before I first wrote this treatise, a sturgion was taken aliue in Rochester streame, which the bishop gaue vnto your honor, and you would as gladlie haue sent it to the quéenes maiestie, if she might haue béene presented withall aliue as it was taken. Certes both these rare occurrents gaue no lesse occasion of strange surmises to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Brerton, when they appeare, doo vnto that familie; of which the report goeth that they are neuer séene but against some mischéefe or other to befall vnto that house. But how farre am I gone from my purpose?

The Auon therefore riseth in the verie edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Brokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmsburie, where it receiueth two waters, that is to saie, one from by west comming by Foreleie and Bromleham, which runneth so néere to the Auon in the west suburbe of Malmsburie, that the towne thereby is almost made an Iland. Another from Okeseie parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Garesden. After this confluence it hasteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the southeast, till it méet with a water comming from southwest (betwéene Hullauington and Bradfield) by Aston: and soone after with another at the northside from Binall by Wootton Basset (through the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bridges) and after the confluence to Dauntseie, Segar, Sutton, Christmalford, Auon, Calwaies house, and then to west Tetherton. Beneath this towne also it taketh in a water increased by two brookes, whereof one comming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitleie house and Bramble (and there receiuing another that commeth by Calne) passeth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thencefoorth goeth to Chippenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Cosham water, goeth to Laccocke, Melsham, and yer it come at Whaddon, crosseth two other in one chanell, whereof one riseth about Brunham house, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and from thence runneth to Potterne wood, Creeke wood, Worton, Maston, Bucklington, and ioining with the other about Litleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforesaid into the maine streame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and southwest of that towne méeteth with the Were that commeth from Vpton by Dilton, Brooke parke (there crossing a rill called Bisse from Westbirie vnder the plaine) then to north Bradleie, Trubridge, and so into Auon that goeth from thence to Bradford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Freshford, it méeteth with the Frome, whose description dooth insue.

The Frome riseth in the east part of Mendip hils, and from thence runneth by Astwyc, the Cole pits, Lie vnder Mendip, Whateleie, Elmesbridge, and soone after taketh in the Nonneie water, comming from Nonneie castell, thence to Walles and Orcharleie bridge, where it receiueth a pretie brooke descending from Frome Selwood west of Brackleie, increased with sundrie rils, whereof two come out of Selwood forrest (and one of them from the Fratrie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningsham, and the fourth from Cosleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie castell, Bord and Fresh foord, and taking in the Silling brooke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and east of Freshford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiueth on the left hand a water comming from southwest, increased by sundrie brookes, whereof one commeth from Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Eston, Midsummer Norton, by Welston, Rodstocke, Wrigleton, Foscot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Norton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it méeteth with another water comming from Barthford, whose head is at Litleton from whence it runneth by

Frome.

Nonneie.

The Chederbrooke, driueth twelue miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.

Sottespill.

Auon. 3.

Sturgion taken in Rochester water.

Cosham.

Were.

Westbirie vnder the plaine, neuer without a théefe or twaine.

Silling.



west Kineton to Castell combe (where it ioineth with a rill rising by north from Littleton drue) and thence commeth south to Slaughtenford, Haselburie, Box, Baithford, and so into the Auon, which turning plaine west, hasteth to Baithwyc, and (meeting with another in his passage from Caldaston) to Bath, the Tiuertons, and Coston.

**Swinford.** Héere also it taketh in a rill by the waie from Markesburie by Wilmerton and Newton, and then going on to Sawford, it méeteth with one rill soone west of Northstocke, named Swinford, and another by Bitton, from Durhain by Wike, and so procéedeth still holding on his way to Caimsham, a towne in Summerset shire (so called of Caim an English saint, by whose praiers, as the countrie once beléueed, all the adders, snakes and serpents were turned into stone, their formes reserued, and for a certeine space of ground about the said towne, and whereof some store as yet is to be found in those quaries. But this miracle is so true as the historie of Hilda, or that S. Patrike should chase all venemous creatures out of Italie, with his staffe; or that maid Radegund should driue the crowes to the pound, which did annoie hir corne while she went vnto a chappell to heare & sée a masse) where it crosseth the Chute, which issueth at Winford, and goeth by bishops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue comming from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, & so into the Auon. The Auon likewise after all these confluences goeth to Briselton, and so to Bristow, beneath which it receiueth a rill on each side (wherof one commeth from about Stoke lodge in Glocestershire, being a faire water and running by Acton, Frampton, Hambroch, Stapleton, and through Bristow, the other by south from Dundreie hill and towne, by Bisport and Bedminster) and so descending yet lower, goeth to Rawneham passage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Laie, next of all to Crocampill, and finallie into the sea, whither all waters by nature doo resort.

**Alderleie.** Beside this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderleie brooke, which in some ancient records is also called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like maner he talketh of **Douresleie.** Douresleie becke, whose principall head is in Douresleie towne: howbeit he saith no thing of it more, than that it serueth sundrie tucking lucking milles, and goeth by **Tortworth.** Tortworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauerne. Finallie, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard stone about Douresleie, he telleth of the Tortworth becke, that runneth within a flight shot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Auon, except I mistake his meaning, which may soone be doone among his confused notes.

## CHAP. XIII.

**Sauerne.**

The Sauerne which Ptolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuideth England or that part of the Iland, which sometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, so called of Camber, the second sonne of Brute, as our histories doo report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walsh, whereby that nation dooth vse to call all strangers without respect of countrie. This riuer tooke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habren or Hafren, base daughter to Locrinus begotten vpon Estrildis daughter to Humber otherwise called Cumbrus or Vmar, and for which some write Chonibrus king of Scithia, that sometime inuaded this Island, and was ouerthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as shall be shewed at hand: although I suppose rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added "Propter euphoniā:" for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the British spéech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is so much to saie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our discourse of Humber or Vmar, which is worthie to be remembred.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to passe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir sonne: and then getting the said Estrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir hands, she drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir husbands disloialtie towards hir, she caused the streame to be called Habren of the yoong ladie, for which the Romans in processe of time for readinesse and mildnesse of pronounciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time doo pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the said Abren also I find these verses insuing:

In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,  
Nomen Abren, fluuiio de virgine, nomen eidem  
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine sea betweene Wales and Cornwall, which is and shall be called the Sauerne sea, so long as the riuer dooth keepe hir name. But as the said streame in length of course, bountie of water, and depth of chanell commeth farre behind the Thames: so for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & store of all kind of fish, as salmon, trouts, breames, pikerell, tench, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or second to the same. Finallie, there is nothing to be discommended in this riuer, but the opennesse thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby sundrie perils oft ouertake such as fish or saile in small vessels on the same.

The head of this noble streame is found in the high mounteines of south Wales called Helennith or Plim limmon; in English, the blacke mounteins, or moore heads, from whence also the Wie and the Rhidoll do procéed: and therefore these thrée waters are commonlie called the thrée sisters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fiftéene and fiftie, as the description inferreth. So soone as it is out of the ground, it goeth southeastward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiueth a chanell from by south southwest, called the Dulas, which commeth thereinto on the south side, & southwest of Lan Idlos. It riseth (as it should séeme) of diuerse heads in the edge of Radnorshire, and taking in sundrie small rilles, it meeteth at the last with the Brueham brooke, and so they go together till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idlos it taketh in the Clewdogh, from northwest, a water produced by the influence of foure pretie brookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum comming out of lin Glaslin, the third Lhoid rising in lin Begilin, and the most southerlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne procéedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landiman, taking in by the waie, on the east side the Couine, thence to Cairfuse castell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Taran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforesaid fortresse. After this it crosseth the Hawes on the north halfe beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Dulesse that riseth in the edge of Radnor shire, and méeteth with it before it come at Newton in Powisie, otherwise called Trenewith, as I find in British language. Being come to Trenewith, I cannot eschue (right honorable) to giue one note, as by the waie, touching the originall of my ladie your bedfellowes ancestrie, which came from hence, & were surnamed Newtons onelie, for that the grandfather of sir John Newton either dwelled or was borne there: otherwise the right name is Caradoc, for which some doo corruptlie write Cradocke, respecting rather the shortnesse of pronounciation, than the true orthographie and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes haue béene, and yet are a linage of great honor, antiquitie, and seruice; their lands also sometime belonged (for the most part) to the noble Connoanies of Summersetshire: but in what order they descended to the Newtons, in good sooth I cannot tell. But to procéed with our riuer, which being past Newton, runneth forth by Landilouarne, and so fourth on till it come to the fall of the Mule, whose head is in the edge of Radnor also, and thereto his passage by Kerie and Lanmereiwijc. After this also it procéedeth further till it meet with the Kenlet or the Camalet, which

**Brueham.****Bacho.  
Dungum.  
Lhoid.****Hawes.  
Dulesse 2.****Mule.****Kenlet.****Clewdogh.****Bigga.  
Couine.****Carnon.  
Taran.**

**Camalet. Tate.** taketh in also the Tate or Tadbroke water rising out of the hilles a mile from Bishops towne, the whole course thereof being about seauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this also I find two descriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who saith that it is a pretie brooke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie priorie stood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (saith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne shore, and likewise of the Lan Idlos brooke that méeteth withall within foure miles of the head, I speake not, but thinke it sufficient to touch those of some estimation, onelie leauing the rest to such as maie hereafter deale with things more particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by More, Liddiom, Sned, Churchstocke, Chirbirie, Walcote, and Winsbirie, and so into the Sauerne.

**Tanet.** From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton, and Landbreuie toward Meluerleie, and there it méeteth with sundrie waters in one channell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a verie pretie water (whereinto the **Peuereie or Murnewie.** **Auernie.** Matrafall not farre from Lhan Filin) the other Auernie, and ioining beneath Abertannoth, or aboue Lannamonach neere unto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yer they méet with the Mordant brooke, and there loose their names so soone as they ioine and mix their waters with it. The head of the Mordant issueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerse saie, that the parish church of crosse Oswald or Oswester sometimes stood. Certes, Oswester is thirtéene miles northwest from Shrewesburie, and containeth a mile within the walles. It hath in like sort foure suburbs or great stréetes, of which one is called Stratlan, another Wuliho, the third Beterich, wherein are one hundred and fortie barns standing on a row belonging to the citizens or burgesses, and the fourth named the Blackegate stréet, in which are thirtie barns mainteined for corne and haie. There is also a brooke running thorough the towne by the crosse, comming from Simons well, a bow shoote without the wall; & going vnder the same betweene Thorowgate & Newgate, running vnder the Blacke gate. There is another, ouer whose course the Baderikes or Bederich gate standeth, and therefore called Bederich brooke. The third passeth by the Willigate or Newgate, & these fall all together with the Crosse brooke, a mile lower by south into the Mordant that runneth (as I said) by Oswester. From hence also it goeth to Mordant towne, and betwéene Landbreuie and Meluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall streame goeth to Sheauerdon castell, Mountford, and Bicton chappell: and here it receiueh a water on the left hand, that riseth of two heads, whereof one is aboue Merton, the other at Ellismere, and ioining betweene Woodhouses & Bagleie, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Halton, Teddesmer, Roiton, Baschurch, Walford, Grafton, Mitton, and so into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leiton, Barwijn, vpper Rossall, Shelton, and so to Shrewesburie, where it crosseth the Mele water, whose head (as I heare) is said to be in Weston.

**Mele. Haberleie.** The Mele therefore rising at Weston, goeth by Brocton, Worthen, Aston Pigot, Westleie, Asterleie, and at Lea it méeteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontesford and Aunston. After this confluence also it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other side that descendeth by Westburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulleie, Bracemele, and Shrewesburie, it falleth (as I said) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne hasteth to Vffington, Preston, and betwéene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire streame and worthie to be well handled; if it laie in me to performe it. This riuier riseth in a mere beside Welbridge parke, néere vnto Ternemere village in Staffordshire. From whence it runneth by the parkes side to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales crosseth with a water comming from about Adbaston (where maister Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amming: so that the Terne on the one side, and this brooke on the other, doo inclose a great part of \*Blore heath, where a noble battell was sometime purposed betwéene king Henrie the sixth, and the duke of Yorke: but it wanted execution.

**Terne.** But to procéed. After this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge: and yer long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it crosseth with a brooke that riseth about Brinton, and going by Higham, Morton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilson, Pickstocke, Keinton, Tibberton, and Bolas, it ioineth with the said Terne not farre from Water Vpton. Thence passing to Crogenton, it méeteth with another brooke that commeth from Chaltwen Aston, by Newport, Longford, Aldneie, and so through the Wilde moore to Kinsleie & Sléepe, and finallie into the Terne, which hasteth from thence to Eston bridge, and néere vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riseth at Halton in Cumbermere lake: and comming to Ouenleie, crosseth a rill from Cowlemere by Leniall. Thence it goeth to Horton, and (ioining with another rill beneath Nonlaie that commeth from Midle) runneth on to Wen, Aston, there crossing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Prées ward, and so to Lée, Befford, Stanton, Morton, Shabrée, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton, Vpton, Norton, Barwijn, Acham, and so into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewesburie

**Peuereie or Murnewie.**

\* Sée Hen. 6. pag. 649

(as I wéene.)

Thus haue I described the Terne in such wise as my simple skill is able to performe. Now it resteth that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne streame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth vnto Roxater or Roxcester, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton, where it ioineth with the Euerne that runneth from Frodesleieward by Withiall and Pitchford, Cresfedge, Garneston, Leighton, and betwéene the two Bildasses crosseth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and so goeth on to Browsleie and Hoord parke, where it vniteth it selfe with another brooke to be described in this place, whilst the Sauerne rests, and recreates it selfe here among the plesant bottoms.

**Euerne.**

**Wenlocke or Rhe.**

**Worfe.**

**Marbrooke.**

**Dowlesse.**

**Lempe.**

**Stoure.**

**Astleie.**

**Tiber.**

**Temde.**

**Clude.**

**Barfield.**

**Clun.**

**Owke.**

**Oneie.**

**Bow.**

**Warren.**

This water ariseth about Tongcastell, and yer it haue run anie great distance from the head, it méeteth with a rill comming by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Roiton, and there crossing another from Woodhouses, comming by Haughton and Euelin, it procéedeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to crosse the Worfe (sometime a great streame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon poole) and so passeth fourth to Badger, Acleton, Worffield: a litle from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another brooke into it called Churle, & so goeth on to Rindleford, and then into Sauerne somewhat about Bridgenorth at Penston mill (except mine information deceiue me.) From Bridgenorth our Sauerne descendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbrooke beneath Eaton that riseth about Collaton, and goeth by Moruill & Vnderton, it runneth by Didmanston, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath in the waie to Bargate, crosseth with a brooke comming from Vpton parke, by Chetton, Billingsleie, and Highleie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to Areleie, Ciarnewood parke, Hawbach and Dowlesse. Here also it méeteth with the Dowlesse water, a pretie brooke issuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, verie high to looke vpon, and thrée miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebirie parke in Wire forrest, & taking withall the Lempe, dooth fall into the Sauerne not far from Bewdleie.

But to procéed. From Bewdleie our Sauerne hasteth directlie to Ribford, Areleie and Redston, and here it méeteth with a water called Stoure, descending from Elie, or out of the ponds of Hales Owen in Worcestershire, where it receiueh a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water yer long running from Sturton castell) then to Kniuer Whittenton, Ouerleie and Kidormister, about which it crosseth one brookelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwixt which two waters lieth an od peece of Staffordshire included, and also the Cle hill. From hence the aforesaid Sauerne hasteth by Redston to Shrawleie; and about this towne receiueh the Astleie water, as beneath the same it dooth another. From Witleie then it goeth on to Holt castell, and so to Grimleie, taking in thereabout with the Doure, and Sulwaie waters, whereof this riseth at Chadswijc, and runneth by Stoke priorie, & Droitwich, the other about Chaddesleie, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth fourth vnto Worcester, in old time called Cair Brangon, or Cair Francon, where it méeteth with the Tiber, or Tiberton water, on the right hand about that citie, and beneth it neere vnto Powijc with the Temde, whose description shall be set downe before I procéed or go anie further with the Sauerne.

**Doure.  
Sulwaie.**

The Temde, or (as some name it) the Tame riseth vp in Radnorshire, out of the Melenith hilles, and soone after his issue, méeting with a water from Withall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanuerwaterden, and so to Knighton, which is fiue or six miles (as I heare) from his originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standish, and crossing a rill that commeth from betwéene the parke named Clude, (and is a bound of Radnorshire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it meeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find these descriptions here folowing word for word in Leland. The Bardwell or Barfield riseth about New Chappell, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun issueth out of the ground betwéene Lhan Vehan and Maiston, and going on by Bucton, Cluncastell, Clundon, Purslaw, and Clunbirie, it crosseth with a brooke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence going fourth by Clunbirie, Brome, Abcot and Marlow, it méeteth with the Bardwell, and so in the Temde, not verie far from Temderton. I suppose that Leland calleth the Bardwell by the name of Owke, but I will not abide by it bicause I am not sure of it. After these confluences therefore, our Temde goeth by Trippleton, Dounton, Burrington, and Broomefield, where it méeteth with the Oneie, which is an indifferent streame, and increased with sundrie waters, whereof I saie as followeth.

The first of all is called the Bow. It riseth (as I learne) in the hilles betwéene Hissington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwijc, where it crosseth the Warren that issueth out of the ground about Rotlie chappell, and runneth by Adston and Wentnor. After the confluence also going on by Choulton and Cheinies, it taketh in the Queneie and Strabroke both in one chanell, wherof the first riseth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe by the Strettons, till it passe by Fellanton. The second mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Rushburie, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaster, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the Queneie, and so by Stratford into the Oneie, which hath borne that name since the confluence of the

**Queneie and  
Strabroke.**

**Somergill.**  
**Corue.** Bow and Warren at Hardwyc, whereof I spake before. Finallie, the Oneie which some call the Somergill being thus increased, it runneth on to Hawford chappell, Oneibirie, Broomefield, and so into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus brought to Ludlow, méeteth with the Corue, which commeth thorough Coruedale from aboue Brocton by Morehouses, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath taking in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Brencost castell, goeth on to Corsham castell, and there crossing another from saint Margarets Clée, it hieth to Stanton Lacie, and so likewise to Ludlow.

**Ladwich.** From Ludlow in like sort it goeth to Ludford, the Ashfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Burfford vniteth it selfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneath Milburne stoke, from betweene Browne, Cleehill, and Stittertons hill, to Middleton, Henleie, Ladwich, Conam, and so into Temde, which beneath Temdbirie receiueth another rill on the other side, and the second on the left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Ricton, Staterton, Hound, Nene, Clebirie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by Astham, Lingridge, Shelleie Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and crossing a water that commeth from the Sapiés) to Knightwyc and Bradwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that descendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collomatherne, Credeleie, Aufrike, and so into Temde, and then procéding forward, the said streame runneth to Braunford, and yer long (taking in the Langherne that riseth about Martleie, and passeth by Kengewyc) it goeth to Powyc, and so into the Sauerne before it come at Wickecester.

Thus haue I brought all such streames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, vntill I come to Powyc, wherof (as you may easily perceiue) the Temde is the most excellent. Now it resteth that I proceed with the rest of the discourse intended concerning this our riuier. Certes, from Powyc mils which are about halfe a mile beneth Worcester, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempseie and Cleueld, whence after it hath crossed a brooke comming from Cowleie, it hasteth first to Stoke, and so to Vpton, which is eleuen or twelue miles from Glocester, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but yer it come there, it drowneth another fall descending from Maluerne hilles by Blackemoore parke, & soone after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth also from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After these confluences in like sort, it runneth to Bushelleie, and Tewkesburie, where it receiueth the Auon, that followed next of all in order to be described, before I procéed anie further in my discourse of Sauerne.

**Auon 4.** The Auon riseth at Nauesbie in the borders of Northamptonshire, a little side hand of Gillesborow and foot of the hils whereon Nauesbie standeth, and euen out of the church yard of the said village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Clifton, and Rugby, by north whereof it crosseth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kimcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colsford. From thence also it goeth to Newbold, Wolston, Ruington, and betwéene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from aboue Calendon to Whitleie, and soone after méeting with a riuieret from Couentrie, which some doo call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I haue read from Kenelsworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & so into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon procéedeth on to Stonleie abbeie, Ashehow, Miluerton, Edmonds cote, and appace to Warwyc.

But yer it come there, it méeteth from south east with two waters in one chanell, whereof the least commeth to Marton from Bishops Itchington, by Herburbirie and Thorpe, where it crosseth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that descendeth from about Helladon, or néere vnto Catesbie in Northamptonshire, and going by Ouencote, Braunston, Lemington and Mertun, it ioineth with the other, and then go from thence together vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and so into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Warwike also the Auon taketh in a water running northwest from Groupe parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there crossing another from Shirburne, it passeth forth to Bishops Hampton, méeting finallie with the third, from Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this last rehearsed confluence, it hasteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riseth aboue Cherington, & whose course from thence is such, as that being once past the head, it goeth by Weston, and yer long crossing a water from Campden, hanging Aston, & Todnam, it runneth to Barcheston, Aldermaston, Clifford, & so into the Auon. From hence then the said Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and being parted from the said towne, yer it come at Sawford, it receiueth the Arow or Aur, which rising in the blacke hils in Worchestershire, commeth by Alchurch, Beleie parke, Ypsleie, Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Alne, out of Fecknam forrest, and going by Coughton parke, it hasteth to Alcester, Arow, Ragleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and so into Auon, which after this conjunction goeth to Vffenton & then to Eouesholme: but yer it come there it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the first riseth about Willerseie, the other néere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Badseie, they fall into Anon, vnder the name of Pludor brooke, before it come to Eouesholme.

**Vincélus.** Being past Eouesholme it crosseth the Vincell, which rising out of the hills somewhere about Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchelcombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, procéedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Tuddington, or Doddington, beneath which when it hath crossed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Wannington, Sedgeborow, and receiuing there the last on the right hand also (as all aboue rehearsed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as some doo write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbirie

**Piddle.** wike, and almost at Persore bridge, méeteth with a branched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one head is at Alberton, an other at Piddle. From Persore it goeth to Birlingham, and soone after carrieng a brooke withall descending from Fakenham, by Bradleie, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Besseford and Desseford, it fléeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Mitton, and Tewkesburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne.

**Chilus.** Now to resume the course of the Sauerne, you shall vnderstand, that from Tewkesburie it goeth to Derehirst, the How passage, and soone after receiuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Norton, it runneth to Ashelworth, Sainthirst; and here it parteth it selfe till it come to Gloucester, where it vniteth it selfe againe. But in the meane time the easterlie branch receiueth a forked chanell, whereof one head is not far frō Leke Hampton, the other about Witcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Preston, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it from Tainton by Rudford, it falleth into the said branch on the right side, before it come at Gloucester.

**Strowd.** The Sauerne therefore being past Gloucester, it méeteth with a litle rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his course by Elmore, Minsterworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it receiueth yer it come at this latter the Strowd brooke, which rising not farre from Side, goeth by Massade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Panneswyc Lodge, by Pittescombe on the one side, and another from Radbridge on the other, it prosecuteth his voiage to Stone house, Eslington, white Misen, & so toward Framilode, where the said Strowd dooth fall into the Sauerne. After the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and soone after receiuing a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Vleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth foorth till it méet with another water on ech side, whereof that on the English halfe is forked, so that one head thereof is to be found about Borwell, the other at Horton, and méeting aboue Tortworthie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie castell, and so into the Sauerne. That on the Welsh halfe is named Newarne, which cōmeth from the forrest of Deane, and so into the Sauerne.

**Newarne.**

## CHAP. XIV.

<b>Wie mouth.</b>	The Sauerne being thus described, it resteth that I go forward with the names of those that lie vpon the coast of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betwéene Aust in Glocestershire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wie, which ferrie is about three miles ouer (saith Leland) or else my memorie dooth faile me. This riuer Guie or	<b>Guie aliàs Wie.</b>
<b>Wmber a fish onelie in the Wie.</b>	Wie beginneth (as I said before) on the side of the hilles, where the Sauerne dooth arise, and passing through Wenceland, that is, southeast by Raiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon meeteth withall) it goeth to Glasburie, Hereford, Monmouth, and finallie into the Sauerne sea at Chepstow: for so they call Monhafren, which seuereth Wales from Summersetsire, Deuonshire, Cornwall: as for the Rhidoll which is the third sister, it hath the shortest course of all, for it runneth northward, and into the sea at Aberistwith, which is not farre off, as the writers doo report.	
<b>Darnoll.</b>	Leland writing of this riuer Guie or Wie saith thus; The Wie goeth thorough all Herefordshire by Bradwarden castell, belonging to sir Richard Vehan, and so to Hereford east, thence eight miles to Rosse, a market towne in Herefordshire: and in this riuer be vmbers, otherwise called grailings. It is also found by common experience, that the salmon of this riuer is in season, when the like fish to be found in all other riuers is abandoned and out of vse; wherof we of the east parts doo not a little maruell. But let vs not staie vpon these descriptions, sith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of these.	
<b>Elland.</b>	The Guie therefore riseth out of the blacke mouteines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne springeth in Radnorshire, and comming by Lhangerike, and Raiadargoie, it receiueth one rill from the west called Darnoll, and another from by northeast comming by saint Harmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Raiader and Lhanuthell, it ioineth with the Elland, whose head is néere to Comeristwith, and taketh likewise into him the Clardwen that diuideth for a season Radnorshire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewise increased by the Clarthie within thrée miles of his head and lesse, hauing his course from southwest & hille soile adiacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth west of Dissart, where it receiueth the Ithan, a riuer rising aboue Lhanibister, and from whence it runneth to Landwie, and Lambaderne vawr: beneath which it crosseth a water on ech side, whereof that on the right hand consisteth on the Dulesse and the Cluedoch, after their confluence: the other hight Lomaron, whose head is aboue Lanthangle, and in the forrest of Blethwag. After these confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in strange manner, vnder the name of Ithor, till it come to Dissart, taking in the Hawie on the left side yer it come there, and then into the Wie on the north side, which directeth his course further to Bealt, where it receiueth the Yrwon, a notable streame, descending from the hilles aboue Lanihangle Abergwessen, and thence comming downe by Lanurid Lang marsh, Lanauan, Vechan, Langantan, and so to Beth or Bealt, being enlarged by the waie with sundrie faire waters, as the Weuereie, whose head is about Lanauan moore, the Dulasse, or (as some call it) the Dowlasse, that commeth from the hilles west of the head of Weuereie. The Comarch whose head and course is west of the Dowlasse on the north side, and likewise by two other on the southwest, and Dilasse from by southwest, which last rehearsed falleth into him halfe a mile and more aboue the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other side. After this our Yrwon goeth to Lhanuareth, where it crosseth the Dehon on the southwest side, then to Aberedwie, and there receiueth the Edwie on the northeast, which ariseth in the hilles aboue Botins chappell, and commeth downe by Crigend and Lanhaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanstephan, and there (or a little aboue) taketh in the Machaweie that commeth by castell Paine, and so going on in processe of time with the Leuenni, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here insueth.	<b>Lamaron. Hawie.</b>
<b>Clardwen.</b>		<b>Weuereie.</b>
<b>Ithan.</b>		<b>Edwie.</b>
<b>Dulesse. Cluedoch.</b>		<b>Machaweie.</b>
<b>Yrwon.</b>		<b>Trufrin.</b>
<b>Dulasse. Comarch. Dulasse.</b>		<b>Dulesse.</b>
<b>Dehon.</b>		<b>Euer. Euerie.</b>
<b>Leuenni.</b>		<b>Brennich.</b>
<b>Euer. Euerie.</b>		<b>Dulesse.</b>
<b>Brennich.</b>		
<b>Dulesse.</b>	The Leuenni, otherwise called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre streame rising in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men doo fish in Vniligneis or botes of one peece, as they doo in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finallie bringing great store of red sand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall issue at Mennith gader, and is increased with the Trufrin) it falleth into the Wie aboue Glesbirie three miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelie fall of this brooke is named Aberleuenni, after this the Guie. Being come to Haie, a pretie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Jewes monie: and after it hath passed or crossed a little brooke, which commeth from Lanigon, it méeteth with the Dulesse that commeth also from the Atterill by Kersop, and from thence goeth to Clifford castell (being now entred into Herefordshire, and leauing Radnor, wherevnto it hath for a long course béene march) then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Broberie, Monington, Biford, Bridgesalers, Eaton, Brinton, and Hereford, without anie influence of riuer worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windlasses, & there méeteth with a water	

rising short of Wormesleie, which goeth by Maunsell, Lacie, Brinsop, Crednell, Stretton, and Huntington, and soone after into the Wie, beside a little rill that runneth betwéene them both euen into Hereford towne. From hence in like sort the

**Lug.** Wie hasteth to Rotheras church, Hampton, and Mordeford, where it taketh in sundrie waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luie is the principall, and next of all to be described, before I go anie further with the course of the Wie, whereinto it dischargeth the chanell. It riseth in the edge of the forrest of Kemples aboue Langunlo: from whence it goeth to Momonacht, Pilleth Whitton, Fuldibrooke, Prestaine, so into Herefordshire, where betwéene Bonie & Beton, or Bitton, it receiueth in the Somergill, whose crotched head being march to Radnor forrest, directeth his streame betwéene the new and old Radnors, to Knill, to Nash, and so into the Lug, which presentlie passeth by Kinsham, Shirleie, Ailmister, Kingsland, Eaton chappell, and so into Lemister, where it crosseth the Oneie (a streamelet rising short of Shobden, and going by Chorlester) a little before it come to the west side of the towne.

**Pinsell.** At Lemister it selfe in like sort three waters doo méet, and almost inuiron the towne, that is to saie, the Lug, the Pinfulleie or Pinsell (a riueret rising at Kingsland two miles from Lemister) & the Kenbrooke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Lemister, otherwise called Leofminster, of the builder, and also Leonminster, the Lug or Luie goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and aboue Hope, whereof one head is betwéene Hatfield and Bickleton, another néere vnto Marston, and méeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Morton, Sutton, Shelwyc, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it crosseth the Fromeie or Frome, a pretie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riseth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the southeast by Edwinsloch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Bishops Frome, Castell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from aboue Bishops Grendon, by Pencombe, Cowarne, Stoke Lacie, Cowarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Yarleleie, Dornington, and Longward, and so into the Lug, betwéene Longward and Suston, which runneth foorthwith to Mordford, or Morthford, and there into the Wie, vnto whose description I now returne againe.

**Kenbrooke.**

**Fromeie.**

**Loden aliàs Acton.**

**Treske.** Being come therefore vnto Mordford, it goeth to Fawnehope, Hamlacie, Ballingham, Capull regis, where it receiueth a water called Treske, from little Berch by Treske, Fawleie, How, Capull Inkeston, Foie, Brampton, Bridstow, Wilton castell, the Rosse, and there a rill from Bishops Vptonward by Rudhall, Weresend, Ham, Glewston, Godderich, here in like sort meeting with another that commeth from Eccleswall in the confines of Glocestershire, by Peniard castell & Coughton, to Welch Bicknor, English Bicknor, Huntesham, including a parcell of Monmouthshire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of Herefordshire which butteth vpon Glocestershire (as you shall find the like péece of Herefordshire in the confines of Salop and Worcester, wherein Rochford standeth, beside manie other which I haue elsewhere spoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gainar water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran crosseth the Garran brooke, that riseth in Gregwood, short of Arcop, six miles from Monemouth by northwest: after which these two doo runne as one to Marston, and almost Whitchurch, and so into the Wie, which goeth from thence to Gunnarew, S. Michaell, Dixton, and Monemouth, where I will staie a while, till I haue described the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

**Gainar.**

**Garran.**

**Mona.** The Mona or Monbecke, riseth in the forrest of Hene, twentie miles from Monemouth by west in Eirisland, and going by Creswell, or Craswall chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknocke, and northeast of Hatuill hils, which after it hath run a good distance from the head receiueth first the Eskle, and passeth by Lanihangle and the old Court, from northwest, then the Olcon, from southwest, which méeteth withall

**Eskill.** néere Cledoll or Knedoch, & passing by the old towne, it hasteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betwéene Hereford and Monemouth shires, and taketh in a water

**Hodneie.** comming by Trewin, & likewise the Hordwie or Hodneie which riseth in Becknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Cumroie, Michaell church in Monemouthshire, and ioineth with our Mona at Altrinis, which after this confluence hasteth to Walderstone, Lansillo Langua, betwéene which and Kinechurch it ioineth with the Doure that riseth about the Bache aboue Dourston, which is six miles aboue Doure abbie, so that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurch, Morehampton, Newcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the

**Doure.** Dulesse.

**Wormesbecke.** Dulesse, from southwest and Lanihangle, by Harleswas castell on the one side, and yer long the Wormesbecke, descending from aboue Keuernall by Diddleie, Deuerox, Workebridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and so running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuere goeth on to Kinech church, Grismond, Cardwaie, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire, and so to Monemouth, where it meeteth with the Wie, ouer each of which riuers Monemuth towne hath his particular bridge.

**Trollie.** The Guie or Wie therefore being increased with thus manie brookes and waters, passeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it méeteth with the Trollie becke, whose head is aboue Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monemouth shire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanihangle, Gracedieu, Diggestow, Wonastow, Troie, and so into Wie, that runneth also by Wies wood chase, taking in there the Elwie that

**Elwie.**



Trogie.	<p>commeth from aboue Landelwie by Langowen, Lannissen, Penclase, Trilegh, and Langogo, where méeting with the aforesaid streame, the Wie directeth his course from thence by Tinterne abbeie (where it crosseth a rill from Trile grange) Chapell hill, Parcasicke, Penterie chapell, Lancante, Chepstowe, and so into the sea, leauing the Treacle (a chappell standing on a rocke) on the hand betweene it &amp; Sauerne, ouer against the point that lieth south of Betteslie. Next vnto the Wie, I find a rill of no great course, comming downe from Mounon chappell, by a place of the bishops of Landaffe. Thence passing by Charston rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell standeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riseth short of Trogie castell, and runneth toward the sea, by Landuair, Dewston, Calicot, and so into the Ocean, ouer against the Charston rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by saint Brides, north and by west of Dennie Iland, which lieth midwaie betweene that fall &amp; Porshot point, and before I touch at Goldcliffe point, I crosse another fall of a fresh brooke, whose head is aboue Landueigo in Wencewood, and course by Lhanbed, Langston, Lhanwarne, and through the More to Witston.</p>	<p><b>Dennie Iland in the midst of the Sauerne, and likewise another tittle one called Beuerage.</b></p>
Wiske.	<p>Next vnto this is the Aberwish, or Wiske, in Latine Osca, whereon Caerleon standeth, sometime called Chester and Ciuitas legionum, bicause the Romans soiourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who also held a noble parlement in the same, whereof Galfride maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in those daies the maiestie thereof was such, as that all the forefronts of their houses were in maner laid ouer with gold, according to the Romane vsage. There was in the same in like sort a famous vniuersitie, wherein were 200 philosophers; also two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of Iulius and Aaron, two Brittish martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropolitically see in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greatest in Southwales, and huge ships might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them; neuerthelesse, big botes come thereto. It is eight Welsh or twelue English miles from Chepstow or Strigull, and of some thought to be in base Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howsoeuer the matter standeth, this riuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockshire, as Renni is middle to Wenceland &amp; Glamorganshire. But to leaue these by-matters, and come to the description of the water.</p>	
Vske.	<p>You shall vnderstand that the Vske or Wiske, in Latin Osca riseth in the blacke mounteins ten miles aboue Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Yminidh Duy out of which it falleth, and situate in the verie confines betweene Brechnocke and Carmardine shires, from whence winding into the northeast, it commeth to Trecastle, and in the waie betweene it and Capell Ridburne, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right hand before it come to Ridburne chappell. Going also</p>	
Craie.	<p>from thence toward Deuinocke, it crosseth the Senneie on the same side (which riseth aboue Capell Senneie) next of all the Camblas, &amp; at Aberbraine, the Brane, or the Bremich, whose head is thrée miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanihangle, it méeteth I saie with the Vske, about master Awbries manor. Beneath</p>	<p><b>Camblas. Brane.</b></p>
Sennie.	<p>Aber Yster, it receiueh the Yster, which riseth northwest aboue Martyr Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanspithed and Newton, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Honthie on the one side, whose head is in Blaine Hodneie, and comming downe from thence by Defrone chappell, Lanihangle and Landiuilog, it méeteth with the Vske or Brechnocke townes end, which of the fall of this water was sometime called</p>	
Hodneie.	<p>Tertarith. Aberhodni, as I haue beene informed: on the other halfe likewise it receiueh the Tertarith that riseth among the Bane hills, fiue miles from Brechnocke, and commeth likewise into the verie suburbs of the towne, beneath Trenewith, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the course.</p>	
Tertarith.	<p>Kinuricke. After these confluences, the Vske procéedeth on toward Aberkinurike, or the fall of a water whose head is in the roots of Menuchdennie hill, and passage by Cantreffe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethleie castell, Lansanfreid, Landettie,</p>	
Kinuricke.	<p>Riangall. Langonider, and soone after receiuing the Riangall (which riseth about the hill whereon Dinas castell standeth, and runneth by Lanihangle and Tretoure) it passeth betweene Laugattocke and Cerigkhowell, to Langroinie, and there about crosseth the Groinie brooke, that descendeth from Monegather, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Vske is past this brooke, it taketh in thrée other short rills, from by south within a little distance, whereof the first hight Cledoch Vaur, the second Fidan, and the third Cledochvehan. Of these also the last falleth in néere to Lanwenarth.</p>	<p><b>Cledoch Vaur. Fidan. Cledochvehã.</b></p>
Riangall.	<p>Groini. From hence the Vske runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it méeteth with the Kebbie water from by north, that riseth short of Bettus chappell aboue the towne, and the Geuennie that descendeth from aboue Landilobartholl beneath not farre from Colbroke, and so goeth on to Hardwijn, beneath which it crosseth thrée namelesse rilles, on the right hand or southwest side before it come at Lanihangle vpon Vske, of whose courses I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the chanell of sufficient greatnesse seuerallie to intreat of. Betweene Kemmeis and Trostreie it meeteth with such an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Caer Vske or Brenbigeie (whose bridge, I mene that of Vske, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the six and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon saint Hughes daie after a great snow) but yer it come there, it receiueh</p>	<p><b>Geuenni.</b></p>
Groini.	<p>Birthin. Thence it goeth to Caer Vske or Brenbigeie (whose bridge, I mene that of Vske, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the six and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon saint Hughes daie after a great snow) but yer it come there, it receiueh</p>	<p><b>Caer Vske standeth on one side of Vske, and Caerleon on the other, but Caer Vske by diuerse</b></p>
Birthin.		

the Birthin on the right hand, which is a pretie water, descending from two heads, whereof the first is northwest of Manihilot, as the other is of Lanihangle and Pentmorell.

miles further into the land.

Next vnto this it ioineth with the Elwie aboue Lanbadocke, whose head is east of Penclase, and running westwards by Penclase, Lanislen, Langowen (and beneath Landewie taking in a brooket from Ragland castell, that commeth downe thither by Ragland parke) it bendeth southwest, vntill it come at the Vske, which crinkling towards the south, and going by Lanhowell, méeteth with three rilles before it come to Marthenie chappell, whereof the first lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the midlemost falling into the same, not farre from Lantressen, as I haue béene informed. From the mouth of the Romeneie to the mouth of the Taffe are two miles. Certes the Taffe is the greatest riuier in all Glamorganshire, (called by Ptolomie Rhatostathybius, as I gesse) and the citie Taffe it selfe of good countenance, sith it is indued with the cathedrall see of a bishop. The course of the water in like maner is verie swift, and bringeth oft such logs and bodies of trées withall from the wooddie hilles, that they doo not seldome crush the bridge in péeces, but for so much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter cost, wheras if it were of hard stone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riseth in Brechnockshire among the woodie hilles, from two heads, whereof one is in Monuchdenie, the other west of that mouneteine, of which the first called Taffe vaure, goeth by Capell lan vehan, Vainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Nantie, and ioining at southwest beneath Morlais castle, they go to Martyr Tiduill, and toward Lannabor, but by the waie it taketh in from northwest a brooke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnockshire by Abardare, and afterward the Rodneie comming out of the same quarter (but not out of the same shire) which runneth by Estridinodoch, a crotched brooke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie vaure, & Rodneie vehan, that being ioined with the Taffe, doth run on withall to Eglefilian, castle Coch, Whitchurch, Landaffe, Cardiffe, and so into the sea, not far from Pennarth point, where also the Laie dooth bid him welcome vnto his chanell or streame. Furthermore, from Marthellie it hasteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caerleon or Chester in the south, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the first commeth downe from the north betweene Landgwie, Landgweth, and by Lhan Henoeh, without anie further increase: but the other is a more beautifull streame, called Auon, and thus described as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riseth in the hilles that séeme to part Monemouth and Brechenocke shires in sunder, and after a rill receiued from Blorech hill on the northside of the same, running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receiueth a water from by south almost of equall course, and from that quarter of the countrie, and in processe of time another little one from the same side, yer it come to Lanurgwaie and Lanihangle, from whence it goeth to Guennocke and Penrose, & so in Vske before it go by Caerleon. But here you must note, that the course of this streame ioining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which descendeth (as I said) from the hilles about foure miles aboue Landgwaie and Langweth, dooth make an Iland aboue Caerleon, where Penrose standeth, & much Romane coine is found of all sorts, so that the influence of the one into the other séemeth to me to be but a draine deuised by man, to kéepe the citie from the violence of such water as otherwise would oft annoie the same.

Elwie.

Auon.

Being past Caerleon it runneth to Crindie, where maister Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another brooke withall, that riseth north of Tomberlow hill, and descendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch castle Newith) and from thence vnder a bridge, after thrée or foure miles course to the sea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which méeteth with the same almost in the verie mouth or fall, and riseth in the edge of Brecknoch shire, or (as Leland saith) high Winceland, from two heads of which one is called Eberith Vehan, the other Eberith Mawr, as I haue beene informed. The course of the first head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they passe together by Lanhileth, and comming by west of Tomberlow hill (crossing a rill, from north east by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Trestrent, & is of lesse race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that same quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Risleie, Rochester castell, next of all thorough a parke, and so by Greenefield castell, and is not long yer it fall into the sea, being the last issue that I doo find in the countie, which beareth the name of Monemouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

Ebowith.

Serowie.

Romeneie.

The Romenie or (as some corruptlie call it) the Nonneie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betwéene Monemouth & Glamorgan shires. The head hereof is aboue Egglins Tider vap Hoell otherwise called Fanum Theodori, or the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie springs, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiueth no water on the east side, but on the west diuerse small beκες, whereof three (and one of them called Ifra) are betwéene the rising and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cōmeth in by Capell Gledis, and Kethligaire, the fift from betwéene the Faldraie and Lanuabor, the sixt & seuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer against Bedwas it selfe from chappell Martin, Cairfillie castell, and Thauan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Keuen, Mableie and Romeneie, & yer long crossing a becke

at north west that commeth from aboue Lisuan, Lamssen and Roch, it falleth into the sea, about six miles from the Wisbe, and albeit the mouth therof be nothing profitable for ships, yet is it also a march betwéene the Silures and Glamorganshire.

<b>Laie.</b>	The Laie falleth into the sea a mile almost from the Taffe, and riseth in the hilles aboue Lantrissent (for all the region is verie hillie.) From whence comming by Lantrissent and Auercastell, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambedder, S. Brides, Lhannihangle, saint Fagans and Elaie, Leckwith, Landowgh, Cogampill, and	
<b>Dunelais.</b>	so into the sea, without anie maner increase by anie rils at all sauing the Dunelais, which riseth foure miles from his fall, east northeast, and meeteth withall a little more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Velim Vaur, and likewise by west, the	
<b>Methcoid.</b>	Methcoid that commeth from Glinne Rodeneie, and wherein to the Pedware dischargeth that small water gathered in his chanell. Here will I staie a little and breake off into a discourse, which Leland left also as parcell of this coast who toucheth it after this maner.	<b>Pedware.</b>
<b>Laie.</b>	From Taffe to Laie mouth or Ele riuier a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that standeth on the west point of it) to the mouth of Thawan riuier (from whence is a common passage ouer vnto Mineheued in Summersetshire of 17 miles) are about	<b>Thawan.</b>
<b>Scilleie.</b>	seuen Welsh miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pretie succour for ships) whose head is in Wenno	
<b>Barrie.</b>	paroch two miles and a halfe from the shore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Barrie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of fresh water into Sauerne, whose head is scant a mile off in plaine ground by northeast, and right against the fall of this becke	<b>This Ile went fiftie yeares agone for x. pounds.</b>
<b>Come kidie.</b>	lieth Barrie lland a flight shot from the shore at the full sea. Halfe a mile aboue Aber Barrie is the mouth of Come kidie, which riseth flat north from the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and serueth oft for harbour vnto sea-farers. Thence to the mouth of Thawan are thrée miles, wherevnto ships may come at will.	
<b>Colhow.</b>	Two miles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whither a little rill resorteth from Lau Iltuit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure miles, that is a mile to saint Dinotthes castell, and thrée miles further. The Alen riseth by northeast vp into the land at a place called	<b>Alen.</b>
<b>Ogur.</b>	Lhes Broimith, or Skirpton, about foure miles aboue the plot where it commeth by it selfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur aliàs Gur thrée miles. Then come they in processe of time vnto the Kensike or Colbrooke riuier, which is no great thing, sith it riseth not aboue three miles from the shore. From Kensike to Aber Auon	<b>Kensike. Auon.</b>
<b>Neth.</b>	two miles, and herein doo ships molested with weather oftentimes séeke harborough. It commeth of two armes, wherof that which lieth northeast is called Auon Vaur, the other that lieth northwest Auon Vehan. They meet together at Lhanuoie Hengle, about two miles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two miles also from the sea.	
<b>Tauie.</b>	From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come shiplets almost to the towne of Neth from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being passed the same we come vnto the Tauie, which descendeth from the aforesaid hilles and falleth into the sea by east of	<b>Lochar.</b>
<b>Wandres.</b>	Swanseie. Being past this we come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wormes head, we passed to the Wandresmouth, wherof I find this description following in Leland. Both Vendraith Vaur and Vendraith Vehan rise in a péece of Carmardineshire, called Issekenen, that is to saie, the low quarter about Kennen riuier, and betwixt the heads of these two hills is another hill, wherein be stones of a gréenish colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Vendraith Vaur riseth in, is called Mennith Vaur, and therein is a poole as in a moorish ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principall spring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles from Kidwellie: the hill that Vendraith Vehan springeth out of, is called Mennith Vehan, and this water commeth by Kidwellie towne.	<b>Vendraith Vaur, Vendraith Vehan.</b>
	But about thrée or foure miles yer it come thither, it receiueth a brooke called Tresgirth, the course whereof is little aboue a mile from the place where it goeth into Vendraith, and yet it hath foure or fiue tucking milles and thrée corne milles vpon it. At the head of this brooke is an hole in the hilles side, where men often enter and walke in a large space. And as for the brooke it selfe, it is one of the most plentifull and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the sides also of Vendraith Vaur, you shall find great plentie of sea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Vendraith Vehan, where men vse to enter into vaults of great compasse, and it is said, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wormes head, and another waie to Cairkemen castell, which is three miles or more into the land. But how true these things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hawking at the Heron in Vendraith Vehan. There are diuerse prints of the passage of certeine worms also in the caue, at the head of Vendraith Vehan, as the inhabitants doo fable: but I neuer heard of anie man that saw anie worme there, and yet it is beléued that manie wormes are there. Hitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne course.	
<b>Laie.</b>	Leauing the Laie, which some call Elaie, and passing the Pennarth baie, that lieth betwéene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Ilet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie hauen before described) and came vnto the Barrie, whose head is aboue Wrinston castell, and from whence he runneth by Deinspowis, Cadoxton, Barrie, and so into the sea.	
<b>Barrie.</b>		

**Aberthaw.** Being past the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riseth two or thrée miles aboue Lansanor, and going by Welch Newton, it commeth at length to Cowbridge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beanpéere, Flimston, Gilston, and betweene the east and the west Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne sea. But yer it come all there it receiueth a brooke called Kensan, or Karnsan, or Kensech, on the east side, whose head is east of Bolston, & comming by Charnelhold, **Kensan.** Lhancaruan, & Lancadle, it falleth into the former aboue either of the Thawans. Leland saith, that Kensan hath two heads, whereof the more northerlie called Brane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth seauen miles before it méet with the other. Leauing this water we sailed on, casting about the Nash point, omitting two or thrée small waters (whereof Leland hath alreadie as ye see made mention) because I haue nothing more to add vnto their descriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Iltruit, of whose course (to saie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge.

**Ogur.** The Ogur or Gur, which some call the Ogmur, is a well faire streame (as we were wont to saie in our old English) whose head is in the same hilles, where the Rodeneies are to be found, but much more westerlie, and running a long course yer it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Languineuere or Langouodoch, **Wennie.** to S. Brides vpon Ogur, then to Newcastell, and Marthermaure, beneath which it méeteth the Wennie, halfe a mile from Ogur or Ogmur castell on the east side of the banke. It riseth fiue or six miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at last by Lanharne, it crosseth a rill yer long from northeast, and the confluence passeth foorth by Coitchurch, Ogur castell, & so into the Ogur. Leland **Garrow.** writing of the waters that fall into this Ogur saith thus. Into the Ogur also resorteth the Garrow two miles aboue Lansanfride bridge, descending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore (saith he) another called Leuennie rising in the parish of Glin Corug, at northwest, and then running two miles lower, vniteth it selfe with the Corug brooke, a little short thing, and worthie no longer speach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth seauen miles further yer it meete with the Ogur on the west side, at Lansanfride, two miles aboue Penbowt. And so far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it. **Leuennie. Corug.**

**Kensig.** Next vnto the Ogur is the Kensig water, that commeth downe by the Pile and Kensig castell, and being past the same we crosse the Margan rill, where sir Edward **Auon.** Manxell dwelt, and so vnto Auon, which hauing two heads (as is said) the more easterlie of them commeth downe by Hauodaport chappell, the other by Glin Corug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and so into the sea, yéelding also in time of néed a good harbour for ships to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Neth. The Neth is a faire water, rising of diuerse heads, whereof the more easterlie named Nethuehan riseth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penedorin to Aberpirgwin it receiueth Nethuaur, a little aboue **Neth. Nethuehan.** the towne, which rising not farre southeast of the head of Tauie in Brecknoch shire (as all the rest doo) receiueth the Trangarth, the Meltaie and the Hepsaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell, about a mile or more before it ioine with Nethuehan. For as Trangarth riseth east of Nethuaur, so the Melta riseth by east of Trangarth, and ioineth with the same aboue Istrad wealthie, and a little beneath the same towne taketh in the Hepsaie. So that albeit their seuerall risings be half or a whole mile in sunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like distance from Aberpirgwin, and their finall confluence in the edge of Glamorganshire, which they directlie doo crosse. After these confluences, the maine streame runneth in and out by sundrie miles, and through the wooddie soiles, till it meet with Cledaugh, which ioineth with the same beneath the Resonlaie, and goeth withall to Lanisted, where it taketh in the Dulesse, whose head is aboue Chappell Krenaunt, in the marches of Brecknoch. Thence it goeth to Cador towne, or betwéene it and Lannistide, then to **Cledoch.** Neth towne, whither small vessels often come: and beneath the same receiuing the Cledoch that runneth by Kelebebilch (and also Neth abbeie where maister Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitfranke forrest, Nethwood, Briton ferrie, and so into the sea.

**Tauie.** The Tauie riseth in the thickest of the blacke mounteines in Brecknochshire west of Nethnaur, and comming downe west of Calwen chappell, it receiueth on the east **Coilus.** banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being thus vnited, the chanell passeth foorth by Istradgunles, and then méeting with the Turch or Torch water that cômeth from the foot of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardinshire, it runneth to Langoge, Lansamled, saint Iohns, Swanseie, and so into the Baie. Being past this, we come by another little fall, whose water runneth thrée or foure miles yer it come into Swanseie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whose description I neither haue, nor find anie great want therof. Wherefore going about by Oistermont castell, and Mumbles point, **Torch.** we passe foorth toward the southwest, by Penmarch point, til we come to Ilston water, whose head is not farre within the land; and yet as it commeth thorough the woodland, and downe by Penmarch castell, a rill or two dooth fall into the same. Then casting about by Oxwich point, we go onward there by, and sailing flat north by the Holme (hauing passed the Wormeshead and S. Kennets chappell) and then **Ilston.** northeast by Whitford point, we went at length to the Lochar or Lohor, or as Lhoyd **Lochar.**

<b>Amond.</b>	nameth it, the Lichwr, whose indraught for a certene space is march betwéene Caermardine and Glamorgan shires. It riseth aboue Gwenwie chappell, from whence it goeth Landbea, to and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amond that entreth thereinto from northeast. Being past Bettus, it passeth by Laneddie, Arthelas bridge	<b>Combwillie.</b>
<b>Morlais.</b>	and ouer against Landilo Talabout, it crosseth from by west, the Combwillie by west of Parkream, and afterward the Morlais aboue Langnarch on the same side. Then	<b>Burraie.</b>
<b>Lhu.</b>	comming to Loghor castell, it taketh in on the east side, the Lhu, whose course is not aboue fiue miles, and thence loosing the name of Lochar, it is called Burraie, as some gesse, vntill it come to the sea, where it parteth it selfe going on each side (of Bachannie Iland, a small thing) and not worthie for anie thing I read thereof, as yet to be particularlie described. From this water we passed (I saie) by Bachannies Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whose head being in the hilles aboue Prenacrois, it passeth	<b>Dulesse.</b>
<b>Dulesse.</b>	by Lhaneltheie, and thence into the sea. Then went we to the Dulesse a little rill, whose head is not farre from Trinsaren: thence by the Pembraie and Calicoit points,	<b>Wandres.</b>
<b>Wandres.</b>	till we came about to the Wandres or Vendraith mouth, whose description is partlie touched already; but bicause it is not such as I would wish it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale somewhat further withall. Gwendrath or Vendraith vaur riseth in the lower ground, or not far from the hill Renneth Vaur, whereon castell Careg standeth, and descending by a pretie long course vnder sundrie bridges, commeth at the last to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and so vnto the sea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Vendraith Vehan riseth a mile higher towards the north than Vendraith Vaur, but out of the same soile, & thence directing his course toward the southwest, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langell, Bithon, Leighdenie, Kidwillie, and so into the sea, about one mile from the fall of Vendraith Vaur.	<b>Towie.</b>
<b>Towie.</b>	The Towie riseth in the mounteines of Elennith foure miles by southeast from Lintue, and two from Lington, in a moorish ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a forrest called Bishops forrest, midwaie betwixt Landwibreue & Landanuerie castell. For fish, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw or Taffe, whose head breedeth no fish, but if it be cast into it, they turne vp their bellies	<b>Trausnant.</b>
<b>Trausnant.</b>	flote aloft and die out of hand. It parteth Brecknoch from Cardigonshire also for a certene season, till it come by the water of Trausnant, that falleth thereinto from by east out of the confines of Brecknoch, vnto Pilin capell, and so to Istrodefine, where it méeteth with the Tothee that commeth thither from Lhinuerwin where it riseth, and	<b>Tothée.</b>
<b>Pescotter.</b>	so through Rescoth forrest, vniting it selfe by the waie with the Pescotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonshire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the same, till it ioine with the Tothée, and both come together beneath Istrodefine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it commeth to Lhanuair Awbreie, Lanihowell, and Lanimphrie, and here it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the first is called Brane, the other Gutherijc	<b>Dulesse. Morlais.</b>
<b>Brane. Gutherijc.</b>	(which lieth more southerlie of the two) and fall (as I said) into Towie beneath Landonuereie, which runneth on till it méet with the first Dulesse that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Morlais, and these on the northwest. Certes the Brane is a pretie brooke rising two or thée miles aboue Capell Newith, and descending by Lanbrane and Vstradwalter, it méeteth (I saie) with the Gutherijc, whose head is west of Tridcastell in Brecknochshire, and thereby it is not a little increased. But to proceed with the Towie, which being past Lanimphrie and a rill that méeteth with the same, descending from northwest of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuerse waters in one chanell, of which the greatest is called Modewie, and thereof I find this description.	<b>Modewie.</b>
<b>Modewie.</b>	The Modewie, or (as some pronounce it) Motheuie, riseth of two heads, which ioining aboue Lanihangle, the streame runneth on till it méet with the Cledoch on the left	<b>Cledoch.</b>
<b>Cledoch.</b>	hand, procéeding also further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawtheie, whose two heads descend from the blacke mounteines or east edge of Carmardineshire (as mine information leadeth me.) After this confluence the second Dulesse dooth méet with the Towie, whose head is in the hilles aboue Talthogaie abbeie, northwest from Langadocke full fiue miles: then comming downe by Landilovaur, Newton, Dinefar castell, and Golden groue, it receiueth the third	<b>Dulesse. 2.</b>
<b>Dulesse. 3.</b>	Dulesse from by north that commeth in by Lanihangle and Drislan castell, and after that the Cothie, whose race is somewhat long, and therefore his description not vtterlie to be passed ouer.	<b>Cothie.</b>
<b>Cothie.</b>	Not farre from the head (which is three miles from Landanbreue, vnder the hulke of Blame Icorne, a narrow passage, and therein manie heaps of stones) and somewhat beneath Lana Pinsent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from aboue Lanacroies: thence it goeth to Lansawell, Abergorlech, Breghuangothie, Lannigood, and so into Towie, which hasting forward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Raelthie from by north, then the Gwylie from northwest, whose head is aboue Lanie Pinsent, and race by Canwell, Eluert, Comewilie, and Merling hill as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwylie, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanstephan, S. Ismaels, and so into the sea.	<b>Raelthie.</b>
<b>Turche.</b>		<b>Gwylie.</b>
<b>Taue.</b>	Next vnto the Towie is the Taue, whose head is in the blacke mounteines, as at the roots of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembrookeshire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurnach, Langludien, Lanualteg, and taking in the Dudderie from southwest, out of the same	<b>Dudderie.</b>
<b>Dudderie.</b>		

	countie by Lanbederuefraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Eglesware chappell, beneath which it crosseth the Marlais by north that runneth by Lanbedie and Whitland.	Marlais.
Vennie.	Thence meeting with one rill called Venni, as I take it, that commeth through Cardith forrest on the one side, and the Caire on the other that runneth into it west of Landowror, it hasteth to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carthkinnie, or Barthkinnie	Caire.
Carthkinnie.	(as Leland calleth it) and the Gow or Tow both in one chanell, of which the first riseth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilsant, and Langinnin, the other issueth out of the ground aboue Trologh Bettus, by Midrun, & ioining with the former a little aboue S. Clares, they run into the Taue, and from thence to Lanihangle, and betwéene it and Abercowen, admitteth finallie the Gowen or Gow streame, which comming likewise from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & so into the Taue, who directeth his course by Lancharne castell, and then into the sea.	Gow.
Gowen.		
Gwair.	The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a small thing rising aboue Lambeder Velfraie, and going from thence by east of castell Merhie hill, Crumuier and Argwaire, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, and so we leaue Cairdinshire, and go ouer into Penbrooke. Then passed we by an other comming out of Rathe forrest called Coit Rathe, the water it selfe rising about Templeton. Thence leauing the Monkeston rocke, we came to Tenbie or Dinbechie Piscood, and passing into the port betwéene the castell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it serued with two little backe waters, of so small countenance, that they are not worthie of anie further talke to be spent in their descriptions: yet the one séemeth to be called Florence brooke, the other Fresto, Gunfreston standing betwéene them both, when by their sight cannot perish. After this we passed betwéene Londie and an other Ilet or rocke lieng by northwest of the same, to Ludsup point, & so to Abertrewent, where I found a sillie fresh water named Trewend that riseth a mile or thereabout within the land. From thence we went southwards by Brode hauen, till we came to S. Gowans point. Then gathering west and by north before we came at Shepe Iland, we found another fresh water, that riseth short of Kiriog Maharen, and running south of Vggarston, Windmill hill, or betwéene it and Castell Norton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat west all the waie till it come to the Ocean.	
Brechnocke.		
Trewent.		From Londie to Caldie thirtie miles.
	Being passed this water, we cast about toward the northwest, by the Poptons and Pennar, till we came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the salt water issueth that in manor inuironneth Penbroke. From this (omitting sundrie salt créekes on both sides of the hauen, not appertinent to our purpose) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanell, aboue whose confluence Williamston parke standeth, and whereof one (a méere salt course) incloseth thrée parts of Carew castell. The other rising néere to Coit Rath forrest is a fresh, & going by Geffraiston, Creswell & Lawrenie, it leaueth the parke on the south side, & goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.	Pennar.
Dugledu.	Now come I to the two swords, or hauen of Milford, whereinto two riuers direct their course from the northeast called Dugledu or the two swords, and betwéene them both is a rill which they call also Cultlell (that is to saie) the knife. Hereof riseth a merrie tale of a Welshman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peraduenture not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hostesse (where he did breake his fast the next morrow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, bicause he came so soone to hir house yer anie of hir maids were vp? Oh good hostesse (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous estate, for I slept betweene two swords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indéed that he laie betwéene these two riuers, and his brest towards the south neere to the head of Cultlell. But to passe ouer these iests. Here Leland speaketh of a riuier called Gwylie, but where it riseth or falleth, he maketh no certeine report: wherefore it is requisit that I proceed according to my purpose.	
Cultlell.		
Gwylie.		
Clotheie.	The one of these swords is called Clotheie or Clothie, of which I find this short and breefe description. The Clothie riseth at the foot of Wrennie vaure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueth a rill from by northwest before it come at Lanhaddon castell, which commeth from aboue the moore by Clarbaston and Bletcherston, his head arising in the hill west of Mancloghaie, as Leland dooth informe me. Yer long also and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the east side from Narbarth castell, comming by Robeston, then going by Cunaston, Slebach, Picton castell, Sister houses, Minware & Martheltwie, at Rise castell point west of Coit Kenles (as I haue béene informed) it taketh in the other sword, named Dugledie, wherof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is somewhere at northwest, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dugwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbaxton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camrose at the west, it goeth to Hauerford or Hereford west, and there vniteth it selfe with a water, which peraduenture is the same that Leland called Gwylie. Certes it riseth short of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chappell and Pendergest, it falleth I saie into the Dugledie, ouer against the towne of Hauerford or Herford west, but in Welsh Hufford; as Lhoid dooth set it downe. Beneath Herford it taketh in another water from south west, whose head is short of S. Margarets chappell, and enterance betweene Harraldston and Herford, which Harraldstone receiueth the name of Harrald the successour of Edward the confessour as some call him, who was a gréeuous mall vnto the Britons that remained in the time of the said Edward; as I	
Dugledie.		
Gwylie.		

haue noted elsewhere. Then the Dugledie still descending taketh in the Frese frō Fresethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making hast vnto Culthell, & omitting two rils betwéene it and the Clotheie on the southside, of no great weight and moment. The Cuthell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Bolston, with a streight course from by north, of three or foure miles, rising by west of Slebach, and comming by Bowlston, after whose vnition with the aforesaid water they run on as one till they méet with the Clothie, casting out by the waie sundrie salt créekes, as the maine chanell dooth from thence fourth vntill it passe the Sandie hauen, the Dale rode (whither a sillie fresh rill commeth of small value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Having thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Milford hauen, we cast about by the Blockehouse and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Ile, that lieth betwéene S. Annes and the Wilocke point, directlie ouer against Stockholme Ile. Gateholme Ile.

Midland Ile. Betweene the Willocke point also and the Scalmeie, directlie west is the Midland Ile, full so great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and south of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Yardland stone, the other Mewstone, it shall not be greatlie requisit to stand on their discourses, sith they are such as may hardlie be taken for Ilands, and euen in like sort we may iudge of S. Brides Ile, which is southwest of Calthrop rode, & likewise of the Gresholme, whereof I find this short description. The Gresholme lieth directlie west of Scalmeie, from whence if you saile thither on the south side, you must néeds passe by the Mewstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you must leaue the Yarland stone on your left hand. Wherto if you note well the situation of these Ilands already named, and confer them with the Ramseie and S. Dauids land, you shall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Bridbaie, wherein (notwithstanding the greatnesse) are 1000 perils, and no fresh brookes for me to deale withall. Finallie, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnsearched, at lestwise to see what Ilands might there be found, & long entred into the same, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Brides Iland, a verie little place and situate néere the land, before I came at Galtoie rode. From thence we went about by the little hauen, Doluach hauen, Caruaie hauen, Shirelace rocke, Carnbuddie, and Carnaie baies, Portelais, and so into the sound betwéene Ramseie and the point. In this sound likewise is a little Ile, almost annexed to the maine: but in the midst thereof, I meane of the sound, is a rocke called the horsse (a mile and more by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth south east of Ramseie) and more infortunate than ten of Seians colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Thence passing by S. Stephans, and Whitesand baies, we saluted the Bishop and his clerks, as they went on procession on our left side (being loth to take anie salted holie water at their hands) and came at last to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth Octapitanum promontorium, except I be deceiued. But here gentle reader giue me leaue to staie a while, and insert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof some men may peradventure haue vse, his words are these. Being therefore past this hauen and point of Demetia, in casting about the coast we come to S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth Octapitanum promontorium, I read to be separated from the rest of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerse other little creekes betwixt Newgale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fischard, beside those that are héere mentioned out of a register of that house.

S. Dewies or Dauid all one.

Saluach. As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Newgale, a créeke serued with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this creeke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about foure miles is Saluach creeke, otherwise called Sauerach, whither some fresh water resorteth: the mouth also thereof is a good rescue for balingers, as it (I meane the register) saith. Thence go we to Portelais three miles, where is a little portlet, whither the Alen that commeth through saint Dewies close dooth run. It lieth a mile south-west from S. Dewies, saint Stinans Chappell also is betwéene Portelais, and Portmaw. The next is Port Maw, where I found a great estuarie into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: Lhand Vehan is thrée miles from Pendwie, where is a salt créeke, then to Tredine three miles, where is another creeke to Langunda, foure miles, and another créeke is there in like sort where fishermen catch herrings. Héere also the Gwerne riuier diuideth Penbidiane from Fischerdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fischard at the Gwerne mouth foure miles, and here is a portlet or hauenet also for ships. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Alen. Portmaw.

Maw. Pendwie. Lanuehan.

Portelais.

Tredine.

Langunda. Fischard. Gwerne.

Besides this also, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and pooles, but for as much as my purpose is not to speake of lakes and lhinnes, I passe them ouer as hasting to Teifie, in Latine Tibius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius or Tiuirobis, which is the next riuier that serueth for my purpose. And yet not forgetting to touch the Gwerne, for after we came from saint Dauids head, we coasted along toward the southeast, till wée came ouer against saint Catharins, where going northwards by the broad hauen, and the Strombles head, we sailed thence northeast, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat south by the Cow and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left

on the left hand, & so coasted ouer to Abergwin or Fischard where we found a fresh water named Guin, or Gwerne, whose course is in manner directlie out of the east into the west, from Vremie hills by pont Vaunt and Lanichair, vntill it come within a mile of the foresaid towne. It riseth flat north of the Perselie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Lauerillidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & so to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I read both. From Abergwine, we cast about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newport standeth. The head of this riuer is about Capell Nantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yer it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riseth short of Wrenie vaure, and thence go foorth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I did stumble on, wherein lieth a little lland ouer against the north point. Hereinto also commeth the Teifie, a noble riuer which riseth in Lintiuie, and is fraught with delicate samons, and herein and not else where in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Castor or Beuer to be found. But to procéed. The verie hed thereof (I saie) is foure miles about Stradflore in Luitie, and after it hath run from thence a little space, it receiueth a brooke from southeast that commeth out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradflore abbeie, beneth which it méeteth with the Miricke water (that riseth about Stradmirich) and soone after with the Landurch (both from the northwest) and finallie the Bremich about Tregaron, that commeth in by the east; as Leland hath set downe.

**Gwerne.**

**Neuerne.**

**Teifie or Tine.**

**Landurch.**

**Miricke.**

**Bromis. Matherne.**

Néere to Landwibreuie also it crosseth the Bromis by east northeast, and then goeth to Landuair, Cledogh, Kellan, and soone after taking in the Matherne from by east, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine shire, and likewise that Dulas about Lanbedder (which riseth about Langibbie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northwest, it goeth next of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lanuair, beneath which it crosseth the Grauelth, thence to Pencarocke, Lanibether, Lanlonie, Lanihangle, and Sandissell, and there it vniteth it selfe with the Clethor or Dettor, which commeth downe thither by Lantisilued chappell, Lanfraine, and finallie Landissell from by north, as I doo here affirme. After this confluence it procéedeth on to Landuaie, Alloine, Bangor, Langeler, Landeureog and Newcastell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by north, whose head is not farre from that of Clethor, and whose course is somewhat enlarged by such rilles as descend into the same. For west of Kenwith two becks in one chanell doo fall into it, which be namelesse, and but of a litle length.

**Dulas.**

**Clethor.**

**Kerie.**

Beneath Tredwair also it crosseth another from by west, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finallie méeting with the Teifie, they run as one by Kennarth (still parting Cardigon shire from Carmardin, as it hath doone sith it met with the Matherne) and so forth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which rising southeast about chappell Euan, dooth part Carmardine and Brechnocke shire in sunder, till it come vnto the Teifie. From this confluence, and being still a limit vnto Cardigon shire, it goeth by Marierdine, and so to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by north descending by Penneralt, by north of Monardiue or Marierdine, and two other from by southwest, of which the one commeth in beneath Kilgaron castell, the other from Lantwood north west of Oscoid Mortemer, which lieth southeast of Cardigan, and then going forward betwéene S. Dogmaile, & Langordmere, it is not long yer it fall into the Irish sea, flat west and by north from his vprise, and sending vs forth from Penlooke into Cardigon shire, wherevnto it hath become march euer sithence it came from Kellam, or confluence with the Matherne.

**Cheach.**

**Airon.**

Being come into Cardigon shire, and hauing passed the Cardigon point, an lland of the same denomination lieng by west thereof, we came vnto the fall of Airon thrée miles beneath Lancleere, it riseth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Peniall belonging to Landwie breuie about thrée or foure miles from Tiue banks, & runneth on by Lamberwooddie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, Talaferne, and soone after taking in a rill from by south from Siliam by Lanleir it runneth by Istrade, Kilkennen, Lanicharin, and finallie into the sea, crossing by the waie the Bidder brooke, which comming from Dehewide, dooth fall into the same, betwéene Lanchairin, and Henuenneie. The Arth which is the next fall is no great thing, neither of anie long course, yet somewhat crotched, and it riseth three or foure miles or more within the land slopewise, and comming by Lambaderne, and Treueglois, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Aberarth.

**Bidder.**

**Arth.**

**Ris aliàs Wereie.**

Being past the Arth, & hauing staid there a while bicause we found some harborough, we came next of all vnto the Wereie, which riseth of two heads, about whose confluence standeth a towne, named Lanihangle, Redrod, and from whence it goeth by Lanigruthen to Laristed, & so into the Ocean. Then went we to the Ystwith, which riseth in the blacke mounteins about Comerstwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, vntill it come vnto Ispittie, Istwith, Lananon, Laniler, Lan Nachairne, and so into the sea, taking withall first the Meleuen, then the Ridall or Redholl not farre from the shore, whereof I haue this description. The Ridall riseth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Ridall, from whence going toward Spittie Kinwen, it crosseth one water on the north, and another beneth it on the southeast, and so goeth on by Lanbeder vaure, till it come to Aberistwith, the Istwith, and so into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Istwith, and taken our selues againe to the sea, we crossed the Salke or Salique brooke, whereof I find this memoriall.

**Istwith.**

**Redholl.**

**Salique.**



**Massalique.** The Salique brooke descendeth in like sort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Vmmaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogirthar, it receiueth the Massalique, and from thence goeth into the sea, southwest from his originall. From hence we went to the Lerie, an indraught of no great quantitie, neither commodious as I gesse (yet I may be deceived) for anie ship to harborough in. It riseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lanihangle castell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeast into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waie from the hilles which lie by northeast of his course. But what stand I vpon trifles?

**Wie.** Thus haue I brought my selfe out of Caerdigan shire vnto the Wie, which is limit betwéene it and Merioneth for a certeine space, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the head, minding in the description of the same to come downeward as in the rest, which we will doo in such good manner as for the time and want of some information is possible to be performed. It ariseth in the south part of Snowdonie and goeth on fourth right to Lammothwie, by Mowdhewie, Mathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Mathew, it receiueth two rilles from northwest, and the third comming by Mailroid called Cludoch from northeast, & so holdeth on crossing the

**Remis.** Angell water at the west, which boundeth Mongomerie shire in part, till it come to Romis, beneath which water it taketh in the Towin that passeth by Lambrin mawr from Talgarth, and then goeth to Mathraerne, crossing another from by north and so fourth to Lanworing, where it méeteth with the Kerig on the one side, and the Gwidall which commeth from Dorowen on the other.

After this, our maine riuier goeth by Pengos, and beneath the same taketh in an influence from southeast, called the Dulas, and another from the northwest: from thence it hasteth on to Magenillet, or Machenlet, first crossing the Leuennie from southeast, secondlie the Peniall from northwest, thirdlie the Eion, fourthlie the Kinar, fiftlie the Cleidor, these threé last rehearsed falling into it from southeast, & the last hauing his course by Langwinhelin and so into the sea, as mine instruction vpholdeth. It séemeth in some mens iudgements to part Northwales and Westwales in sunder, and the same which in Latine hight Deuus, in Welsh or British Difi or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth séeme to fetch his sound. But to procéed with the rest of such falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therfore northwestward we come to a fall frō the north called Townen Merionneth which is the mouth of the Difonnie streame, a pretie riuier rising in the hilles about Lanihangle, and west of castell Traherne receiueth the Ridrijc, which commeth from Chadridrijc hill, by Tallillin castell, Treherie, and so into the Difonnie from southeast, fetching his course by Lanegrin, and so into the sea within fiue miles thereof.

Being past this we did cast about by the Sarnabigh point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and so to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with diligence described, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Moth or Derie, for so are the two chiefe heads called out of which this riuier descendeth, and are about six miles west of the Lin, out of which the Déé hath his issue, and betwéene which the Raran vaure hilles are situat and haue their being. After the ioining of the two heds of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiueth a rill from northeast called Cain, & another beneath the same, comming from Beurose wood, and so holdeth on towards the south betwéene Laniltid and Kemmor abbaie, till it meet a little by west of Dolgelth with the Auon vaure, which comming also out of the Woodland soile, & taking in a rill from Gwannas, hasteth northwestward (by Dolgelth) to ioine with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Kessilgunt, then the Hirgun, & after a course of foure to fiue miles it falleth into the sea, hauing watered the verie hart & inward parts of this shire. From hence we crosse the Skethie which runneth by Corsogdale and Lanthwie, aliàs Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Artro about Lambader, doth fall into the sea, southeast of the point, and flat south of Landango, which is a towne situat on the other side of the turning.

**Ho.** After this we passed by Aberho, so named of the riuier Ho, that falleth there into the sea, and commeth thither from the Alpes or hils of Snowdonie, mounteins, no lesse fertile for grasse, wood, cattell, fish and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the seas, whereof all the writers doo make so honorable report. From hence we sailed by

**Mawr.** Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like sort from Snowdonie, and taketh diuerse riuers with him whose names I doo not know. Then vnto the Artro a

**Artro.** brooke, whose head commeth from by north east, and in his course receiueth the Gedar on the north side, and so holdeth on till it fall into the sea, after a few windlesses which it maketh as it passeth. After this we come to Traith vehan, which is the fall of the Drurid, a pretie riuier comming from the marches of Caernaruonshire, which passing by Festimog, soone after taketh in the Cunwell, then the Velenrid; and so holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the said Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by south hereof, and haue their issue also into the same, I make but small accompt, because their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith mawr, whereinto the Farles hath his issue, a riuier proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hils, descending by Bethkelerke and Lanwrothen, without mixture of anie other water in all his course and passage. It is parcell of the march also betwéene Merioneth and Caernaruon shires. From Traith mawr we passe by the Krekith, and come to another water descending from the north by Lanstidwie, and after that to the Moie, whose mouthes are so néere together, that no more than halfe

**Farles.**

a mile of the land dooth seeme to kéepe them in sunder.

- Erke.** Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie brooke descending from Madrijn hils, into whose mouth two other of no lesse quantitie than it selfe doo séeme to haue their confluence, and whose courses doo come along from the west and northwest; the most southerlie being called Girch, and the other the Hellie: except my memorie doo faile me. Then casting about toward the south (as the coast lieth) we saw the
- Soch.** Abersoch or mouth of the Soch riuier vpon our right hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by south thereof lie two Ilands, of which the more northerlie is called Tudfall, and the other Penrijn: as Leland did obserue. I would set downe the British names of such townes and villages as these waters passe by; but the writing of them (for want of the language) is so hard to me, that I choose rather to shew their falles and risings, than to corrupt their denominations in the writing: and yet now and then I vse such words as our Englishmen doo giue vnto some of them, but that is not often, where the British name is easie to be found out and sounded.
- Daron.** After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron riuier, wherevpon standeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the shore betwixt Aberdaron and Vortigernes vale, where the compasse of the sea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to
- Edarne beck.** Edarne becke, a mile and more south of Newin. And ten or twelue miles from hence is the Vennie brooke, whose course is little aboue so manie miles; and not farre from it is the Liuan, a farre lesse water, comming also from the east: and next vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by south and the Carrog by north after their coniunction doo make their common influence. Hauing passed this riuier, we cast about toward the north east, and enter at Abermenaie ferrie, into the streicts or streame called Menaie, betweene Angleseie and the maine, méeting first of all with the Gornaie, which commeth from the Snowdonie out of the Treuennian lake, and passeth by Lanunda into the sea or Menaie streame at Southcrocke. Next of all we meet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, passeth by Lanihangle, and so falleth into the Menaie at Abersaint, which is on the southwest side of Caernaruon: on the other side also of the said towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it standeth betweene two riuers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Orueg.
- Then come we (saith Leland) to Gwiniwith mirith (or Horsse brooke) two miles from Moilethon, and it riseth at a Well so called full a mile from thence. Moilethon is a bowe shot from Aberpowle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleseie. Aberpowle runneth thrée miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Meneie shore: and here is a little comming in for botes
- Conte.** bending into the Meneie. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mounteine a mile aboue, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Torronnen hath his course) almost a mile aboue it. Aber Ogwine is two miles aboue that; it riseth at Tale linne, Ogwine poole, fiue miles aboue Bangor in the east side of Withow. Aber Auon is two miles aboue
- Gegeine.** Aberogwene, and it riseth in a poole called Lin man Auon, thrée miles off. Auon lan var Vehan riseth in a mounteine therby, and goeth into the sea, two miles aboue
- Auon. Lannar. Vehan. Duegeuelth.** Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three miles aboue Conweie, which rising in the mounteins a mile off, goeth by it selfe into Meneie salt arme. On the said shore also lieth Conweie, and this riuier dooth run betwixt Penmaine Maur, and Penmaine Vehan. It riseth about three miles from Penmaclon hils which lie about sixtie miles from Conweie abbeie, now dissolued out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and west of this riuier standeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.
- Téec.** This riuier (which Ptolomie calleth Toesobius, as I take it) after the deriuation thereof from the head, passeth on the west side by Spittieuan and Tiherio, beneath which it taketh in a streame comming from the east out of Denbighshire, deriued from thrée heads, and of the greatest called Nag. Soone after also another, and then the third, which commeth in from the west by Lanpen Mawr: next of all the Leder on the same side, which commeth by Dolathelan castell: and aboue that from a Lin of the same denomination. Beneath this and selfe hand lieth likewise the Ligow or Ligwie, procéding from two lakes, that is, the Mumber and the Ligow. On the right hand as we still descend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we méet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be past another on the right side, we come to the Perloid, which commeth out of Lin Cowlid, to the Ygan, to the Idulin, to the castell Water on the left, & then to the Melandider on the right, without the sight of anie other, till we come almost to Conweie, where we find a notched streame comming from by west, and called Guffen or Gyffin into the same by one chanell on the northeast side of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gyffin, and ouer against Lansanfraid in Denbighshire; so farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnaruonshire stretcheth also beyond Aber
- Ligow.** Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Ormeshed point, wherein also is a rill, whose fall into the sea is betwéene Penrin and Landright. And thus we haue made an end of the chéeffe waters which are to be found in this countie.

The next is a corner of Denbigh, by which we doo as it were step ouer into Flintshire, and whose first water is not great, yet it commeth from southwest, and falleth into the north or Irish sea called Virginium, beneath Landilas; as the next that commeth south from Bettas dooth the like thrée miles beneath Abergele, and is not onelie

**Gele.**

called Gele (as the name it selfe importeth) but also noted to take his course through the Canges. Hauing thus gone ouer the angle of Denbighshire, that lieth betwene those of Carnaruon and Flint, we come next of all vnto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Glota, which is a streame not to be shortlie intreated of. It riseth among certeine hilles, which lie not far distant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighshires. Southeast from his fall, and hauing run foure or fiue miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Maniton on the left hand, and the Mespın on the right: and soone after the third from bywest, whose head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen also it taketh in the Leueneie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and so holdeth on till it méet with the Cluedoch, then with the Ystrade, which passeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Whéeler on the right, and so to his ioining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Asaphes, a bishops sée that is inuironed with them both. This Elwie riseth aboue Gwitherne, & beneath Lanuair taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lansannan, and ioineth with him fiue miles beneath Langrenew. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence passeth on to the sea by Rutland castell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from by east, and hath a course almost of sixteene miles. From hence we tooke sea toward the Dée mouth: and as we passed by the rest of the shore, we saw the fall of a little brooke néere Basing Werke, of another néere to Flint, of the third at Yowleie castell, which with his two armes in maner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Hawarden hold, which in like sort goeth round about the same, & from whence we came to the Dée, where we landed and tooke vp our lodging in Chester. In this place also it was no hard matter to deliuer & set downe the names of such riuers and streames as are also to be found in Angleseie, finding my selfe to haue some leasure and fit opportunitie for the same: and imagining a iourneie thither also, as vnto the other places mentioned in this description, whither as yet it hath not béene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amisse to take it also in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Maniton.

Cluedoch.

Elwie.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnaruonshire to Beaumarise, I went by land without crossing of anie riuier or streame worthie memorie, till I came to the Brant, which hath his fall not farre from the southeast point of that Iland. This Brant riseth farre vp in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his course southward to Lanthoniell Vaall, it goeth on to Bodoweruch, Langainwen, and so into the sea.

Fraw.

The next fall we came vnto was called Maltrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two riuers, the Geuennie and the Gint, who ioine not farre from Langrestoll. This also last rehearsed hath his head neere to Penmoneth, the other being forked riseth in the hillie soile aboue Tregaion and Langwithlog: so that part of the Iland obtaineth no small commoditie and benefit by their passage. Next vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whose head is neere to Langinewen, and passage by Cap Maer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth east of Aberfraw, and so into the sea. The next riuier hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer course than that which I last described. For it riseth two or thrée miles aboue Haneglosse: and passing from thence to Treualghmaie, after the descent of foure miles, it falleth into the sea. After this we came to an other, which riseth more to Cap legan ferwie, and falleth into the sea; southeast of the little Iland, which is called Ynis Wealt, it is namelesse also as the other was: and therefore hauing small delight to write thereof, we passed ouer the salt créeke by a bridge into Cair Kibie, which by the same, is as it were cut from the maine Iland, and in some respect not vnworthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north side therefore of Cair Kibie is a little rill or créeke: but whether the water thereof be fresh or salt, as yet I doo not remember.

Linon.  
Allo.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforesaid bridge, into the maine of Angleseie, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by thrée riuerets, each one hauing his course almost south from other; and the last falling into the confluence of the two first, not halfe a mile from the west, where I first espied the streame: the name of the most northerlie is Linon, of the second Allo; but the third is altogether namelesse for aught that I can learne, wherefore it shall not be necessarie to spend anie time in the further searching of his course. Being past this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eastward, we butted vpon the fall of a certeine confluence growing by the ioining of the Nathanon and the Geger, which méet beneath and néere to the Langechell. And after the same we passed on somewhat declining southward by the Hillarie point, toward the southeast, till we came to the Dulesse: and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eastward; and finallie southward, till we came to Langurdin; from whence vnto Beaumarise (where began our voiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembred. And thence I go forward with the description of the Dee.

Dée or Deua.

The Dee or Deua (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuier, & breeder of the best trout, whose head is in Merioneth shire, about thrée miles aboue the lake, situate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Tegnı, whose streame yet verie small, by reason of the shortnesse of his course, falleth into the said lake, not far from Lanullin. There are sundrie other waters which come also into the said lake, which is foure or five miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by south, whose fall is east, and not manie furlongs from the Dee: another hath his issue into the same by

Langower: the third on the north side of Lanullin, named Leie: the fourth at Glanlintegid called Jauerne, the lake it selfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Trowerin, a pretie streame, and not a little augmented by the Kelme and Monach which fall by north into the same, and ioineth with the Dée south of Lanuair; from whence forth it looseth the name, and is afterward called Dée. East of Bala in like sort it receiueth the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and so passing on by Landright to Langar, it méeteth with a confluence procéeding from the Alwen and the Giron, of which this riseth in the hills aboue Langham, the other in the mounteines about fiue or six miles by northwest of Lanihangle in Denbighshire, where (as I gesse) it falleth into the ground; and afterward rising againe betwéene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioineth with the Giron, full six miles aboue Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lansanfraid, and the marches of Merioneth into Denbighshire, and so to Langellon, Dinas, Bren, &c: kéeping his course by certeine windlesses, till he receiue the Gristioneth, descending by Ruabon, then another est of the same; the third from by west called Keriog (whose head is not farre from the bounds of Merioneth and course by Lanarmon, Lansanfraid, and Chirke) the fourth from south east out of Shropshire, called Morlais, and so passeth as bounds betwéene Denbighshire, and the Outliggand of Flintshire, to wit by Bistocke on the one side and Bangor on the other, till it come to Worthenburie: whereabout it receiueth a chanell descending from foure influences, of which one commeth by Penlie chappell, the second from Hamnere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by east of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betwéene Chad and Worsall. These two later méeting aboue nether Durtwich, doo hold on to Talerne, as mine information instructeth me.

**Trowerin.**

**Ruddoch.**

**Cleton.**

**Gristioneth.**

**Keriog.**

**Cluedoch.**

**Gwinrogh.**

**Alannus.**

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth northwestwards toward Shocklige, méeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originall mother to those trouts for which the Dée is commended) and descendeth from Capell Moinglath) and the Gwinrogh, that runneth through Wrexham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wrexham, not far from Hantwerne. Soone after also our maine riuier receiueth another becke from by east, which is bound on the northwest side to the Outliggand of Flintshire, and so passeth on betwéene Holt castell and Ferneton, Almere and Pulton, as march betwéene Denbighshire and Cheshire, and then taketh in the Alannus or Alen; a pretie riuier and worthie to be described. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighshire, and so disposed that it riseth in two seuerall places, ech being two miles from other, the one called Alen Mawr, the other Alen Vehan, as I doo find reported. They méet also beneath Landegleie, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuerres, where meeting with a rill comming from by west, it runneth on to the Mold to Horsheth, and so in and out to Greseford, taking the Cagidog from southwest with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and so into the Dée, a mile and more aboue the fall of Powton becke, which also descendeth from southwest out of Flintshire, and is march vnto the same, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dée hauing Chestershire on both sides, goeth to Aldford with a swift course, where it méeteth with the Beston brooke, whereof I doo find this description following.

**Beston.**

"The Beston water riseth in the wooddie soile betwéene Spruston and Beston castell with a forked head, and leauing Beston towne on the northeast, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Hakesleie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Goldburne, and Léehall, to Alford, and so into the Dée, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Therton, where it brancheth againe, sending foorth one arme by Stanneie poole, and the parke side into Merseie arme, toward the northwest, and another by southwest, which commeth as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Backeford, Charleton, Vpton, the Baites, and so vnder a bridge to Chester ward, where it falleth into the Dée arme at Flockes brooke, excluding Wirall on the northwest as an Iland, which lieth out like a leg betwéene the Merseie and the Dée armes, and including and making another fresh Iland within the same, whose limits by northwest are betwéene Thorneton, Chester, & Aldford, on the northeast Thorneton and Hakesleie, and on the southeast Hakesleie and Aldford, whereby the forme thereof dooth in part resemble a triangle." And thus much of the Dée, which is a troublesome streame when the wind is at southwest, and verie dangerous, in so much that few dare passe thereon. Sometimes also in haruest time it sendeth downe such store of water, when the wind bloweth in the same quarter, that it drowneth all their grasse and corne that groweth in the lower grounds néere vnto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about thrée hundred foot, at his departure from the Tignie, and worthilie called a litigious streame; because that by often alteration of chanell, it inforceth men to séeke new bounds vnto their lands, for here it laieth new ground, and there translateth and taketh awaie the old, so that there is nothing more vnconstant than the course of the said water. Of the monasterie Bangor also, by which it passeth after it hath left Orton bridge, I find this note, which I will not omit, because of the slaughter of monks made sometime néere vnto the same. For although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogether to omit it.

This abbeie of Bangor stood sometime in English Mailor, by hither and south of the riuier Dée. It is now ploughed ground where that house stood, by the space of a

The situation of the monasterie of Bangor.

Welsh mile (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe English) and to this day the tillers of the soile there doo plow vp bones (as they saie) of those monks that were slaine in the quarrell of Augustine, and within the memorie of man some of them were taken vp in their rotten weeds, which were much like vnto those of our late blacke monks, as Leland set it downe: yet Erasmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was such as most men did weare generallie at their first institution. But to proceed. This abbeie stood in a valleie, and in those times the riuier ran hard by it. The compasse thereof likewise was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this daie two of the gates may easilie be discerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lieng by north, the other Port Clais situat vpon the south. But the Dée hauing now changed his chanell, runneth through the verie middest of the house betwixt those two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As for the squared stone that is found hereabout, and the Romane coine, there is no such necessitie of the rehersall therof, but that I may passe it ouer well inough without anie further mention.

Being past the Dée we sailed about Wirall, passing by Hibrie or Hilbrée Iland, and Leuerpole, Nasse, making our entrie into Merseie arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we find a water falling out betwéene Seacombe and the Ferie, which dooth in maner cut off the point from the maine of Wirall. For rising néere to the northwest shore, it holdeth a course directlie toward the southeast by Wallaseie and Poton, and so leaueth all the north part beyond that water a peninsula, the same being three square, inuironed on two sides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforesaid brooke, whose course is well néere three miles except I be deceiued. Frō hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betwéene Bebington and Brombro chappell, descending from the hilles, which are seene to lie not farre from the shore, and thence crossing the fall of the Beston water, we come next of all vnto the Wiuer, than the which I read of no riuier in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windlesses and crinklings, before it come at the sea. It riseth at Buckle hilles, which lie betwéene Ridleie and Buckle townes, and soone after making a lake of a mile & more in length called Ridleie poole, it runneth by Ridleie to Chalmondlie.

Wiuer.

Combrus.

Thence it goeth to Wrenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a moore that commeth from Marburie: and beneth Sandford bridge the Combrus from Combermer or Comber lake: and finallie the third that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerslaw, then betweene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and so into the Wiuer, which watereth all the west part of England, and is no lesse notable than the fift Auon or third Ouze, whereof I haue spoken already. After these confluences it hasteth also to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Barderton crosseth the Betleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Widdenberie, and so by Barderton into the aforesaid streame. Thence it goeth to Nantwich, but yer it come at Marchford bridge, it meeteth with a rill called Salopbrooke (as I gesse) comming from Caluerleie ward, and likewise beneath the said bridge, with the Lée and the Wuluarne both in one chanell, wherof the first riseth at Weston, the ether goeth by Copnall. From hence the Wiuer runneth on to Minchion and Cardeswyc, and the next water that falleth into it is the Ashe (which passeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Warke,

Betleie.

Salop.

Lée and Wuluarne.

Ashe.

Dane.

the vale Roiall, and Eaton, it commeth finallie to Northwich where it receiueth the Dane, to be described as followeth. The Dane riseth in the verie edges of Chester, Darbshire, & Staffordshire, and comming by Warneford, Swithamleie and Bosleie, is a limit betwéene Stafford and Darbie shires, almost euen from the verie head, which is in Maxwell Forrest.

Bidle.

Whelocke.

It is not long also yer it doo méet with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth vnto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Croxton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Morton to Sandbach, crosseth another that descended from church Cawlhton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, ioining also beneath Midlewish with the Croco or Croxston, the second great water,

Croco.

whose head commeth out of a lake aboue Bruerton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one vnto the Dane, at Croxton, as the Dane dooth from thence to Bostocke, Dauenham, Shebruch, Shurlach, and at Northwich into the foresaid Wiuer. After this confluence the Wiuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like sort receiueth two brookes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Allostocke, by Holme & Lastocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelford

Waterlesse.

Piuereie.

(where it taketh in a rill called Piuereie) thence to ouer Peuer, Holford, and there crossing the Waterlesse brooke (growing of two becks and ioining at nether Tableie) it goeth foorth to Winshambridge, and then méeting with the other, after this confluence they procéed till they come almost at Barneton, where the said chanell ioineth with a pretie water running thorough two lakes, whereof the greatest lieth betwéene Comberbach, Rudworth and Marburie. But to go forward with the course of the maine riuier. After these confluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbridge, and Dutton, ouer against which towne, on the other side it méeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: also the second going by Norleie, and Gritton, finallie the third soone after from Kimsleie, and then procéedeth on in his passage by Asheton chappell, Frodesham, Rockesauage, and so into the sea: and this is all that I doo find of the Wiuer, whose influences might haue beene more largelie set downe, if mine

iniunctions had béene amplie deliuered, yet this I hope may suffice for his description, and knowledge of his course.

<b>Merseie.</b>	The Merseie riseth among the Peke hils, and from thence going downe to the Woodhouse, and taking sundrie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwéene Chester and Darbishires. Going also toward Goitehall, it méeteth with a faire brooke increased by sundrie waters called Goite, whereof I find this short and briefe description. The Goite riseth not far from the Shire méere hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their originall) that parteth Darbeshire and Chestershire in sunder, and thence commeth downe to Goite houses, Ouerton, Taxhall, Shawcrosse, and at Weibridge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall, the Set that riseth aboue Thersethall and runneth by Ouerset. After this confluence also the Merseie goeth to Goite hall, & at Stockford or Stopford towne méeteth with the Tame, which diuideth Chestershire and Lancastershire in sunder, and whose head is in the verie edge of Yorkeshire, from whence it goeth southward to Sadleworth Firth, then to Mukelhurst, Stalie hall, Ashdon Vnderline, Dunkenfield, Denton, Reddish, and so at Stockford into the Merseie streame, which passeth foorth in like sort to Diddesbirie, receiuing a brooke by the waie that commeth from Lime parke, by Brumhall parke and Chedle.	<b>Set.</b>
<b>Goite.</b>		
<b>Frith.</b>		
<b>Tame.</b>		
<b>Irwell.</b>	From Diddesbirie it procéedeth to Norden, Ashton, Aiston, Flixston, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefore his description is not to be omitted before I doo go forward anie further with the Merseie, although it be not nauigable by reason of sundrie rockes and shalowes that lie dispersed in the same. It riseth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Rosendale, and in the waie to Aitenfield it taketh in a water from Haselden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Brandlesham, Brurie, and aboue Ratcliffe ioineth with the Rache water, a faire streame and to be described when I haue finished the Irwell, as also the next vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, bicause I would not haue so manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therefore past these two, our Irwell goeth on to Clifton, Hollond, Edgcroft, Strengwaies, and to Manchester, where it vniteth it selfe with the Yrke, that runneth thereinto by Roiton Midleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeleie. Beneath Manchester also it méeteth with the Medlocke that commeth thither from the northeast side of Oldham, and betwéene, Claiton and Garret Halles, and so betwéene two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwell going forward to Woodsall, Whicleswyc, Eccles, Barton, and Deuelhom, it falleth néere vnto Flixton, into the water of Merseie, where I will staie a while withall, till I haue brought the other vnto some passe, of which I spake before.	<b>Leland speaketh of the Corue water about Manchester; but I know nothing of his course.</b>
<b>Ræus, or Rache.</b>		
<b>Yrke.</b>		<b>Medlockte.</b>
<b>Rache.</b>	The Rache, Rech or Rish consisteth of sundrie waters, whereof ech one in maner hath a proper name, but the greatest of all is Rache it selfe, which riseth among the blacke stonie hils, from whence it goeth to Littlebrough, and being past Clegge, receiueth the Beile, that commeth thither by Milneraw chappell. After this confluence also, it méeteth with a rill néere vnto Rachedale, and soone after with the Sprotton water, and then the Sudleie brooke, whereby his chanell is not a little increased, which goeth from thence to Grisehirst and so into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe. The second streame is called Bradsha. It riseth of two heds, aboue Tureton church, whence it runneth to Bradsha, and yer long taking in the Walmesleie becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the More. From hence (receiuing a water that commeth from the roots of Rauenpike hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the More, and so into Bradsha water, which taketh his waie to Leuermore, Farnworth, Leuerlesse, and finallie into the Irwell, which I before described, and whereof I find these two verses to be added at the last	<b>Sudleie.</b>
<b>Beile.</b>		
<b>Sprotton.</b>		
<b>Bradsha.</b>		<b>Walmesleie.</b>
	Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame, When they meet with the Merseie, do loose their name.	
<b>Gles.</b>	Now therefore to resume our Merseie, you shall vnderstand that after his confluence with the Irwell, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth the Gles, or Glesbrooke water, increased with sundrie armes, wherof one commeth from Lodward, another from aboue Houghton, the third from Hulton parke, and the fourth from Shakerleie: and being all vnited néere vnto Leigh, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling gréene into the swift Merseie. After this increase the said streame in like sort runneth to Rigston, & there admitteth the Bollein or Bolling brooke water into his societie, which rising néere the Chamber in Maxwell forrest goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Bollington, Prestbirie, and Newton, where it taketh in a water comming from about Pot Chappell, which runneth from thence by Adlington, Woodford, Wimesleie, Ringeie, and Ashleie, there receiuing the Birkin brooke that commeth from betwéene Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberleie, and soone after the Marus or Mar, that commeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawstorne, and after these confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer against Rixton beneath Crosford bridge into the Merseie water, which procéeding on, admitteth not another that méeteth with all néere Lim before it go to Thelwall. Thence also it goeth by Bruche and so to Warrington, a little beneath crossing a brooke that commeth from Par by Browseie, Bradleie, and Saukeie on the one side, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with these it runneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and so to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bold, and soone after the Grundich water on the other side, that passeth by Preston, and Daresbirie. Finallie	<b>Bold.</b>
<b>Bollein brooke.</b>		
<b>Birkin.</b>		
<b>Mar.</b>		
<b>Grundich.</b>		

our Merseie going by Moulton, it falleth into Lirepoole, or as it was called of old Liuerpoole hauen, when it is past Runcorne. And thus much of the Merseie, comparable vnto the Wiuer, and of no lesse fame than most riuers of this Iland.

- Tarbocke.** Being past these two, we come next of all to the Tarbocke water, that falleth into the sea at Harbocke, without finding anie mo till we be past all Wirall, out of Lirepoole hauen, and from the blacke rockes that lie vpon the north point of the aforesaid Iland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whose fresh rising not far into the land, commeth to Feston, and soone after receiuing another on the right hand, that passeth into it by Aughton, it is increased no more before it come at the sea. Neither find I anie other falles till I méet with the mouth of the Yarrow and Duglesse, which haue their recourse to the sea in one chanell as I take it. The Duglesse commeth from by west of Rauenspike hill, and yer long runneth by Andertonford to Worthington, and so (taking in two or thrée rilles by the waie) to Wigen, where it receiueth two waters in one chanell, of which one commeth in south from Brin parke, the other from northeast. Being past this, it receiueth one on the north side from Standish, and another by south from Hollond, and then goeth on toward Rufford chappell taking the Taud withall, that descendeth from aboue Skelmersdale towne, and goeth through Lathan parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of Derby. It méeteth also on the same side, with Merton méere water, in which méere is one Iland called Netholme beside other, and when it is past the hanging bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Yarrow.
- Yarrow.** The Yarrow riseth of two heads, whereof the second is called Bagen brooke, and making a confluence beneath Helbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Eglestan, Crofton, and then ioineth next of all with the Dugglesse, after which confluence, the maine streame goeth foorth to Bankehall, Charleton, How, Hesketh, and so into the sea. Leland writing of the Yarrow, saith thus of the same, so fare as I now remember. Into the Dugglesse also runneth the Yarrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandshire from Derbieshire. Vnder the foot of Chorle also I find a rill named Ceorle, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarreie of stones, whereof the inhabitants doo make a great boast and price. And hitherto to Leland.
- Ribble.** The Ribble, a riuier verie rich of salmon, and lampreie, dooth in manner inuiron Preston in Andernesse, and it riseth neere to Kibbesdale aboue Gisborne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Salleie, Chathburne, Woodington, Clithero castell, and beneath Mitton méeteth the Odder at north west, which riseth not farre from the crosse of Gréet in Yorkeshire, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, and Stonie hirst, it falleth yer long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble water hath not gone farre, but it méeteth with the Calder from southeast. This brooke riseth aboue Holme church in Yorkeshire, which lieth by east of Lancastershire, and going by Towleie and Burneleie, where it receiueth a trifling rill, thence to Higham, and yer long crossing one water that commeth from Wicoler by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle brooke, that runneth by New church in the Pidle, it méeteth with the Calder, which passeth foorth to Paniam; and thence receiuing a becke on the other side, it runneth on to Altham, and so to Martholme, where the Henburne brooke dooth ioine withall, that goeth by Akington chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Rishton, and so into the Calder, as I haue said before. The Calder therefore being thus enlarged, runneth foorth to Reade, where maister Nowell dwelleth, to Whallie, and soone after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Salisburie hall, Ribchester, Osbastin, Samburie, Keuerden, Law, Ribbles bridge, & then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine sea. The Darwent diuideth Lelandshire from Andernesse, and it riseth by east aboue Darwent chappell; and soone after vniting it selfe with the Blackeburne, and Rodlesworth water, it goeth through Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and so into the Ribble. As for the Sannocke brooke, it riseth somewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lée hall, and so into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to saie of this riuier.
- Wire.** The Wire riseth eight or ten miles from Garstan, out of an hill in Wiresdale forrest, from whence it runneth by Shireshed chappell, and then going by Wadland, or Waddiler, Grenelaw castell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Garstan, and Kirkland hall, it first receiueth the second Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerseie chappell, then another chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe before I procéed anie further with the Wire. I suppose that the first water is called Plimpton brooke, it riseth south of Gosner, and commeth by Cawford hall, and yer long receiuing the Barton becke, it procéedeth forward till it ioineth with the Brooke rill that commeth from Bowland forrest, by Claughton hall, where master Brookehales dooth lie, & so through Mersco forrest. After this confluence the Plime or Plimpton water méeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire, which passeth foorth to Michael church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton crosseth the Skipton that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finallie through the sands into the sea, according to his nature. When we were past the fall of the Wire, we coasted vp by the salt cotes, to Coker mouth, whose head, though it be in Weresdale forrest, not far from that of the Wire, yet the shortnesse of course deserueth no description. The next is Cowdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is
- Bagen.**
- Blackeburne. Rodlesworth.**
- Barton.**
- Coker.**
- Alt or Ast.**
- Duglesse or Dulesse.**
- Taud or Skelmere.**
- Merton.**
- Ribbles.**
- Odder.**
- Calder.**
- Pidle.**
- Henburne.**
- Darwent.**
- Sannocke.**
- Calder. 2.**
- Plimpton.**
- Brooke.**
- Skipton.**
- Cowdar.**

not increased with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands thereof so much the sooner.

- Lune.** Being past these two, I came to a notable riuer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of statutes hath) Lonwire Anno 13 Ric. 2. cap. 19, and giueth name to Lancaster, Loncaster, or Lunecaster, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuerse stamps, whose course dooth rest to be described as followeth; and whereof I haue two descriptions. The first being set downe by Leland, as master Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deliuered it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he saith) to search out and view the same, but verie latelie to speake of. The Lune (saith master Moore) of some commonlie called the Loine, riseth at Crosseho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondshire out of threé heads. North also from Dent dale is Garsdale, an vplandish towne, wherein are séene manie times great store of red déere that come downe to feed from the mounteins into the vallies, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewise is a brooke méeting with Garsdale water, so that a litle lower they go as one into Dent dale becke, which is the riuer that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it. Beside these waters also before mentioned, it receiueth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great brooke, which commeth out of the Worth, betwéene Westmerland and Richmondshire, which taking with him the aforesaid chanel, dooth run seauen miles yer it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it entreth into Lansdale, corruptlie so called, peradventure for Lunesdale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles southward, and in this dale is Kirbie. Hitherto master Moore, as Leland hath exemplified that parcell of his letters. But mine other note writeth hereof in this manner. **Burbecke.** water riseth at Wustall head, by west, and going by Wustall foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the **Breder** that descendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our **Burbecke** goeth to Breder dale foot, & so to Tibarie, where it méeteth with foure rilles in one bottome, of which one commeth from besides Orton, another from betwéene Rasebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each side of Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Roundswath, aboue which it vniteth it selfe with the **Barrow**. Thence it runneth to Howgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Moruill hilles, and afterward crossing the Dent brooke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they continue their course as one into the **Burbecke**, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to **Burbon** chappell, where it taketh in another rill comming from by east, then to Kirbie, Lansbele, and aboue Whittenton crosseth a brooke comming from the countie stone by Burros, and soone after beneath Tunstall and **Greteie**, which descending from about Ingelborow hill, passeth by Twiselton, Ingleton, Thornton, Burton, Wrattton, and néere Thurland castell, toucheth finallie with the Lune, which brancheth, and soone after vniteth it selfe againe. After this also it goeth on toward New parke, and receiueth the **Wennie**, and the **Hinburne** both in one chanell, of which this riseth north of the crosse of **Greteie**, and going by Benthams and Roberts hill, aboue Wraie taketh in the **Rheburne** that riseth north of Wulfecrag. After this confluence also aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaster, Excliffe, Awcliffe, Soddaie, Orton, and so into the sea. Thus haue you both the descriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleasure, for I am sworne to neither of them both.
- Docker.** The next fall is called **Docker**, and peradventure the same that Leland dooth call the **Kerie**, which is not farre from Wharton, where the rich Kitson was borne, it riseth north of **Docker** towne, and going by Barwijn hall, it is not increased before it come at the sea, where it falleth into the Lune water at Lunesands. Next of all we come to Bitham beck, which riseth not far from Bitham towne and parke, in the hilles, where about are great numbers of goates kept and mainteined, and by all likelihood resorteth in the end to Linsands.
- Being past this, we find a forked arme of the sea called **Kensands**: into the first of which diuerse waters doo run in one chanell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of them comming from Garris hall, another frō by west of Whinfield, & ioining with the first on the east side of Skelmere parke. The third called **Sprot** or **Sprot** riseth at Sloddale, & commeth downe by west of Skelmer parke, so that these two brookes haue the aforesaid parke betwéene them, & fall into the fourth east of **Barneside**, not verie farre in sunder. The fourth or last called **Ken**, commeth from **Kentmers** side, out of **Ken** moore, in a poole of a mile compasse, verie well stored with fish, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of Kendall is in Westmerland, & going to Stauelope, it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehead parke by east, it passeth by **Barneside**, to Kendall, Helston, Sigath, Siggeswijn, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and so into the sea. Certes this **Ken** is a pretie déepe riuer, and yet not safelie to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers, by reason of rolling stones, & other huge substances that oft annoie & trouble the middest of the chanell there. The other péece of the forked arme, is called **Winstar**, the hed wherof is aboue **Winstar** chappell, & going downe almost by **Carpmaunsell**, & **Netherslake**, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, or sands, for all this coast, & a gulfe from the **Ramside** point to the **Mealenasse**, is so pestered with sands, that it is almost incredible to see how they increase. Those also which inuiron the **Kenmouth**, are



named Kensands: but such as receiue the descent from the Fosse, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leuesands, as I find by sufficient testimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon also is not farre from this impeachment: wherefore it is to be thought, that these issues will yer long become verie noisome, if not choked vp altogether. The Winander water riseth about Cunbalrasestones, from whence it goeth to Cangridge, where it maketh a méere: then to Ambleside, and taking in yer it come there, two rilles on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greatest méere, or fresh water in England; for I read it is ten miles in length. Finallie, comming to one small chanell aboue Newbridge, it reacheth not aboue six miles yer it fall into the sea. There is in like sort a water, called the Fosse that riseth néere vnto Arneside, and Tillerthwates, and goeth foorth by Grisdale, Satrethwate, Rusland, Powbridge, Bowth, and so falleth with the Winander water into the maine sea. On the west side of the Fosse also commeth another through Furnesse felles, and from the hilles by north thereof, which yer long making the Thurstan lake not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow channell, passeth foorth by Nibthwaits, Blareth, Cowlton, & Sparke bridge, and so into the sea. Hauing passed the Leuen or Conisands, or Conistonesands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the Lew, which riseth at Cewike chappell, and falleth into the sea beside Plumpton. The Rawther descending out of low Furnesse, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by Vlmerstone abbeie, and ioining both in one chanell, they hasten into the sea, whither all waters direct their voiage. Then come we to another rill southwest of Aldingham, descending by Glaiston castell; and likewise the fourth that riseth néere Lindell, and running by Dawlton castell and Furnesse abbeie, not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the sea ouer against Waueie and Waueie chappell, except mine aduertisements misleade me.

The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberland and Westmerland, commeth from the Shire stone hill bottome, and going by Blackehill, Southwake, S. Iohns, Vffaie parke, & Broughton, it falleth into the orlwater, betwéene Kirbie, and Mallum castell. And thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglasse point, and well entred into the Cumberland countie.

Comming to Rauenglasse, I find hard by the towne a water comming from two heads, and both of them in lakes or pooles, whereof one issueth out of Denocke or Deuenocke méere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eske from Eske poole which runneth by Eskedale, Dalegarth, and soone after meeting with the Denocke, betwéene Mawburthwate and Rauenglasse, falleth into the sea. On the other side of Rauenglasse also commeth the Mite brooke, from Miterdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the hils, and at the first is forked, but soone after making a lake, they gather againe into a smaller chanell: finallie meeting with the Brengre, they fall into the sea at Carleton southeast, as I wéene of Drig. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out of Copeland forrest, by Cander, Sellefield, and so into the sea. Then come we to Euer water, descending out of a poole aboue Coswaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it crosseth a water from Arladon, and after procéedeth to Egremond, S. Iohns, and taking in another rill from Hide, it is not long yer it méeteth with the sea.

The next fall is at Moresbie, whereof I haue no skill. From thence therefore we cast about by saint Bees to Derwentset hauen, whose water is truelie written Dargwent or Deruent. It riseth in the hils about Borrodale, from whence it goeth vnto the Grange, thence into a lake, in which are certeine Ilands, and so vnto Keswyc, where it falleth into the Bure, whereof the said lake is called Bursemere, or the Burthmere poole. In like sort the Bure or Burthmere water, rising among the hils goeth to Tegburthesworth, Forneside, S. Iohns, and Threlcote: and there méeting with a water from Grisdale, by Wakethwate, called Grise, it runneth to Burnesse, Keswyc, and there receiue the Darwent. From Keswyc in like sort it goeth to Thorneswate (and there making a plash) to Armanswate, Isell, Huthwate and Cokermouth, and here it receiue the Cokar, which rising among the hils commeth by Lowsewater, Brakenthwate, Lorton, and so to Cokarmouth towne, from whence it hasteth to Bridgeham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the south side that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Samburne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into the sea.

Leland saith that the Wire is a créeke where ships lie off at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington towne dooth take his name thereof. He addeth also that there is iron and coles, beside lead ore in Wiredale. Neuerthelesse the water of this riuer is for the most part sore troubled, as comming thorough a suddie or soddie more, so that little good fish is said to liue therein. But to proceed. The Elme riseth in the mines aboue Amautrée, and from Amautre goeth to Yeresbie, Harbie, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hand comming by Torpennie, it goeth to Hatton castell, Alwarbie, Birthie, Dereham, and so into the sea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie serued with two fresh waters, whereof one rising westward goeth by Warton, Rabbie, Cotes, and so into the maine, taking in a rill withall from by south, called Croco, that commeth from Crockdale, by Bromefield. The second is named Wampoole broocke, & this riseth of two heads, whereof one is about Cardew. Thence in like sort it goeth to Thuresbie, Croston, Owton, Gamlesbie, Wampall, the Larth, and betwéene Whiteridge and Kirbie into the saltwater. From hence we double the Bowlesse, and come to an estuarie, whither thrée notable

riuers doo resort, and this is named the Solueie mouth. But of all, the first excédeth, which is called Eden, and whose description dooth follow here at hand.

<b>Eden.</b>	The Eden well fraught with samon, descendeth (as I heare) from the hils in Athelstane moore at the foot of Hussiat Moruell hil, where Swale also riseth, and southeast of Mallerstang forrest. From thence in like maner it goeth to Mallerstang towne, Pendragon castell, Wharton hall, Netbie, Hartleie castell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yer it come at great Musgrane, it receiue threé waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, bicause it commeth from the Derne and Elinge mounteins by a towne of the same denomination. The other is named Bellow, and descendeth from the east mounteins by Sowarsbie, & these two on the northeast: the third falleth from Rauenstandale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Blaterne, and so into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop; and taking in the Orne about Burelles on the one side, and the Morton becke on the other, it hasteth to Applebie, thence to Cowlbie, where it crosseth the Dribecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and there méeting with the Trowt becke, and beneath the same with the Liuenet (whereinto falleth an other water from Thurenlie méeting withall beneath Clebron) it runneth finallie into Eden. After the confluences also the Eden passeth to Temple, and soone after meeting with the Milburne and Blincorne waters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Hornebie, where we will staie till I haue described the water that meeteth withall néere the aforesaid place called the Vlse.	<b>Moreton. Dribecke.</b>
<b>Helbecke.</b>		
<b>Bellow.</b>		
<b>Orne.</b>		
<b>Trowt becke.</b>		<b>Liuenet.</b>
<b>Milburne. Blincorne.</b>		<b>Vlse.</b>
<b>Marke.</b>	This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed with six rils, whereof one is called the Marke, and néere the fall thereof into the plash is a towne of the same name; the second hight Harteshop, & runneth from Harteshop hall by Depedale; the third is Paterdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fift Glenkguin, but the sixt runneth into the said lake, south of Towthwate. Afterward when this lake commeth toward Pole towne, it runneth into a small chanell, & going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by the waie from Daker castell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Yoneworth, and soone after méeteth with a pretie brooke called Loder, comming from Thornethwate by Bauton, and héere a rill; then by Helton, and there another; thence to Askham, Clifton, and so ioining with the other called Vlse, they go to Brougham castell, Nine churches, Hornebie, and so into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that commeth downe from Pencath. Being past Hornebie, our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and soone after receiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and ioining beneath Wingsell, it hasteth to Lasenbie, then to Kirke Oswald (on ech side whereof commeth in a rill from by east) thence to Nonneie, and there a rill, Anstable, Cotehill, Corbie castell, Wetherall, Newbie: where I will staie, till I haue described the Irding, and such waters as fall into the same before I go to Carleill.	<b>Paterdale. Roden.</b>
<b>Harteshop.</b>		
<b>Glenkguin.</b>		
<b>Loder.</b>		
<b>Irding.</b>	The Irding ariseth in a moore in the borders of Tindale, néere vnto Horsse head crag, where it is called Terne becke; vntill it come to Spicrag hill, that diuideth Northumberland and Gillesland in sunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being therefore come to Ouerhall, it receiue the Pultrose becke, by east, and thence goeth on to Ouerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercost, and Castelstead, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke Cambocke, Askerton castell, Walton, and so into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdrington, Newbie, & so into Eden. But a little before it come there, it crosseth with the Gillie that commeth by Tankin, and soone after falleth into it. After these confluences, our Eden goeth to Linstocke castell, (and here it interteineth a brooke, comming from Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then vnto Carleill, which is now almost inuironed with foure waters.	<b>Terne.  Pultrose. Cambocke.</b>
<b>Gillie.</b>		
<b>Pedar aliàs Logus.</b>	For beside the Eden it receiue the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from southeast. This Peder riseth in the hils southwest of Penruddocke, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Grastocke castell, Cateleie, and Kenderside hall, and then taking in a water from Vnthanke, it goeth to Cathwade, Pettrelwaie, Newbiggin, Carleton, and so into Eden, northeast of Carleill. But on the north side the Brufert brooke dooth swifflie make his entrance, running by Leuerdale, Scalbie castell, and Housedon; as I am informed. The third is named Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which rising about the Skidlow hils, runneth to Mosedale, Caldbecke, Warnell, Saberham, Rose castell, Dawston, Brounston, Harrington, and west of Carleill falleth into Eden, which going from thence by Grimsdale, Kirke Andros, Beaumont, falleth into the sea beneath the Rowcliffe castell. And thus much of the Eden, which Leland neuertheless describeth after another sort, whose words I will not let to set downe here in this place, as I find them in his commentaries.	
<b>Brufert.</b>		
<b>Vlse after Leland.</b>	The Eden, after it hath run a pretie space from his head, méeteth in time with the Vlse water, which is a great brooke in Westmerland, and rising aboue Maredale, a mile west of Loder, it commeth by the late dissolued house of Shappe priorie, threé miles from Shappe, and by Brampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes this streame within halfe a mile of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles course, and afterward waxing narrow againe, it runneth foorth in a meane and indifferent bottome. The said Eden in like sort receiue the Aimote about threé miles beneath Brougham castell, and into the same Aimote falleth Dacor becke (alreadie touched) which riseth by northwest in Materdale hils, foure miles aboue Dacor castell, and then going through Dacor parke, it runneth by east a good mile lower into Eimote, a little beneath Delamaine, which standeth on the left side of	<b>Dacor.</b>
<b>Loder.</b>		
<b>Aimote.</b>		

**Deua.**  
**Vala.**  
Dacor. In one of his bookes also he saith, how Carleill standeth betwene two streames, that is to saie the Deua, which commeth thither from by southwest, and also the Logus that descendeth from the southeast. He addeth moreouer how the Deua in times past was named Vala or Bala, and that of the names of these two, Lugibala for Caerleill hath bene deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cause of this his coniecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certeine, that I vse the names of most riuers here and else-where described, accordinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to speake here and there of such as are more ancient, where iust occasion mooueth me to remember them, for the better vnderstanding of our histories, as they doo come to hand.

**Leuen.**  
**Tomunt.**  
**Kirsop.**  
**Lidde.**  
Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the sea in one chanell, and with them the Lamford and the Eske, the last confluence being not a full mile from the maine sea. The white and blacke Leuen ioining therfore aboue Bucknesse, the confluence goeth to Bracken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Tomunt water meeteth with the Eske. In like sort the Kirsop ioining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirsop foot, running by Stangerdike side, Harlow, Hathwater, and taking in the Eske aboue the Mote, it looseth the former name, and is called Eske, vntill it come to the sea.

**Lamford.**  
**Eske.**

**Eske.**  
Hauing thus gone thorough the riuers of England, now it resteth that we proced with those which are to be found vpon the Scotish shore, in such order as we best may, vntill we haue fetched a compasse about the same, and come vnto Barwike, whence afterward it shall be easie for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did set forward in the beginning of our voiage. The first riuier that I met withall on the Scotish coast, is the Eske, after I came past the Solueie, which hath his head in the Cheuiot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the sea at Borow on the sands. This Eske hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Solueie first at Atterith. After this I passed ouer a little creeke from Kirthell, and so to Anand, whereof the vallie Anandale dooth séeme to take the name. There is also the Nide, whereof commeth Nidsdale, the Ken, the Dée, the Crale, and the Bladnecke, and all these (besides diuerse other small rilles of lesse name) doo lie vpon the south of Gallowaie.

On the north side also we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Cassile Dune, the Burwin, the Cluide (wherevpon sometime stood the famous citie of Alcluide, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourglesse, and the Lame. From hence in like maner we came vnto the Leuind mouth, wherevnto the Blake on the southwest and the Lomund Lake, with his fléeting Iles and fish without finnes (yet verie holesome) dooth séeme to make his issue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariseth sometimes so high, and swelleth with such terrible billowes, that it causeth the best marriners of Scotland to abide the leisure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoise vp sailes on hie. The like is seene in windie weather, but much more perillous. There are certeine Iles also in the same, which mooue and remooue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them especiallie, which otherwise is verie fruitfull for pasturage of cattell.

**Leue. Long.**  
**Goile.**  
**Heke.**  
**Robinseie.**  
**Forelan.**  
**Tarbat.**  
**Lean.**  
**Abir. Arke.**  
**Zefe. Sell.**  
Next vnto this is the Leue, the Rage, the Long, the Goile, & the Heke, which for the excéeding greatnesse of their heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinseie, the Foreland, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abir, wherevnto the Spanseie, the Loine, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zefe doo fall, there is also the Sell, the Zord, the Owin, the Newisse, the Orne, the Lang, the Drun, the Hew, the Brun, the Kell, the Dowr, the Faro, the Nesse, the Herre, the Con, the Glasse, the Maur, the Vrdall, the Fers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairsoke, which two latter lie a little by west of the Orchades, and are properlie called riuers, bicause they issue onelie from springs; but most of the other lakes, bicause they come from linnes and huge pooles, or such low bottomes, fed with springs, as séeme to haue no accesse, but onelie recesse of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

**Zord. Owin.**  
**Nowisse.**  
**Orne. Lang. Drun.**  
**Hew. Brun. Kile.**  
**Dowr. Faro. Nesse.**  
**Herre. Con. Glasse.**  
**Maur. Vrdall.**  
**Fesse. Calder.**

**Wifle.**  
**Browre.**  
**Clin. Twin.**  
**Shin.**  
**Sillan.**  
**Carew.**  
**Nesse.**  
**Narding.**  
**Spaie.**  
**Downe.**  
**Dée. Eske.**  
But to proceed. Hauing once past Dungisbie head in Cathnesse, we shall yer long come to the mouth of the Wifle, a prettie streame, comming by south of the mounteins called the Maidens pappes. Then to the Browre, the Clin, the Twin (whereinto runneth three riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carew) the Nesse, which beside the plentie of samon found therein is neuer frosen, nor suffereth yee to remaine there, that is cast into the poole. From thence we come vnto the Narding, the Finderne, the Spaie (which receiues the Vine) the Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Bogh, from whence we saile vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and so to the Downe, and Dee: which two streames bring forth the greatest samons that are to be had in Scotland, and most plentie of the same. Then to the north Eske, whereinto the Esmond runneth aboue Brechin, the south Eske, then the Louen and the Taw, which is the finest riuier for water that is in all Scotland, and wherevnto most riuers and lakes doo run. As Farlake, Yrth, Goure, Loich, Cannach, Linell, Loion, Irewer, Erne, and diuerse other besides small rilletts which I did neuer looke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londors, vpon whose mouth saint Andrewes dooth stand, the lake Lewin vnto whose streame two other lakes haue recourse in Fifland, and then the Firth or Fortha, which some doo call the Pictish and Scotish sea, whither the kingdome of the Northumbers was sometime extended, and with the riuier last

mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londors) includeth all Fife, the said Fortha being full of oysters and all kinds of huge fish that vse to lie in the déepe. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iustlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rills, & lakes that fall into the same, as Clacke, Alon, Dune, Kerie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Man, Torkeson, Rosham, Mushell, Blene, and diuerse other which I call by these names, partlie after information, and partlie of such townes as are neere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are past the Haie, then are we come vnto the Twede, whereinto we entred, leauing Barwike on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Halidon hill standeth, and conteineth a triangle of so much ground beyond the said riuer, as is well néere foure miles in length, and thrée miles in bredth in the broad end: except mine information doo faile me.

Twede.

The Twede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualsis or Toesis, & betwéene which and the Tine the countie of Northumberland is in maner inclosed, and watred with sundrie noble riuers) is a noble streame and the limes or bound betwéene England & Scotland, wherby those two kingdomes are now diuided in sunder. It riseth about Drimlar in Eusbale (or rather out of a faire well (as Leland saith) standing in the mosse of an hill called Airstane, or Harestan in Twede dale ten miles from Pibble) and so comming by Pibble, Lander, Dribiwgh, Lelse, Warke, Norham and Hagarstone, it falleth into the sea beneath Barwike, as I heare. Thus saith Leland. But I not contented with this so short a discourse of so long a riuer & brieue description of so faire a streame, will ad somewhat more of the same concerning his race on the English side, and rehearsall of such riuers as fall into it. Comming therefore to Ridam, it receiueth betwéene that and Carham a becke, which descendeth from the hilles that lie by west of Windram. Going also from Ridam by Longbridgham (on the Scottish side) and to Carham, it hasteth immediatlie to Warke castell on the English, and by Spilaw on the other side, then to Cornwall, Cald streame, and Tilmouth, where it receiueth sundrie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whose description insueth here at hand.

**Till.** Certes there is no head of anie riuer that is named Till, but the issue of the furthest water that commeth hereinto, riseth not farre from the head of Vsuaie in the Cheuiot hilles, where it is called Brennich, whereof the kingdome of Brennicia did sometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hartside, Ingram, Branton, Crawleie, Hedgeleie, Beueleie, and Bewijc, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by west, and soone after a second descending from the Middletons, and so they go as one with the Bromish, by Chatton to Fowbreie (where they crosse the third water falling downe by north from Howborne by Heselbridge) thence to Woller, there also taking in a rill that riseth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Hardleie, Whereleie, and the rest afore remembred, wherby the water of Bromis is not a little increased, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more called Bromis but the Till, vntill it come at the Twede. The Till passing therefore by Weteland and Dedington, méeteth soone after with a faire streame comming from by southwest, which most men call the Bowbent or Bobent.

It riseth on the west side of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence hasteth to Hattons, beneath the which it ioineth from by southeast with the Hellerborne, and then goeth to Pudston, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by north of Newton Kirke, and betweene it and west Newton, it taketh in another water called Glin, comming from the Cheuiot hilles by Heth poole, and from thenseforth runneth on without anie further increase, by Copland Euart, and so in the Till. The Till for his part in like sort after this confluence goeth to Broneridge, Fodcastell, Eatall castell, Heaton, & north of Tilmouth into the Twede, or by west of Wesell, except my memorie dooth faile me. After this also our aforesaid water of Twede descendeth to Grotehugh, the **Whitaker.** Newbiggins, Norham castell, Foord, Lungridge, & crossing the Whitaker on the other side from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Ordo, to Barwike, and so into the Ocean, leauing (as I said) so much English ground on the northwest ripe, as lieth in manner of a triangle betwéene Cawmils, Barwike, and Lammeton, which (as one noteth) is no more but two miles and an halfe euerie waie, or not much more; except he be deceiued.

Being past this noble streame, we came by a rill that descendeth from Bowsden by Barington. Then by the second which ariseth betwéene Middleton and Detcham or Dereham, and runneth by Eskill and the Rosse, next of all to Warnemouth, of whose backe water I read as followeth. The Warne or Gwerne riseth southwest of Crockelaw, and going by Warneford, Bradford, Spindlestone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and so falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almost nine miles from the head within the land, and receiued a rill beneath Yessington, which commeth downe betweene Newland and Olchester, and hath a bridge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the same. From Warnemouth we sailed by Bamborow castell, and came at last to a fall betweene Bedwell and Newton. The maine water that serueth this issue, riseth aboue Carleton from the foot of an hill, which séemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in sunder. It runneth also by Carleton, Tonleie, Doxford, Brunton, and Tuggell, and finallie into the sea, as to his course apperteineth.

**Aile, or Alne, aliàs** From this water we went by Dunstanbugh castell, vnto the Chalne or Alnemouth,

- Chalne.** which is serued with a pretie riueret called Alne, the head whereof riseth in the hils west of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celnus. From thense also it runneth by Rile, Kile, Eslington, and Whittingham, where it crosseth a rill comming from by south, and beneath the same, the second that descendeth from Eirchild at Brone, & likewise the third that riseth at Newton, and runneth by Edlingham castell and Lemmaton (all on the southeast side or right hand) and so passeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, comming from aboue Shipleie from by north, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewijc, & then to Dennijc, receiuing there a rillet from by south and a rill from by north, and thence going on to Bilton, betweene Ailmouth towne and Wooddon, it sweepeth into the Ocean.
- Cocket.** The Cocket is a goodlie riuere, the head also thereof is in the roots of Kemblespeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteside, and there meeting with the Vswaie (which descendeth from the north) it goeth a little ] further to Linbridge, and there receiueth the Ridleie by southwest, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Hoc, which commeth from the Woodland and hillie soile by Allington, & falleth into the same, west of Parke head. It ioineth also yer long with the Ridland, which commeth in north by Bilstone, and then hieth to Sharpton, to Harbotle, where it crosseth the Yardop water by south, then to Woodhouse, and swallowing in a little becke by the waie from southwest, to Bickerton, to Tossons, Newton, and running apace toward Whitton towre, it taketh a brooke withall that commeth in northwest of Alnham, néere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Throxtan, and soone after vniteth it selfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethburie, or Whitton towre, to Halie, to Brinkehorne, Welden, taking withall soone after the Tod or burne called Tod, which falleth in from by south, then to Elihaw, Felton (receiuing thereabout the Fareslie brooke, that goeth by Wintring by south east, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Hason, to Brainsaugh by north) and from thence to Morricke, Warkworth castell, and so into the sea.
- Vswaie.** **Ridleie.**
- Yardop.** **It may be Leland mistaketh Tickington water for one of these.**
- Lune.** There is furthermore a little fall, betwéene Hawkeslaw and Drurith, which riseth about Stokes wood, goeth by east Cheuington, and Whittington castell, and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a pretie brooke rising west of Espleie, from whence it goeth to Tritlington, Vgham, Linton, and yer long in the sea. Wansbecke (in old time Diua) is far greater than the Lune. It issueth vp west and by north of west Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Heere it méeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the north, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Moseden to Mitforth, and there in like maner crosseth the Font, which issuing out of the ground about Newbiggin, goeth by Nonneie Kirke, Witton castell, Stanton, Nunriding, Newton, and so into the Wansbecke, which runneth in like maner from Mitford to Morpheth castell (within two miles whereof it ebbeth and floweth) the new Chappell, Bottle castell, Shepwash, and so into the sea, thrée miles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.
- Wansbecke.**
- Font.**
- Blithe.** Blithe water riseth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belfe, Ogle, and (receiuing the Port aliàs the Brocket, that springeth east of S. Oswalds) passeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Madfennes, Hawkewell, the Grange, & Dissingtons. After it hath taken in the Pont from the east (whose head is not farre from that of Hartleie streame) and is past Barwijc on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the deepe Ocean. Hartleie streamelet riseth in Wéeteslade parioch, goeth by Haliwell, and at Hartleie towne yeeldeth to the sea.
- Hartleie.**
- North Tine.** The Tine or Tinna, a riuere notablie stored with samon, and other good fish, and in old time called Alan, riseth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth vp aboue Belkirke in the hils, & thence goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirsop and the Shele) thence to Cragshales, Leapelish (receiuing on the south a rill out of Tindale) then to Shilburne, against which it taketh in a becke that commeth out of Tindale called Shill, also two other on the same side, betweene Yarro and Fawston hall, and the third at Thorneburne, and so goeth on to Grenested, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north also made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that passeth by Holinhead, and likewise another on the south comming from Tindale, by Chuden, Dalacastell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellaside, to Billingham, and at Rhedes mouth méeteth with the Ridde, a verie prettie water, whose description is giuen me after this maner.
- Shele.**
- Ridde.** The Ridde therefore riseth within thrée miles of the Scotish march, as Leland saith, & commeth through Riddesdale, wherevnto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riseth in the roots of the Carter, and Redsquibe hilles, and yer it hath gone farre from the head, beside a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Cheslop on the south, beside sundrie other wild rils nameless and obscure, as one on the north side next vnto the Petop or Spelhop; another by south out of Riddesdale, the third west of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Wullaw to Rochester, then two from southwest, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durth, then the Smalburne from the west. Next to the same is the Otter or Otterburne on the north side also the Ouereie, and finallie the last which descendeth from Ellesdon hilles, by Munkrige and ioineth with our
- Cheslop.** **Shelhop.**

Ridde, northwest of Nudhowgh, after which the said Ridde goeth by Woodburne, Risingham, Leame, and so into the Tine, a mile lower than Belingham or Bilingham, which standeth somewhat aloofe from north Tine and is (as I take it) ten miles at the least about the towne of Hexham. After this confluence it passeth to Léehall, to Carehouse (crossing Shitlington becke by west which also receiue the Yare on the south side of Shitlington) another also beneath this on the same side, made by the confluence of Workesburne, and Middleburne, at Roseburne, beside the third called Morleis or Morelée aboue, and Simons burne beneath Shepechase, and likewise the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne castell, next of all the Riall from the northeast, which commeth by Erington, & so holding his course directlie southwards, it goeth by S. Oswalds through the Pictishwall, to Wall, and so into south Tine, beneath Accam, and northwest (as I doo wéene) of Hexham.

3. Burnes.  
Shitlington.

**Tine. S.** The south Tine ariseth in the Cheuiot hils, and yer it hath gone farre from the head, it méeteth with Esgill on the east, and another rill on the west, and so going by the houses toward Awsten moore, it ioineth with Schud from by west, and soone after with the Vent from by east about Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (crossing the Gilders becke on the one side, and the Alne on the other) to Thornehope, where it is enlarged with a water on each side, to Williamstone, and almost at Knaredale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherstone angle. At Fetherstone angle likewise it méeteth with Hartleie water, by southwest comming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from southeast, and thence when it commeth to Billester castell, it carieth another withall from by west, Thirlewall called Rippall which riseth in the forrest of Lowes, and goeth by the Waltowne, Blinkinsop, & Widon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north rising west of Swinsheld, which goeth by Grenelegh to Haltwestell: thence going by Vnthanke, it crosseth another rill from by south, descending from the hilles that lie north of Todlewood, and then proceeding vnto Wilmotteswijc, it admitteth the Wilmots becke from the south, and another running by Bradleie hall on the north side of Beltingham; after which it méeteth with the Alen a proper water, and described after this maner.

Esgill.

Gilders beck.

**East Alen.** The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is called east Alen, the other west Alen. The first of them riseth southeast of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by est; after which confluence it runneth to Newshele, Allington, Caddon, Old towne, & in the course to Stauertpele, méeteth with the west Alen. The west Alen riseth in Killop low hilles about Wheteleie sheles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hawcopole, Owston, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it procéedeth on to Permandbie, and crossing there another rill in like maner from by west, it goeth by Whitefield, and ioining soone after with the est Alen, they run as one to Stauert poole, Plankford, and so into the Tine betweene Beltingham and Lées, from whence the Tine runneth on by Lees Haddon, Woodhall, Owmers, Whernebie, Costleie, & so by Warden, till it crosse the north Tine, and come to Hexham, from whence it goeth to Dilstan, crossing two waters by the waie, whereof one commeth from by south, and is called the Wolsh, which holdeth his course by Stelehall, and Newbiggin receiue another comming from Grimbridge: the other called Dill somewhat lower descending from Hedleie, and running by Rising, till it fall into the south side of our streame from Dilstan, it goeth to Bywell castell, ouer against which it receiue a rill that runneth by Hindleie, thence it hasteth to Eltingham, Pruddo, Willam, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Reton, Blaidon, and ] next of all ioineth with the Darwent, from by south.

This riuer riseth about Knewdon, and Rudlamhope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere, and the southerlie the Guent: and ioining so well yer long in chanell as in name, they runne on to Humsterworth, new Biggin, Blankeland, Acton, Aspersheles, Blackheadlie, Brentfield side, Pansheles, Ebchester, and there taking in a water from Hedleie in Northumberland, néere to Blacke hall in the bishoprike, it goeth on to Spen, Hollinside, Wickham, Swalwell, and so into Tine, which passeth from thence by Elswijc, and méeting with another water comming from Shildraw, by Rauensworth castell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Newcastle, Fellin, Netherheworth, Walker, Waswon, Hedburne, and next to Jerro or Girwie, where Beda dwelled in an abbeie; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a parish church, wherevnto diuerse townes resort, as moonke Eaton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southsheles, Harton, Westhow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Wardleie, Fellin, Follinsbie, the Heworthes) and from thence to the south and Northsheles, and so into the sea, fiue miles by northwest of Weremouth, and (as I gesse) somewhat more.

**Corue.** Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Newcastle, and hereby dooth the Corue run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off also is a place called Colchester, wherby Leland gesseth that the name of the brooke should rather be Cole than Corue, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie; for in the life of S. Oswijn (otherwise a féeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies vsed for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leaue this short aduertisement. In this cuntrye also are the thrée vales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether théeues or true men doo most abound in them, that is to saie, Riddesdale, Tuidale,

and Liddesdale: this last being for the most part Scottish, and without the marches of England. Neuerthelesse, sithens that by the diligence cheefelie of maister Gilpin, and finallie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue béene called to some obedience and zeale vnto the word, it is found that they haue so well profited by the same, that at this present their former sauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wildnesse and fiercenesse so qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuilitie, and better order of behaiour than hitherto they haue béene acquainted withall. But to procéed with the rest.

<b>Burdop.</b>	<b>Wascrop. Bedburne.</b>	<b>Pidding brooke. Pilis.</b>	<b>Thesis.</b>	<b>Hude.</b>	<b>Lune.</b>	<b>Arnegill.</b>	<b>Skirkewith.</b>	<b>Rere crosse.</b>	<b>Skerne.</b>	<b>Were.</b>	<b>Wallop. Kellop.</b>	<b>Bander.</b>
<p>Ptolomie, writing of the Were, calleth it Vedra, a riuier well knowne vnto Beda the famous préest, who was brought vp in a monasterie that stood vpon the bankes thereof. It riseth of thrée heads in Kellopeslaw hill, whereof the most southerlie is called Burdop, the middlemost Wallop, and the northerliest Kellop, which vniting themselues about S. Iohns chappell, or a little by west thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by east Yare, and so to Frosterleie. But yer it come there, it receiueth thrée rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhope, another west of Woodcroft hall, and the third at Frosterleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath these, I find yet a fourth on the south side, which descendeth from southwest by Bolliop, Bishopsleie, Milhouses, and Landew, as I haue béene informed. Being therefore vnited all with the Were, this streame goeth on to Walsingham, there taking in the Wascropburne, beside another at Bradleie, the third at Harpleie hall (and these on the north side) and the fourth betwéene Witton and Witton castell called Bedburne, comming by Hamsterleie, whereby this riuier dooth now wax verie great. Going therefore from hence, it hasteth to Bishops Akeland, and beneath it receiueth the Garondlesse, which (as Leland saith) riseth six miles by west of Akeland castell, and running south thereof, passeth by west Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrewes Akeland, and bishops Akeland, and then into the Were which goeth to Newfield, and Willington. Neere vnto this place also and somewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were, crosseth one brooke from southest by Het, Crosseie, Cronefurth, Tursdale, and Cordale, and two other from by northwest in one botome, whereof the first commeth from aboue Ash by Langleie: the other called Coue, from aboue Kinchleie by Newbiggin, Lanchester, north Langlie, and through Beare parke, &amp; so méeting beneath Kelleie or Hedleie with the other, they fall both as one into the Were, betweene south Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our riuier goeth on to Howghwell, Shirkeleie, old Duresme (and there taking in the Pidding brooke by northeast) it goeth to Duresme, Finkleleie, Harbarhouse, Lumleie castell (where it méeteth with the Pilis, whose heads are vnited betweene Pelton and Whitwell (and after called Hedleie) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Bedikes, Vfferton, Hilton parke, Bishops Weremouth, and so into the sea, betweene north Sunderland and north Weremouth towne, which now is called moonke Weremouth of the monasterie sometime standing there, wherin Beda read &amp; wrote manie of his bookes, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Were is eight miles from Durham, and six from Newcastell. Being thus passed the Were, &amp; entered into the Bishoprijc, yer we come at the mouth of the These, almost by two miles, ouer passing a rill that runneth by castell Eden, and Hardwijc, and likewise Hartlepoole towne, which lieth ouer into the sea in maner of a byland or peninsula, we meet with a prettie fall, which groweth by a riuier that is increased with two waters, whereof one riseth by northwest about Moretons, and goeth by Stotfeld and Claxton, the other at Dawlton, going by Breerton, Owtham, and Grettam, finallie ioining within two miles of the sea, they make a prettie portlet: but I know not of what securitie.</p> <p>The These, a riuier that beareth and féedeth an excellent samon, riseth in the Blacke lowes, aboue two miles flat west of the southerlie head of Were called Burdop, and south of the head of west Alen, and thence runneth through Tildale forrest: and taking in the Langdon water from northwest it runneth to Durtpit chappell, to Newbiggin, and so to Middleton, receiuing by west of each of these a rill comming from by north (of which the last is called Hude) and likewise the Lune afterward by southwest that riseth at thrée seuerall places, whereof the first is in the borders of Westmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the second more southerlie, named Lunebecke, and the third by south at Bander Skarth hill, and méeting all aboue Arnegill house, they run together in one bottome to Lathekirke bridge, and then into the These. Hauing therefore met with these, it runneth to Mickelton (&amp; there taking in the Skirkewith water) it goeth to Rombald kirke (crossing there also one rill and the Bander brooke by south west) and then going to Morewood hag, and Morewood parke, till it come to Bernards castell.</p> <p>Here also it receiueth the Thuresgill water, comming east of Rere crosse in Yorkeshire, from the spittle in Stanmore by Crag almost southwest, and being vnited with the These, it goeth by Stratford, Eglesdon, Rokesbie, Thorpe, Wickcliffe, Ouington, Winston, and betweene Barfurth and Gainfurth méeteth with another rill, that commeth from Langleie forest, betwéene Rabie castell and Standorpe, of whose name I haue no knowledge. But to procéed. The These being past Ramforth, runneth betwéene Persore and Cliffe, and in the waie to Crofts bridge taketh in the Skerne a pretie water, which riseth about Trimdon, and goeth by Fishburne, Bradburie, Preston, Braforton, Skirmingham, the Burdens, Haughton and Darlington, &amp; there finallie meeting with the Cocke becke or Dare, it falleth in the These beneath</p>												

Stapleton, before it come at Crofts bridge, and (as it should séeme) is the same which Leland calleth Gretteie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunsleie, Middleton row, Newsham, Yarne (crossing a brooke from Leuen bridge) called Leuen or Leuinus in Latine, whose crinkling course is notable, and the streame of some called Thorpe, which I find described in this maner.

**Thorpe aliàs  
Leuand.**

The Thorpe riseth of sundrie heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and so to Stokesleie. The second hath two branches, and so placed, that Kildale standeth betweene them both: finallie, méeting beneath Easbie they go by Eaton, and likewise vnto Stokesleie. The last hath also two branches, whereof one commeth from Inglesbie, and méeteth with the second beneath Broughton; & going from thence to Stokesleie, they méet with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fall into it somewhat beneath the same. From hence it goeth to Ridleie, and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne brooke, Leuanton, Milton, Hilton, Inglesbie, and so into the These, betwéene Yarne and Barwyc, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our These hasteth on to Barwyc, Preston, Thorne abbeie, and Arsham, which standeth on the southeast side of the riuier almost betweene the falles of two waters, whereof one descendeth from west Hartburne by long Newton, Elton, & Stockton; the other from Stillington, or Shillington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackestone, Billingham, and Norton. From Arsham finallie it goeth to Bellasis, Middleburgh, and so into the sea. Leland describing this riuier speaketh of the Wiske, which should come thereinto from by south vnder Wiske bridge, by Danbie, and Northalarton, and should ioine with a greater streame: but as yet I find no certeine place where to bestow the same.

**Crawthorne.**

**Eske.**

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which rising aboue Hutton, goeth by Gisborow, and there receiueth another streame comming from by southeast, and then continuing on his course, it is not long yer it fall into the sea. The next is the Scaling water, which descendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Molemouth, not farre from whose head standeth Molgraue castell: then to Sandford creeke, and next of all to Eske mouth, which riseth aboue Danbie wood, and so goeth to Castelton, there méeting by the waie with another rill comming from about Westerdale by Danbie, and so they go on togither by Armar and Thwate castell, till they ioine with another water aboue Glasdule chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another brooke with them, running from Goodland ward, and likewise the Ibur, and so go on without anie further increase by Busworth, yer long into the sea.

**Ibur.**

There is also a créeke on each side of Robin Whoodes baie, of whose names and courses I haue no skill, sauing that Fillingale the towne dooth stand betwéene them both. There is another not far from Scarborow, on the north side called the Harwood brooke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Buniston, and soone after méeting with another rill on the southwest, they run as one into the ocean sea. From Scarborow to Bridlington, by Flamborow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we saw at Bridlington, riseth at Dugglebie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helperthorpe, Butterwyc, Boithorpe, Foxhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riseth vp againe at Rudston) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and so into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I meete yer long with a riuier that riseth short of Withersie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wisted, from thence to another that commeth by Rosse, Halsham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riseth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Esterwyc, Heddon, and so into the Humber. The fourth springeth short of Sprotleie, goeth by Witton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merflete, as I heare.

**Hull.**

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will describe also here, and then crosse ouer vnto the southerlie shore. The furthest head of Hull water riseth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe créeke, and so to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with sundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the northest side, comming from about Lisset; the second on the northwest banke from Nafferton; the third from Emmeswell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which ioined beneth little Drifield, and the fourth which falleth into the same: so that these two latter run vnto the maine riuier both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to Ratseie, to Goodalehouse, and then taking in a water from Hornesie mere, it goeth on through Beuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finallie into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from south Netherwyc, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluerton, I saie no more, sith it is enough to name them in their order.



## CHAP. XV.

**Humber.** There is no riuer called Humber from the hed. Wherefore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he gesseth, hath the same denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beside Leland sundrie ancient writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the sea, and although it be properlie to be called Ouze or Ocellus euen to the Nuke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber of Humbrus or Vmar, a king of the Scithians, who inuaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himselfe monarch of the same. But as God hath from time to time singularlie prouided for the benefit of Britaine, so in this businesse it came to passe, that Humber was put to flight, his men slaine: and furthermore, whilest he attempted to saue himselfe by hasting to his ships (such was the prease of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne vessell, and the rage of weather which hastened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned together in that arme. And this is the onelie cause wherefore it hath béene called Humber, as our writers saie; and wherof I find these verses:

Dum fugit obstat ei flumen submergitur illic,  
Déque suo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.

This riuer in old time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the yongest sonne of Brute. But since that time the limits of Lhoegres haue béene so enlarged, first by the prowesse of the Romans, then by the conquests of the English, that at this present daie, the Twede on the one side, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betweene vs and those of Scotland. In describing therefore the Humber, I must néeds begin with the Ouze, whose water bringeth forth a verie sweet, fat and delicat samon, as I haue béene informed, beside sundrie other kinds of fish, which we want here on the south and southwest coasts & riuers of our land, whereof I may take occasion to speake more at large heerafter.

**Vre aliàs  
Ouze, or  
Isis.** The Vre therfore riseth in the furthest parts of all Richmondshire, among the Coterine hilles, in a mosse, toward the west fourtéene miles beyond Midleham. Being therefore issued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardraw, Hawshouse, Butterside, Askebridge (which Leland calleth the Askaran, and saith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obscure bridges) then to Askarth, through Wanlesse parke, Wenseleie bridge (made two hundred yeares since, by Alwin, parson of Winslaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danbie, Geruise abbeie, Clifton and Masham.

**Milme.** When it is come to Masham, it receiueth the Burne, by south west (as it did the Wile, from verie déepe scarrie rockes, before at Askaran) and diuerse other wild rilles not worthie to be remembred. From Masham, it hasteth vnto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by southwest) then to another Tanfield, to Newton hall, and Northbridge, at the hither end of Rippon, and so to Huickes bridge. But yer it come there it méeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the same, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Alborow, and soone after receiue the Swale.

**Skell.**

**Swale.** Here (saith Leland) I am brought into no little streict, what to coniecture of the méeting of Isis and Vre, for some saie that the Isis and the Vre doo méet at Borowbridge, which to me dooth séeme to be verie vnlikelie, sith Isurium taketh his denomination of Isis and Vro, for it is often séene that the lesse riuers doo mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thamesis and other is easie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Vre after his passage vnder Borowbridge, but onelie of Isis or the Ouze in these daies, although in old time it held vnto Yorke it selfe, which of the Vre is truelie called Vrewijc (or Yorke short) or else my persuasion dooth faile me. I haue red also Ewerwijc and Yorwijc. But to procéed, and leaue this superfluous discourse.

**Fosse.** From Borowbridge, the Ouze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldworke, taking in Vsburne water, from the southwest, then to Linton vpon Ouze, to Newton vpon Ouze, and to Munketun, méeting with the Nid yer long, and so going withall to the Redhouses, to Popleton, Clifton, Yorke (where it crosseth the Fosse) to Foulfoorth, Middlethorpe, Acaster, & Acaster, Kelfléet, Welehall, Barelebie, Selbie, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Hokelath, Hoke, Sandhall, Rednesse, Whitegift, Vslet, Blacketoft, Foxfléet, Brownfléet, and so into Humber.

**Ouze.** The course of the Ouze being thus described, and as it were simplie without his influences, now will I touch such riuers as fall into the same also by themselues, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voiage from the Rauenspurne, vntill I come néere to the head of These, & so southwards about againe by the bottome of the hillie soile vntill I get to Buxston, Sheffield, Scrobie, & the verie south point of Humber mouth, whereby I shall crosse them all that are to be found in this walke, & leaue (I doubt) some especiall notice of their seuerall heads and courses. The course of the Hull, a streame abounding with sturgeon and lampreie, as also the riuers which haue their issue into the same, being (as I say) alreadie described, I thinke it

**Hull or  
Hulne.**

not amisse, as by the waie to set downe what Leland saith thereof, to the end that his trauell shall not altogether be lost in this behalfe; and for that it is short, and hath one or two things worthie to be remembred conteined in the same.

The Hulne (saith he) riseth of thrée seuerall heads, whereof the greatest is not far from Driefield, now a small village sixtéene miles from Hull. Certes it hath beene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of sepulture of Alfred the noble king sometime of that nation, who died there 727, the ninetéene Cal. of Julie, the twentieth of his reigne, and whose toombe or monument dooth yet remaine (for ought that I doo know to the contrarie) with an inscription vpon the same written in Latine letters. Néere vnto this towne also is the Danefield, wherein great numbers of Danes were slaine, and buried in those hils, which yet remaine there to be séene ouer their bones and carcasses. The second head (saith he) is at Estburne, and the third at Emmeswell, and méeting all together not farre from Drifield, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue said alreadye.

From hence also it goeth through Beuerleie medowes, and comming at the last not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great vessels) almost to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or stood in Deirwald, vntill John of Beuerleie (whom Leland nameth out of an old author to be the first doctor or teacher of diuinitie that euer was in Oxford, and (as it should séeme also by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hostell where the vniuersitie college now standeth; & therfore they write him, Somtime fellow of that house) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as some affirme) to this daie. Indéed all the countrie betwéene the Deirwent & the Humber was sometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in respect of the higher soile, but now it is named the east Riding. But what is this to my purpose? The Hulne therefore being come almost to Beuerleie towne, & méeting thereabout also with the Cottingham becke comming from Westwood by the waie, it hasteth to Kingston vpon Hulne or Hull, and so into the Humber without anie maner impeachment.

**Cottingham.**

**Fowlneie.**

**Skelfléet.**

The Fowlneie riseth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareswell, Seton, Williams bridge, and soone after spreading it selfe, one arme called Skelfleet goeth by Cane Cawseie to Brownfléet and so into the Ouze. The other passeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chappell, Blacketoft, and so into the aforesaid Ouze, leauing a verie pretie Iland, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen more, though otherwise obscure to vs that dwell here in the south.

**Darwent.**

The Darwent riseth in the hilles that lie west of Robin Whoodes baie, or two miles about Aiton bridge, west from Scarborough as Leland saith: and yer it hath run farre from the head, it receiueth two rilles in one bottome from by west, which ioine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go together to Broxeie, and at Hacknesse take in another water comming from about Silseie. Afterward it commeth to Aiton,

**Kenford.**

then to Haibridge, and there crosseth the Kenford that descendeth from Roberteston. After this also it goeth on to Potersbrumton where it taketh in one rill, as it dooth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the third yet lower on the further banke, that descendeth from Brumton. From these confluences it runneth to Fowlbridge, Axbridge, Yeldingham bridge, & so to Cotehouse, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yéelding great plentie of delicate samons to such as fish vpon the same. Leland reckoning vp the names of the seuerall brookes, numbred them confusedlie after his accustomed order. The Darwent (saith he) receiueth diuerse streames, as the Shirihutton. The second is the Crambecke, descending from Hunderskill castell (so called Tanquam à centum fontibus, or multitude of springs that rise about the same) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blackemore, passeth by Riwers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Costeie, and Pickering brooke.

**Shirihutton.**

**Crambecke.**

**Rie.**

**Ricoll.  
Seuen.  
Costeie.  
Pickering.**

The Seuin also (saith he) riseth in the side of Blackemoore, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile about a certaine bridge ouer Rie goeth into the streame. The Costeie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two miles beneath Pickering, about Kirbie minster. Finallie, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemoore, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Costeie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other small rill or two, of whose names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Leland. But in mine opinion, it had béene far better to haue described them thus. Of those waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first commeth from Swenton, the second from Eberston, the third from Ollerston, the fourth from Thorneton & Pickering, and the fift on the other side that commeth thither from Wintringham. For so should he haue dealt in better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also vnto their proper places.

**Pocklington.**

**Rie.**

**Costeie.**

But to procéed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & yer the Darwent come at Wickham, it crosseth the Rie, which riseth of two heads, and ioining west of Locton they run through Glansbie parke. Finallie, receiuing the Costeie, it méeteth at the last with an other streame increased by the fals of six waters and more yer it come into the Darwent.

<b>Seuen.</b>	The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is aforesaid) in Blackemoore, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Murton, Normanbie, Newsound, How, and so into the Rie. The second named Don hath his originall likewise in Blackemoore, and descending by Rasmore, Keldon and Edston (where it receiuet	<b>Don or Done.</b>
<b>Hodgebecke.</b>	the Hodgebecke, that commeth by Bernesdale, Kirkedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof	
<b>Ricoll.</b>	Ridall (as some think, but falslie) doth séeme to take the name. Then Fesse, which riseth aboue Bilisdale chappell, and méeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go together vnder the Rie bridge, to Riuis abbeie, and thence (after it hath crossed a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Newton, Muniton, and so to Sawton or Sawlton, as I doo find it written. Here also it taketh in the Holbecke brooke, that commeth thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Brabie, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and so into the Darwent, which from thence dooth run to Wickham.	<b>Fesse.</b>
<b>Holbecke.</b>	Being past Wickham, it méeteth with a water that commeth thereinto from Grinston to Settingtongton at southeast, and thence it goeth on to Malton and Malton (where the prouerbe saith that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is woorth but sixpence, carie awaie whilest you may, so as you can kéepe them from running through the sakes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdfall, that other from Conisthorpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Cramburne and Owsham bridge (crossing by the waie an other brooke comming from saint Edwards gore, by Faston) then to Aldbie, Buttercram (aliàs Butterham) bridge, Stamford bridge, Kerbie bridge, Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wresill, Babthorpe, and so into the Ouze, wherewith I finish the description of Darwent: sauing that I haue to let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an arme ran some time from the head of Darwent also to Scarborough, till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shalder and so choke vp his course.	
<b>Fosse.</b>	The Fosse (a slow streame yet able to beare a good vessell) riseth in Nemore Calaterio, that is, Galters wood or Cawood, among the wooddie hilles, and in his descent from the higher ground, he leaueth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by Marton abbeie, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erswijc, Huntington, & at Yorke into the Ouze. The Kile riseth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hill, Ruskell parke, Awne, Tollerton, and so into the Ouze about Newton vpon Ouze. The Swale is a right noble riuier, & march in some places betwéene Richmondshire and Westmerland, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles aboue Kirkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and neere vnto Yalen taketh in the Barneie water, which commeth from the north east. Thence it goeth by Harcaside to Reth (where it méeteth with the Arcleie) and so to Flemington, Grinton, Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by south: and in the waie to Thorpe, the Mariske becke, or peraduenture Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Applegarth, Richmond, Easbie and Brunton.	<b>Barneie.</b>
<b>Kile.</b>		<b>Holgate.</b>
<b>Swale.</b>		
<b>Arcleie.</b>		
<b>Mariske becke.</b>		
<b>Rauenswath.</b>	Here by north it interteineth two or thrée waters in one chanell, called Rauenswath water, whereof the two furthest doo ioine not farre from the Dawltons, and so go by Rauenswath, Hartfoorth, Gilling, and at Skebie méet with the third, comming from Richmond beaconward. By west also of Brunton, the Swale méeteth with the Rhe, running from Resdale, and being past Brunton, it goeth to Caterijc bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderbie stéeple: and before it come vnto Gatenbie, it meeteth with the Bedall brooke, aliàs Lemings becke, that commeth west of Kellirbie, by Cunstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenbie likewise it goeth to Mawbie, & at Brakenbirie receiuet the Wiske, which is a great water, rising betwéene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbeie in another; and after the confluence which is about Siddlebridge, goeth on betwéene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birtbie, Hutton Coniers, Danbie, Wjic, Yafford, Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Brunton Aluerton, it procéedeth to Otterington, Newlie, Kirbie Wiske, Newson, and Blackenburie, there méeting (as I said) with the Swale, that runneth frō thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Raniton, and aboue Eldmire méeteth with sundrie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the northwesterlie is called Cawdebec: the south easterlie Kebecke, which ioine est of Thorneton moore, and so go to Thorneton in the stréet, Kiluington, Thruske, Sowerbie, Grastwijc, and soone after crossing another growing of the mixture of the Willow, and likewise of the Cuckewold beckes, which ioine aboue Bridforth, and running on till it come almost at Dawlton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their samons by Thorneton bridge, Mitton vpon Swale, and so into the Ouze.	
<b>Rhe.</b>		
<b>Bedall aliàs Leming.</b>		
<b>Wiske.</b>		
<b>Cawdebec. Kebecke.</b>		
<b>Cuckwolds becke.</b>		
<b>Skell.</b>	The Skell riseth out of the west two miles from Founteines abbeie, and commeth (as Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Rippon, as the Vre dooth on the other. And on the bankes hereof stood the famous abbeie called Founteines or Adfontes, so much renommed for the lustie monks that sometimes dwelled in the same. It receiuet also the Lauer water (which riseth thrée miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall néere vnto Rippon) and finallie falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a	
<b>Lauer.</b>		

mile beneath Rippon towne, & almost midwaie betwéene the North and Huicke bridges.

**Nidde.** The Nidde, which the booke of statutes called Nidor (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto noteth it to be enriched with store of samon, as are also the Wheof and Aire, riseth among those hilles that lie by west northwest of Gnarresborow, fiue miles aboue Pakeleie bridge, and going in short processe of time by Westhouses, Lodgehouses, Woodhall, Newhouses, Midlesmore, Raunsgill, Cowthouse, Gowthwall, Bureleie, **Killingale.** Brimham, Hampeswale, and soone after méeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Bilton parke, Gnaresbridge, Washford, Cathall, Willesthorpe, Munketon, or Nonmocke, and so into the Ouze, fouretéene miles beneath Gnaresborow, being increased by the waie with verie few or no waters of anie countenance. Leland hauing said thus much of the Nidde, addeth herevnto the names of two other waters, that is to saie, the Couer and the Burne, which doo fall likewise into the Vre or Ouze. But as he saith little of the same, so among all my pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the first riseth six miles aboue Couerham by west, and falleth into the Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two miles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riseth at More hilles, and falleth into the said riuer a little beneath Massham bridge. And so much of these two.

The Wharffe or Gwerfe ariseth aboue Vgthershaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Rosemill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniston in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappell, by Arnecliffe, and ioining withall northeast of Kilneseie crag, it passeth ouer by the lower grounds to Girsington, and receiuing a rill there also from Tresfeld parke, it proceedeth on to Brunsall bridge. Furthermore at Appletréewijc, it méeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Barden towre, Bolton, Beth and Misleie hall, where it crosseth a rill comming from by west, thence to Addingham, taking in there also another from by west, and so to Ikeleie, and receiuing yer long another by north from Denton hall, it hasteth to Weston Vauasour, Oteleie, and Letheleie, where it taketh in the Padsie, & the Washburne (both in one streame from Lindleie ward) and thence to Casleie chappell, and there it crosseth one from by north, and another yer long from by south, and so to Yardwood castell, Kerebie, Woodhall, Collingham, **Cockebecke.** Linton, Wetherbie, Thorpatch, Newton, Tadcaster, and when it hath receiued the Cockebecke from southwest, that goeth by Barwie, Aberfoorth, Leadhall, and Grimston, it runneth to Exton, Kirbie Wharfe, Vskell, Rither, Nunapleton, & so into the Ouze beneath Cawood, a castell belonging to the archbishop of Yorke, where he vseth oft to lie when he refresheth himselfe with change of aire and shift of habitation, for the auoiding of such infection as may otherwise ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his house.

**Wharfe aliàs  
Gwerfe.**

**Air.** The Air or Arre riseth out of a lake or tarne south of Darnbrooke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fish but red trowt, and perch. Leland saith it riseth néere vnto Orton in Crauen, wherfore the ods is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Mawlam, Hamlith, Kirbie, Moldale, Calton hall, Areton, and so fourth till it come almost to Gargraue, there crossing the Otterburne water on the west, and the **Otterburne.** Winterburne on the north, which at Flasbie receiueth a rill from Helton, as I heare. Being past Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Eshton, Elswood, and so fourth on, first receiuing a brooke from southwest (whereof one branch commeth by Marton, the other by Thorneton, which meete about Broughton) then another from northeast, that runneth by Skipton castell. After this confluence it hasteth by manifold windlasses, which caused thirteene bridges at the last to be ouer the same within a little space, to Newbiggin, Bradleie, and Kildwijc, by south east whereof it méeteth with one water from Mawsis, and Glusburne or Glukesburne, called Glike; another likewise a little beneath from Seton, beside two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Reddlesden, and ouer against this towne the **Lacocke** and the **Woorth** doo meet withall in one chanell, as the Moreton water dooth on the north, although it be somewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Rishfoorth hall, and so to Bungleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Shipeleie, and there crossing another from Thorneton, Leuenthorpe, and Bradleie, it goeth to Caluerleie, to Christall, and so to Léedes, where one water runneth thereinto by north from Wettlewood, & two other from by south in one chanell, wherof the first hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudseie chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farnesleie hall. The other likewise hath two heads, whereof one is aboue Morleie, the other commeth from Domingleie, and méeting with the first not far southwest of Leedes, they fall both into the Air, and so run with the same to Swillington, and there taking in the **Rodwell** **Went.** Rodwell becke south of the bridge, it proceedeth to Ollerton, Castleford, Brotherton & Ferribridge, there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riseth of diuerse heads, wherof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Berkin, Kellington, middle Hodleseie, Templehirst, Gowldall, Snath, Rawcliffe, Newland, Armie, and so into the Ouze with an indifferent course. Of all the riuers in the north, Leland (in so manie of his bookes as I haue séene) saith least of this. Mine annotations also are verie slender in the particular waters wherbie it is increased: wherfore I was compelled of necessitie to conclude euen thus with the description of the same, and had so left it in déed, if I had not receiued one other note more to ad vnto it (euen when the leafe

**Winterburne.**

**Moreton.**

was at the presse) which saith as followeth in maner word for word.

**Hebden.** There is a noble water that falleth into Air, whose head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Creston chappell, to Lingfield, and there about receiuing one rill néere Elfrabright bridge, and also the Hebden by northwest, it goeth to Brearleie hall, and so taking in the third by north, it procéedeth on eastward by Sorsbie bridge chappell (and there a rill from southwest) and so to Coppeleie hall. Beneath this place I find also that it receiueth one rill from Hallifax, which riseth from two heads, and two other from southwest, of which one commeth by Baresland, and Staneland in one chanell, as I read. So that after this confluence the aforesaid water goeth on toward Cowford bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles about the same on the north side, so beneath that bridge there falleth into it a pretie arme increased by sundrie waters cōming from by south, as from Marsheden chappell, from Holmesworth chappell, and Kirke Heton, each one growing of sundrie heads; whereof I would saie more, if I had more intelligence of their seuerall gates and passages.

**Chald.** But to procéed. From Cowford bridge it runneth to Munfeld, and receiuing yer long one rill from Leuersage hall, and another from Burshall by Dewesburie, it goeth on northeast of Thornehull, south of Horbirie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Woller by new Milner Dam, and soone after another from northwest, called Chald, rising in the Peke hils, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from southeast, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newland, Altoftes, and finallie into the Aire, west of Castelworth, as I learne. What the name of this riuier should be as yet I heare not, and therefore no maruell that I doo not set it downe, yet is it certeine that it is called Chald, after his cōfluence with the Chald, and finallie Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath ioined with the Air or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head? It shall suffice therefore thus farre to haue shewed the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it ouer vntill another time.

**Trent.** The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for store of samon, sturgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it dooth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onelie cause it may be compared either with the Ouze or Sauerne, I meane the second Ouze, whose course I haue latelie described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the moore, and from thence goeth to Hilton abbeie, Bucknell church, and aboue Stoke receiueth in the Foulebrooke water, which commeth thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finallie making a confluence they go to Hanfleet, where they méet with another on the same side, that descendeth from Newcastle vnder Line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saieng: that it riseth in the hils aboue Newcastle, as may be séene by his commentaries.

**Sow.** But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it crosseth a riueret from northeast, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Aston, Stoke Burston, the Sandons and Weston, a little aboue Shubburne & Hawood, it receiueth the Sow, a great chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leauing the Trent at Shubburne, till I come backe againe. The Sow descendeth from the hilles, aboue Whitmoore chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalford ioineth with another by northeast that commeth from bishops Offeleie, Egleshall, Chesbie, Raunton. After this confluence also it runneth by Bridgeford, Tillington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it crosseth the Penke becke, that riseth aboue Nigleton, & Berwood, & aboue Penke bridge vniteth it selfe with another comming from Knightleie ward, by Gnashall church, Eaton: and so going foorth as one, it is not long yer they fall into Sow, after they haue passed Draiton, Dunstan, Acton, and Banswich, where loosing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them doo ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the southerlie banke.

**Penke.** From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Harwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Ousleie bridge, and another south of Riddlesleie) thence by Hawksberie, Mauestane, Ridware, and so toward Yoxhall; where I must staie a while to consider of other waters, wherewith I méet in this voiage. Of these therefore the lesser commeth in by south from Farwall, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brooks, whereof the first riseth in Nedewood forrest, northeast of Hagersleie parke, whereinto falleth another west of Hamstead Ridware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Whateleie moore, aboue Weston Conie, and thence going to the same towne, it commeth to Druicote, aliàs Dracote, Painsleie, Gratwitch, Grimleie, Aldmaston, Hamstéed, Ridware, and finallie into the Trent, directlie west of Yoxhall, which runneth also from thence, & leauing kings Bromleie in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth streightwaie to Catton, where it méeteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth.

**Tame.** It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Petteshall, and goeth foorth by Hamsted, toward Pirihall and Brimichams Aston, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tipton, the other from Aldburie, and so running as one by Wedburie till they fall into the same. The latter commeth from Woolfhall, and ioineth

**Rhée.** with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Yarneton hall, beneath which it méeteth with the Rhée, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall

**Cole.** by Watercote, crossing finallie the Cole, whose head is in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and hath this course, whereof I now giue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and going by Yareleie and Kingeshirst, it méeteth betwéene that and the parke, with a water running betwéene Helmedon and Sheldon.

**Blith.** Thence it passeth on to Coleshull, by east whereof it ioineth with a brooke, mounting southwest of Golihull called Blith, which going by Henwood and Barston, crosseth on ech side of Temple Balshall, a rill, whereof one commeth through the Quéenes parke or chase that lieth by west of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth castell it selfe, from about Haselie parke. After which confluences it procéedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Coleshull, where it méeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, vniteth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water comming from Ansleie on the east) and soone after on the other dooth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Rhée, a common name to all waters that mooue and run from their head. For ῥέω in Gréeke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onelie to flow. Leland nameth the Brimicham water, whose head (as I heare) is about Norffield, so that his course shuld be by Kingesnorton, Bremicham, Budston hall, till it fall beneath Yarneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confluences on by Lée, Kingesbirie parke, and going by east of Draiton, Basset parke, to Falkesleie bridge, it méeteth with another water called Burne, also comming from Hammerwich church, by Chesterford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north side of Draiton, Basset parke, wherof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner deliuered vnto me.

**Anchor.** It riseth about Burton, from whence it goeth by Nonneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Yer long also it taketh in a water from northeast, which commeth by Huglescote, Shapton, Cunston, Twicrosse (vniting it selfe with a water from Bosworth) Ratcliffe, & so to the Anchor, which after this confluence passeth by Whittendon, Crindon, Pollesworth, Armington, Tamworth, & so into Tame, that hasteth to Hopwash, Comberford hall, Telford, and soone after crossing a rill that riseth short of Swinfield hall, and commeth by Festirike, it runneth not farre from Croxhall, and so to Catton, thereabout receiuing his last increase not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Mese, and it riseth in the great parke that lieth betwéene Worthington, and Smethike, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Mesham, and Stretton, and therabout crossing a rill about Nethersale grange, from Ouersale by east, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Croxall, into the Thame, and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile about Repton. Leland writing of this riuer (as I earst noted) saith thereof in this wise. Into the Thame also runneth the Bremicham brooke, which riseth foure or fiue miles about Bremicham in the Blacke hils in Worcestershire, and goeth into the aforesaid water a mile about Crudworth bridge. Certes (saith he) this Bremicham is a towne maintained chieflie by smiths, nailers, cutlers, edgetoole forgers, lorimers or bitmakers, which haue their iron out of Stafford and Warwyc shires, and coles also out of the first countie. Hitherto Leland. Now to resume the Trent, which being growen to some greatnesse, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there crossing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winshull, Wightmere, and Newton Souch, where it receiueth two chanel within a short space, to be described apart.

**Dou.** The first of these is called the Dou or Doue, it riseth about the thrée shires méere, and is as it were limes betweene Stafford and Darbishes, vntill it come at the Trent. Descending therefore from the head, it goeth by Earlesbooth, Pilsburie grange,

**Manifold.** Hartington, Wolscot, Eaton, Hunsington grange, and about Thorpe receiueth the Manifold water, so called, bicause of the sundrie crinckling rills that it receiueth, and turnagaines that it selfe sheweth before it come at the Dou. Rising therefore not farre from Axe edge crosse (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Shéene, Warslow chappell, and Welton.

**Hansleie.** Beneath Welton also it taketh in the Hansleie water, that commeth out of Blackemoore hilles to Watersall, where it falleth into the ground: and afterward mounting againe is receiued into the Manifold, north of Throwleie (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Ilam, and about Thorpe dooth cast it selfe into Dou. Hauing therefore met together after this maner, the Dou procéedeth on to Maplington, beneath which it crosseth one water descending from Brassington by Fennie Bentleie, and another somewhat lower that commeth from Hocston hall by Hognaston and Ashburne, and then going to Matterfield, Narburie, Ellaston, Rawston

**Churne.** Rowcester, it meeteth with the Churne, euen here to be described before I go anie further. It riseth a good waie about Delacrasse abbie, and comming thither by Hellesbie wood, it taketh in the Dunsmere, betwéene Harracrasse and Leike.

**Dunsmere.**

**Yendor.** Thence it goeth to the Walgrange, and a little beneath receiueth the Yendor that commeth from about Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing crossed the

**Ashenhirst.**  
**Teine.** Ashenhirst brooke aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ypston, Froghall, Below hill, Alton castell, Préestwood, and at Rowcester falleth into the Dou, which yer long also receiueth a rill from Crowsden, and then going to Eton méeteth first with the Teine that commeth thither from each side of Chedleie by Teinetowne, Bramhirst and Stranehill. Secondlie with the Vncester or Vttoxeter water, and then going on to Merchington, Sidberie, Cawlton, it crosseth a brooke from Sidmister college, by Saperton. From this confluence in like sort it passeth foorth to Tilberie castell, Marston, and at Edgerton méeteth with the water that commeth from Yeldersleie by Longford (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and so to Hilton. These waters being thus ioined, and manie ends brought into one, the Dou it selfe falleth yer long likewise into the Trent, aboue Newton Souch. So that the maine riuier being thus enlarged, goeth onwards with his course, and betwéene Willington and Repton meeteth with two waters on sundrie sides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riseth néere Dawberie Lies, and runneth by Trusselie and Ashe: the other that entereth aboue Repton, descendeth from Hartesburne, so that the Trent being past these, hasteth to Twiford, Inglebie, Staunton, Weston, Newton, and Aston, yer long also méeting with the Darwent; next of all to be dispatched. The Darwent, or (to vse the verie British word) Dowr gwine (but in Latine Fluius Dereuantanus) riseth plaine west, néere vnto the edge of Darbshire, aboue Blackwell a market town, and from the head runneth to the New chappell, within a few miles after it be risen. From hence moreouer it goeth by Howden house, Darwent chappell, Yorkshire bridge, and at Witham bridge dooth crosse the Neue or Nouius that commeth from Newstole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope (crossing there one rill from Castelton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Hathersage, from Stonie ridge hill) and so goeth on to Padleie, Stockehall, receiuing a rill by the waie from by west, to Stonie Middleton, and Baslow, and hauing here taken in the Burbrooke on the one side, and another from Halsop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowseleie, where it is increased with the Wie comming from by west, and also a rill on the east, a little higher. But I will describe the Wie before I go anie further.

**Burbroke.**

**Wie.** The Wie riseth aboue Buxston well, and there is increased with the Hawkeshow, and the Wile brooke, whose heads are also further distant from the edge of Darbshire than that of Wie, and races somewhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wile, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbeie stood, the other is further off by west, about Wilebecke towne: and finallie ioining in one they runne to Cuckneie village, where receiuing a becke that commeth downe from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rufford, or the Manbecke. Vnto this also doo other two rills repaire, wherof the one goeth through and the other hard by Maunsfield, of which two also this latter riseth west about foure miles, and runneth foorth to Clipston (three miles lower) and so likewise to Rufford, whereof I will speake hereafter. In the meane time to returne againe to the Wie. From Buxston well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouses, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receiueth the Lath kell, that runneth by Ouerhaddon, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they be ioined in one at Alport. And this is the first great water that our Darwent dooth méet withall. Being therefore past the Rowsleies, the said Darwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wensleie, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeast, as it dooth another at Crumford that goeth by Boteshall.

**Hawkeshow. Wile.**

**Rufford aliàs Manbecke.**

**Lathkell. Bradford.**

**Amber.** From Mattocke, it procéedeth to Watston, or Watson, Well bridge, Alderwash, and ioineth with another streame called Amber comming in from by north by Amber bridge, whose description shall insue in this wise, as I find it. The head of Amber is aboue Edleston hall, or (as Leland saith) est of Chesterfield, and comming from thence by Middleton to Ogston hall, it taketh withall another brooke, descending from Hardwyc wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfield, and aboue Dale bridge meeteth with a brooke running from Hucknalward to Shireland parke side, there crossing the Moreton becke, and so to Alferton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfeld, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and so into Darwent, taking the water withall that descendeth from Swanswyc by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewise it runneth to Belper, where it méeteth with a rill comming from Morleie parke: thence to Makenie, and at Duffeld, receiueth the Eglesburne, which ariseth about Wirkesworth or Oresworth, but in the same parish out of a rocke, and commeth in by Turnedich. From Duffeld, it passeth to Bradsall, Darleie abbeie, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comming from Mirkaston by Weston vnderwood, Kidleston and Merton. If a man should say that Darwent riuier giueth name to Darbie towne, he should not well know how euerie one would take it, and peradventure therby he might happen to offend some. In the meane time I beleeeue it, let other iudge as pleaseth them, sith my coniecture can preiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaston, Ambaston, the Welles, and so into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thrumpton taketh in the Sore, a faire streame, and not worthie to be ouerpassed.

**Sora, or Surus.**

It riseth in Leicestershire aboue Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that commeth by Dounton and Broughton

Eie.

Warke,  
Vrke, or  
Wreke.

Astleie. Thence to Marleborow, and before it come to Eston, crosseth another on the same side (descending by Burton, Glen, Winstow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leircester towne, Belgraue, Burstall, Wanlip; and yer it come at Cussington or Cositon, crosseth the Eie, which riseth néere Occam about Bramston, going by Knawstow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whitesonden; and beneath (a litle) receiueth a rill on the right hand, from Coldnorton. Thence to Stapleford, & soone after crossing a brooke from about Sproxton, Coson, Garthorpe and Sarbie, it runneth to Wiuerbie, Brentingbie; and yer it come at Milton, meeteth with two other small rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Would; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Melton goeth by Sisonbie, there méeting with another from northeast ouer against Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Eie is changed into Warke or Vrke, and so continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence also it goeth to Asterbie, Radgale, Habie, Trussington, Ratcliffe; and soone after crosseth sundrie waters not verie farre in sunder, whereof one commeth from Oueston, by Twiford, Ashbie, and Gadesbie; another from Losebie, by Baggraue, and Crawston, and ioining with the first at Ouennihow, it is not long yer they fall into the Warke. The second runneth from Engarsbie, by Barkeleie, and Sison. But the third and greatest of the thrée, is a chanell increased with thrée waters, whereof one commeth from Norton by Burton, Kilbie, Foston and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Astleie, and méeting with the third from Sapcoth, and stonie Staunton, they run together by Narborow, and soone after ioining about Elston, with the first of the thrée, they go as one by Elston to Leircester, Belgraue, Wanlip, and about Cussington doo fall into the Warke, and soone after into the Soure. The Soure in like sort going from thence to mount Sorrell, & taking in another brooke southwest from Leircester forrest, by Glenfield, Austie, Thurcaston and Rodelie, ioineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewood forrest, and goeth by Bradegate and Swithland) and then procéedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanford, there also taking in one rill out of Nottinghamshire by northeast; and soone after another from southwest, comming from Braceden to Shepesheued, Garrington, & Dighlie grange, and likewise the third from Worthington, by Disworth, long Whitton, and Wathorne. Finallie, after these confluences, it hasteth to Sutton, Kingston, and Ratcliffe, and so into the Trent.

*Leland calleth one of these rilles Croco.*

Erwash.

Dene.

Snite.

These things being thus brought together, and we now resuming the discourse of the same riuier, it dooth after his méeting with the Soure, procéed withall to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwash, which riseth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Selston, Wansbie, Codnor castell, Estwood, and crossing a water from Beuall, runneth to Coshall, Trowell (and there taking in another rill comming from Henor by Shipleie) it procéedeth on to Stapleford, long Eaton, and so into the Trent. This being doone it goeth to Clifton, and yer it come at Wilford, it méeteth with a brooke that passeth from Staunton by Bonnie and Rodington, and thence to Notingham, where it crosseth the Line, which riseth about Newsted; and passing by Papplewijn, Hucknall, Bafford, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thorpe & Farndon, where it brancheth and maketh an Iland, and into the smaller of them goeth a brooke from Beuer castell, which rising betweene east Well and Eaton in Leircester is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Bramston to Knipton, & beneath Knipton méeteth with a brooke that commeth by west of Croxston, and thence holdeth on with his course, betweene Willesthorpe and Beuer castell aforesaid, and so to Bottesworth, Normanton, Killington, Shilton, there receiuing the Snite from by south (whose head is néere Clauston, & course from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Orston, and Flareborow) and yer long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coxam, Hawton, Newarke castell, and so to Winthorpe, where the branches are reunited, and thence going on by Holme to Cromwell (and soone after taking in a brooke comming from Bilsthorpe, by Kersall, Cawnton, Norwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a streame on ech side, whereof one commeth from Morehouse by Weston & Gresthorpe, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Bosthorpe. From hence likewise it passeth to Clifton, Newton, Kettlethorpe, Torkeseie, Knash, Gainsborow, Waltrith, Stockwith; and leauing Axholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hogdike water out of the Ile, and so goeth foorth to Wildsworth, Eastferrie, Frusworth, Burringham, Gummeis, Hixburgh, Burton, Walcote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the swift Doue by the waie, which for his noblenesse is not to be ouerpassed, especiallie for that Anno 1536 Hen. 8, 28, it was (by Gods prouidence) a staie of great bloudshed like to haue fallen out betweene the kings side and the rebelles of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battle should haue béene stricken, and without anie apparent cause (a litle showre of raine excepted farre vnpossible vpon such a sudden to haue made so great a water) the said riuier arose so high, & ran with such vehemencie, that on the morow the armies could not ioine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification insued, and those countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the description hereof is not to be ouerpassed, bicause of the fine grasse which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is so fine and batable, that there goeth a prouerbe vpon the same; so oft as a man will commend his pasture, to say that there is no better féed on Doue banke: that maketh it also the more famous.

*A miracle.*



**Doue.** The Doue therefore riseth in Yorkeshire among the Peke hilles, and hauing receiued a water comming by Ingbirchworth (where the colour thereof is verie blacke) it goeth to Pennistone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Oxspring to Thurgoland, and soone after (ioining by the waie with the Midhop water, that runneth by Midhop chappell, and Hondshelfe) it méeteth with another comming from Bowsterston chappell. Then goeth it by Waddesleie wood to Waddesleie bridge, and at Aluerton receiueth the Bradfeld water. Then passeth it to Crokes, and so to Sheffield castell (by east whereof it receiueth a brooke from by south that commeth through Sheffield parke.) Thence it procéedeth to Westford bridge, Briksie bridge; and southwest of Timsleie receiueth the Cowleie streame that runneth by Ecclefield. Next of all it goeth to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Rother, a goodlie water, whose head is in Darbieshire about Pilsleie, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doleie, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfield church, Wingerworth, and Foreland hall, twelue miles from Rotheram, to Chesterford, where it méeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanell. Thence it runneth to Topton castell, and yer long crossing one water comming from Dronefeld by Whittington on the one side, and the second from aboue Birmingham on the other, it goeth through Stalie parke, and soone after méeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note.

**Iber.  
Brampton.**

**Crawleie.** The Crawleie riseth not farre from Hardwyc, and going by Stanesbie and Woodhouse, it receiueth aboue Netherthorpe, one water on the one side comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlborrow hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewise they run as one into the Rother, which hasteth from thence to Eckington (there crossing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and so to Kilmars, in the confines of Darbieshire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by east. Thence to Boughton, vniting it selfe therabout with another by west from Gledles, called Mesebrooke, which diuideth Yorkeshire from Darbieshire, and so runneth to Treton, Whiston, there taking in a rill from Aston, and so to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yéeding plentie of samon all the waie as it passeth) hasteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Mexburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will next describe, and staie with the Doue, vntill I haue finished the same. It riseth at Combworth, and so commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton ward, where it crosseth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Drax, where it toucheth with a water from southwest, & then goeth to Derfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Sprotborow, it vniteth it selfe with a faire riuier, increased by diuerse waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeast of Mexburgh. After this confluence likewise the Doue goeth by Sprotborow, to Warnesworth, Doncaster, Wheatleie, (there méeting with the Hampall créeke on the northeast side, which riseth east of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Branwith ferrie, Stanford, Fishlake, and so to Thuorne or Thurne, where it crosseth the Idle (whose description followeth) and finallie into Trent, and so into the Humber.

But before I deale with the description of the Idle, I will adde somewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the description thereof be not so exactlie deliuered me as I looked for; yet such as it is I will set downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect so much as to me is possible. It riseth by south of Maunsfield, fiue miles from Rumford abbeie, and when the streame commeth neere the abbeie, it casteth it selfe abroad and maketh a faire lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrow channell, and so goeth on to Rumford village, carrieng the Budbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a méetlie long course, it goeth to Bawtrie or Vautrie, a market towne in Nottinghamshire, fiue miles from Doncaster, and so into the Trent. Beneath Rumford also commeth in the Girt, which goeth vnto Southwell milles, and so into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

**Budbie.  
Gerberton.**

**Idle.** The Idle, which some call Brier streame, riseth at Sutton in Ashfield, from whence it runneth to Maunsfield, Clipston & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riseth in the forrest, one mile north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughford abbeie, till it come to Allerton. The forresters call this Manbecke, whereof Leland also speaketh, who describeth it in this maner. Manbrooke riseth somewhere about Linthirst wood, from whence it goeth to Blisthorpe, and so to Allerton. But to procéed. The Idle hauing taken in the Manbecke, it runneth to Bothomsall, by Boughton, & Perlethorpe: but yer it come there, it méeteth the Meding Maiden, or Midding brooke, which rising about Teuersall, goeth to Pleasleie, Nettleworth, Sawcan, Warsop, Budleie, Thursbie, Bothomsall, and so into the Idle. After this it procéedeth to Houghton, west Draiton, but yer it touch at Graunston or Gaunston, it taketh in the Wilie, which commeth from Clowne, to Creswell, Holbecke, Woodhouse, Wilebecke, Normenton, Elsieie, Graunston, and so into the Idle. Being thus increased, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordsall, Retford, Bollam, Tilneie, Matterseie abbeie, and so to Bawtrie, where it méeteth another from the shire Okes, that riseth aboue Geitford, passeth on to Worksop (or Radfurth) Osberton, Bilbie, and Blith, there vniting it selfe with thrée rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Waldingwell to Careleton, and so thorough a parke to Blith towne, another from by west Furbecke thrée miles, and so to Blith: but the third out of the White water

néere to Blith, and there being vnited they passe on to Scrobie, and so into the Idle.

**Sandbecke.**

From hence it runneth on to Missen, to Sadlers bridge, and next of all to Santoft, where it méeteth with the Sandbecke, which rising not farre from Sandbecke towne, passeth by Tickhill, Rosington bridge, Brampton, Rilholme, Lindholme, and one mile south of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it méeteth with the Doue, and so with it to Crowleie. Finallie, inuironing the Ile of Axeholme, it goeth vnto Garthorpe, Focorbie, & so into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wilie, Wile, or Gwylie (as some write it) saith thus therof. The Wile hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Wilbecke abbeie stood; the other riseth further off by west aboue Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finallie ioining in one, they runne to Cuckeneie village, where crossing a becke that commeth in from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rufford. To this riuier likewise (saith he) doo two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Maunsfield (rising foure miles from thence by west) and then commeth thrée miles lower to Rufford; the other (so far as I remember) goeth quite through the towne.

## CHAP. XVI.

**Ancolme.** Hauling in this maner described the Ouze, and such riuers as fall into the same: now it resteth that I procéed in my voiage toward the Thames, according to my former order. Being therefore come againe into the maine sea, I find no water of anie countenance or course (to my remembrance) till I come vnto the Ancolme a goodlie water, which riseth east of Mercate Rasing, and from thence goeth by middle Rasing. Then receiuing a short rill from by south, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, northeast; where also it méeteth with another brooke, from Vsselbie that commeth thither by Vresbie, goeth by Cadneie (taking in the two rilles in one bottome, that descend from Howsham, and north Leiseie) and thence to Newsted, Glanford, Wardeleie, Thorneham, Applebie, Horslow, north Ferribie, and so into the sea.

**Kilis.** Being past Ancolme, we go about the Nesse, and so to the fall of the water which commeth from Kelebie, by Cotham abbeie, Nersham abbeie, Thornton, and leauing Coxhill by west, it falleth into the Ocean. The next is the fall of another brooke comming from Fleting, all alongst by Stallingburne. Then crossed we Grimsbie gullet, which issuing aboue Erebie commeth to Lasebie, the two Cotes, and then into the sea. After this we passed by another portlet, whose backwater descendeth from Balesbie by Ashbie, Briggesleie, Wath, and Towneie, and finallie to the next issue, before we come at Saltflete, which branching at the last, leaueth a prettie lland wherein Comsholme village standeth. This water riseth short (as I heare) of Tathewell, from whence it goeth to Rathbie, Hallington, Essington, Lowth, Kidirington, Auingham, and then branching aboue north Somerton, one arme méeteth with the sea, by Grauethorpe, the other by north of Somercote.

**Saltflete.** Saltflete water hath but a short course: for rising among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the sea, at Saltflete hauen: howbeit the next vnto it is of a longer race, for it riseth (as I take it) at Cawthorpe paroch, and descendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the west middle and east Saltfletes, and so into the Ocean. The water that riseth aboue Ormesbie and Dribie, goeth to Cawsbie, Swabie abbeie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and northeast of Thetilthorpe into the maine sea.

**Maplethorpe** Maplethorpe water riseth at Tharesthorpe, and going by Markeleie, Folethorpe, and Truthorpe, it is not long yer it méet with the Germane Ocean. Then come we to the issue that commeth from aboue the Hotoft, and thence to Mumbie chappell, whither the water comming from Claxbie, Willowbie, and Slouthbie (and whereinto another rill falleth) dooth runne, as there to doo homage vnto their lord and souereigne. As for Ingold mill créeeke, I passe it ouer, and come straight to another water, descending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the issue of a faire brooke, which (as I heare) dooth rise at Tetford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagenderbie, Ashwardbie, Sawsthorpe, Partneie, Ashbie, the Stepings, Thorpe croft, and so into the sea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the east sea, and goeth betwéene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Wainflete townne, and treading the path of his predecessors, emptieth his chanell to the maintenance of the sea.

Now come I to the course of the Witham, a famous riuer, whereof goeth the biword, frequented of old, and also of Ancolme, which I before described:

Ancolme ele, and Witham pike,  
Search all England and find not the like.

**Lindis,  
Witham,  
Rhe.**

Leland calleth it Lindis, diuerse the Rhe, and I haue read all these names my selfe: and thereto that the Lincolneshire men were called in old time Coritani, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodunum, in which region also Ptolomie placeth Rage, which some take to be Notingham, except my memorie doo faile me. It riseth among the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnshire, and (as I take it) in south-Wickham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colsterworth, Easton, Kirkestoke Paunton, and Paunton Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from by southwest, as I heare. From Grantham it runneth to Man, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneston, where crossing a becke from northeast, it procéedeth further southwest ward by Mereston, toward Faston (there also taking in a brooke that riseth about Denton, and goeth by Sidbrooke) it hasteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmebie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Bassingham, Thursbie, and beneath Amburgh crosseth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton castell.

After this confluence also, our Witham goeth still foorth on his waie to the Hickhams, Boltham, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it selfe, for which the Normans write Nicholl by transposition of the letters, or (as I may better saie) corruption of the word. But yer it come there, it maketh certeine pooles (whereof one is called Swan poole) and soone after diuiding it selfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, each of them hauing a bridge of stone ouer it, thereby to passe through the principall stréet: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their fisher botes, so the lesser is

not without his seuerall commodities. At Lincolne also this noble riuer méeteth with the Fosse dike, whereby in great floods vessels may come from the Trents side to Lincolne. For betweene Torkseie, where it beginneth, and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboute seuen miles, as Leland hath remembred. Bishop Atwater began to clense this ditch, thinking to bring great vessels from Trent to Lincolne in his time: but sith he died before it was performed, there hath no man bene since so well minded as to prosecute his purpose. The course moreouer of this our streame following, from Lincolne to Boston is fiftie miles by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you shall haue but 24. For there are foure common places where men are ferried ouer; as Short ferrie, fiue miles from Lincolne, Tatersall ferrie, eight miles from Short ferrie, Dogdike ferrie a mile, Langreth ferrie fiue miles, and so manie finallie to Boston.

But to go forward with the course of Lindis (whereof the whole prouince hath béene called Lindeseie) when it is past Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewash, Wassingburg, Fiskerton, and soone after taketh in sundrie riuers in one chanell, whereby his greatnesse is verie much increased. From this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a rill (descending from betweene Sotbie and Randbie, and going by Harton) it slideth foorth by Tupham to Tatersall castell, taking vp there in like sort thrée small rills by the waie, whereof I haue small notice as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further consideration to be had of them hereafter, if it shall please God that I may liue to haue the filing of these rude pamphlets yet once againe, & somewhat more leasure to peruse them than at this time is granted. Finallie, being past Tatersall, and Dogdike ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boston, & thence into the sea. Thus haue I brieflie dispatched this noble riuer Witham. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a fréend, I will yéeld so farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and set downe also what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be sufficientlie described alredie.

**Witham.** Into Witham therefore from by north, and seuen miles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the head whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Resbie, Stainton, and at Bullington méeteth with a water on ech side, whereof one commeth from Haiton and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewise beneath Birlings with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stansted, and ioining all in one, soone after it is not long yer it fall into the chanell of Witham, and so are neuer more heard of. There is also a brooke by southwest, that commeth from Kirbie to Cateleie, Billingams, and the Ferrie. At Tatersall it méeteth with the Bane, which riseth aboute Burgh, and néere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigod, Hemmingsbie, Bamburgh, Fillington, Horne castell, (where it crosseth a rill from Belchworth) Thornton, Marton, Halton, Kirkebie, Comsbie, Tatersall, and so to Dogdike ferrie.

**Hake.**

**Bane.**

Aboue Boston likewise it taketh in a water comming from Lusebie by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickneie, Sibbeseie and Hildrike. And to Boston towne it selfe doo finallie come sundrie brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which rising at Donesbie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it casteth one arme into Holiwell water. Thence it hasteth toward Dunnington, receiuing four brookes by the waie, whereof the first commeth from Milthorpe, the second from Fokingham, called Bollingborow, or (after some, I wote not vpon what occasion) Sempringham water, the third from Bridge end, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwards the maine streame is found to run by Kirton holme, and so into the Witham. Into the Wiland likewise falleth the Holiwell, which riseth of a spring that runneth toward the east from Haliwell to Onebie, Esonden, Gretford, and so to Catbridge, where it receiuet another rising at Witham and west of Manthorpe, and the second comming from Laund, and so run from thence together to Willesthorpe and Catbridge, and then into the Haliwell, which after these confluences goeth to Tetford and Eastcote, where it meeteth with a draine, comming from Bourne, and so through the fennes to Pinchbecke, Surfleet, and Fosdike, where it méeteth with the Welland, in the mouth of the Wash, as I haue noted vnto you.

**Bollingborow. Sempringham.**

**Wiland.** Hauing thus set forth the riuers that fall into the Witham, now come we to the Wiland or Welland, wherevnto we repaire after we be past Boston, as drawing by litle and litle toward the Girwies, which inhabit in the fennes (for Gir in the old Saxon speach dooth signifie déepe fennes and marishes) and these beginning at Peterborow eastward, extend themselues by the space of thrée score miles & more, as Hugh of Peterborow writeth. This streame riseth about Sibbertoft, and running betweene Bosworth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Féedingworth, Merson, Bubberham, Trussell, Herborow (receiuing there the Braie, which commeth from Braiebrooke castell) to Bowton, Weston, Wiland, Ashleie, Medburne, Rokingham, and Cawcot, where a riuert called little Eie méeteth withall, comming from east Norton by Alexstone, Stocke, Fasten, and Drie stocke. From Cawcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerlie, Duddington, Collie Weston, Eston, and there ioineth with the third called Warke, not far from Ketton, which commeth from Lie by Preston, Wing, Lindon, Luffenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanford (crossing the Brooke water, and Whitnelbecke, both in one bottome) and from Stanford by Talington, Mareie, to Mercate Deeping, Crowland (where it almost meeteth with the Auon) then to Spalding, Whapland, and so into the sea.

**Whitnell.**

Leland writing of this Wiland, addeth these words which I will not omit, sith in mine opinion they are worthie to be noted, for better consideration to be had in the said water and his course. The Wiland (saith he) going by Crowland, at Newdrene diuideth it selfe into two branches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and so into the sea at Fossedike Stow: the other named the South into Wisbech. This latter also parteth it selfe two miles from Crowland, & sendeth a rill called Writhlake by Thorneie, where it méeteth with an arme of the Nene, that commeth from Peterborow, and holdeth course with the broad streame, till it be come to Murho, six miles from Wisbech, where it falleth into the South.

Out of the South in like sort falleth another arme called Sheepes eie and at Hopelode (which is fouretéene miles from Lin) did fall into the sea. But now the course of that streame is ceased, wherevpon the inhabitants susteine manie grieuous floods, bicause the mouth is stanchèd, by which it had accesse before into the sea. Hitherto Leland. Of the course of this riuier also from Stanford, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being past Stanton (saith he) it goeth by Burghleie, Vffington, Tallington, Mareie, Déeping, east Deeping, and comming to Waldram hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to Singlesole, receiueth the Nene out of Cambridgeshire, and then going by Dowesdale, Trekenhole, and winding at last to Wisbech, it goeth by Liuerington, saint Maries, and so into the sea. The other arme hasteth to Crowland, Clowhouse, Bretherhouse, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here also it receiueth the Baston dreane, Longtoft dreane, Déeping dreane, and thence goeth by Wickham into the sea, taking withall on the right hand sundrie other dreanes. And thus farre he.

Next of all, when we are past these, we come to another fall of water into the Wash, which descendeth directlie from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Holland: but bicause it is a water of small importance, I passe from thence, as hasting to the Nene, of both the more noble riuier: and about the middest thereof in place is a certeine swallow, so déepe and so cold in the middest of summer, that no man dare diue to the bottome thereof for coldnesse, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue béene touched with frost, much lesse to be couered with ise. The next therefore to be described is the Auon, otherwise called Nene, which the said author describeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth foure miles about Northampton in Nene méere, where it riseth out of two heads, which ioine about Northampton. Of this riuier the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which errour is committed also in south Auondune, as we may easilie see. In another place Leland describeth the said riuier after this maner. The Auon riseth in Nene méere field, and going by Oundale and Peterborow, it diuideth it selfe into thrée armes, whereof one goeth to Horneie, another to Wisbech, the third to Ramseie: and afterward being vnited againe, they fall into the sea not verie farre from Lin. Finallie, the descent of these waters leaue here a great sort of Ilands, wherof Elie, Crowland, and Mersland, are the chiefe. Hitherto Leland.

Howbeit, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this riuier at the full, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoever the other doo want. The Auon therefore arising in Nenemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at Northampton, & one about Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and so to Northampton, where it receiueth the Wedon. And here I will staie, till I haue described this riuier. The Wedon therefore riseth at Faulesse in master Knightlies pooles, and in Badbie plashes also are certeine springs that resort vnto this streame. Faulesse pooles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuier is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betwéene the heads of these two riuers.

From the said hill therefore the Wedon directeth his course to Badbie, Newenham, Euerton, Wedon, betwixt which and Floretowne, it receiueth the Florus (a pretie water rising of foure heads, whereof the one is at Dauentrie, another at Watford, the third at long Bucke, the fourth about Whilton) and then passeth on to Heiford, Kislingberie, Vpton, and so to Northampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finallie by the waie the Bugbrooke water at Heiford, Patshall water néere Kislingberie, and finallie Preston water beneath Vpton, which running from Preston by Wootton, méeteth at the last with Milton rill, and so fall into Auon. Now to resume the tractation of our Auon. From Northampton therefore it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitstone, Dodington, and Willingborow, where we must staie a while: for betweene Willingborow and Higham ferries, it receiueth a pretie water comming from about Kilmarsch, which going by Ardingworth, Daisborow, Rusheton, Newton, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Kettering, Berton, and Burton, méeteth there with Rothwell water, which runneth west of Kettering to Hisham, the greater Haridon, and then into the Auon.

Being therfore past Burton, our maine streame goeth to Higham Ferries, Artleborow, Ringsted, Woodford, and (méeting thereby with Cranford rill) to Thraxton, north whereof it ioineth also with the Ocleie water, that commeth from Sudborow and Lowicke, to old Vmkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Toke (where it taketh in the Liueden becke) and so to Oundell, Cotterstocke, Tansoner, and betweene Tothering and Warmington receiueth the Corbie water, which rising at Corbie, goeth by Weldon,

Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwyc, Fineshed, Axthorpe, Newton, Tothering, and so into the Auon. After this, the said Auon goeth to Elton, Massittgton, Yerwell, Sutton, Castor, Allerton, and so to Peterborow, where it diuideth it selfe into sundrie armes, and those into seuerall branches and draines, among the fennes and medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it méet with the sea on the one side of the countrie, and fall into the Ouze on the other.

**Isis 3.** The Ouze, which Leland calleth the third Isis, falleth into the sea betwéene Mersland & Downeham. The chiefe head of this riuer ariseth néere to Stanes, from whence it commeth to Brackleie (sometime a noble towne in Northampton shire, but now scarselie a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betwéene Sisam and Astwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinweston) and another on the right from Imleie, it goeth on by Westbirie, Fulwell, water Stretford, Buckingham, and Berton, beneath which towne the Erin falleth into it, whereof I find this short description to be inserted here. The Erin riseth not farre from Hardwyc in Northamptonshire, from hence it goeth by Heth, Erinford, Godderington, Twiford, Steeple Cladon, & yer it come at Padbirie, méeteth with the Garan brooke descending from Garanburge, and so they go together by Padbirie, till they fall into the Ouze, which carieth them after the confluence to Thorneton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whitlewood forrest by Luffeld, Lecamsted and Foscot) and so to Beachampton, Culueron, Stonie Stratford, and Woluerton.

**Imelus.**

**Garan.**

**Verus.** Here the Ouze méeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniectureth, the Vere or Were) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betwéene Wedon and Wexenham in Northamptonshire, and goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluerton and Hauersham into the foresaid Ouze, which goeth also from hence to Newportaganell, where in like sort I must staie a while till I haue described another water, named the Clée, by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This riuer riseth in the verie confines betwéene Buckingham and Bedfordshires, not farre from Whippsnade, and going on toward the northwest, by Eaton and Laiton, it commeth to Linchlade, where it entreth whollie into Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Fennie Stratford, Simpson, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiueh the Saw from aboue Halcot, and so goeth on till it meet with the Ouze néere vnto Newport, as I haue said. Being vnited therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble riuer, to Lathbirie, Thuringham, Filgrane, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfield on the one side, and Turueie on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie windlesses, and then méeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manie waters, that I was inforced to make an imagined staie here also, and view their seuerall courses, supposing my selfe to looke downe from the highest steeple in Bedford, whence (as best meane to view anie countrie wheresoeuer) I note the same as followeth.

**Cle aliàs Claius.**

**Saw.**

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from Potton, and met withall néere Becliswade: another that grew of two waters, wherof one descended from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which ioined beneth Arleseie, and thence went to Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, wherof one is not farre from Wood end, the other from Wooburne (or Howburne), and ioining about Flitwyc, they go to Flitton (where they receiue Antill brooke) and so by Chiphill, and Chicksand, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the aforsaid Langford water with them, they go foorth by Becliswade, Sandie, Blumham, and neere vnto Themisford are vnited with the Ouze. And now to our purpose againe.

**These rise not far from Michelborow & one of them in Higham parke.**

**Verus or the Were.**

After this the Ouze goeth by Berkeford, to Winteringham (méeting there with the Wareslie becke) and so runneth to S. Neotes (or saint Nedes, in old time Goluesburg, as Capgrae saith In vita Neoti) to Paxston, Offordes, and so to Godmanchester, in old time called Gumicester, which (as it should séeme) hath béene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this present it is; for out of the ruines thereof much Romane coine is found, and sometimes with the image of C. Antius which hath long haire, as the Romans had before they receiued barbarians into their citie, and therevnto the bones of diuerse men of farre greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I vpon these things? From hence therefore our water goeth on to Huntingdon, Wilton, saint Iues, Holiwell, and Erith, receiueh in the meane time the Stow (néere vnto little Paxton) and likewise the Ellen, and the Emmer, in one chanell a little by west of Huntingdon.

**Stoueus.**

**Stoueus. Helenus. Elmerus.**

Finallie, the maine streame spreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie llets are inforced by the same; although of lles, Marshland, Ancarig or Ancarie be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland also hight thornie A cruda terra, or store of bushes saith Hugo le Blanc) sometime growing in the same, and Ancarij because sundrie Ancres haue liued & borne great swaie therein. But howsoeuer this case standeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it selfe with ranging a while about the pleasant bottoms & lower grounds, it méeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a swift course vnto Downeham. Betwéene it also and the Auon, are sundrie

large meeres or plashes, by southwest of Peterborow full of powts and carpes, whereof Whittleseie méere, and Ramseie méere (whereinto the Riualle falleth), that commeth from aboue Broughton, Wiston, and great Riuelleie) are said to be greatest. Of all the riuers that run into this streame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Grantabrycshire, as appéereth by the register of Henrie prior of Canturburie) is the most noble and excellent, which I will describe euen in this place, notwithstanding that I had earst appointed it vnto my second booke. But for somuch as a description of Ouze and Granta were deliuered me together, I will for his sake that gaue them me, not separate them now in sunder.

Riuelus.

Granta.

The verie furthest head and originall of this riuier is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Sussex, wherein (as the townesmen saie) are foure springs that run foure sundrie waies into the maine sea. Leland sought not the course of this water aboue Newport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpon the song of the swan, he writeth thereof after this maner insuing. Although doctor Iohn Caius the learned physician, and some other are of the opinion, that this riuier comming from Newport, is properlie to be called the Rhée: but I may not so easilie dissent from Leland, whose iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he saith.

The head of Grantha or Granta, is in the pond at Newport, a towne of the east Saxons, which going in a bottome beside the same, receiue a pretie rill, which in the midst thereof dooth driue a mill, and descendeth from Wickin Bonhant, that standeth not farre from thence. Being past Newport, it goeth alongst in the lower ground, vntill it come to Broke Walden, west of Chipping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his houshold doo sojourne, and sometime stood an abbeie of Benedictine moonks, before their generall suppression. From Awdleie end it goeth to Littleburie, the lesse and greater Chesterfords, Yealdune, Hincstone, Seoston or Sawson, and néere vnto Shaleford receiue the Babren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babrenham, and Stapleford: and so going forward it commeth at the last to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But yer it come altogither to Trompington, it méeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but some other the Rhee (a common name to all waters in the Saxon speech) whereof I find this description, to be touched by the waie. The Rhée riseth short of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, and passing under the bridge betweene Gildea Mordon and Downton, and leauing Tadlow on the west side (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Malton, Barrington, Haselingfield, and so into Granta, taking sundrie rills with him from south and southwest, as Wendie water southwest of Crawden, Whaddon brooke southwest of Orwell, Mildred becke southwest of Malton, and finallie the Orme which commeth out of Armington or Ormendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Foxton, and falleth into the same betweene Barrington and Harleston, or Harston; as they call it.

Babren.

Rhée.

Now to procéed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one side, and Grantcester, on the other, it hasteth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which descendeth from a castell of the same denomination, wherein the Picotes and Peuerels sometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by sundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the queenes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinitie college, S. Johns, &c: vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betwéene the towne and the castell to Chesterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Sture (at whose bridge the most famous mart in England is yearlie holden and kept) from Chesterton it goeth to Ditton, Milton, and yer long méeting with two rilles (from Bottesham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningseie, & Water Bech: and finallie here ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and so forth into the Ouze, fiftéene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the third Isis or Ouze, out of the aforesaid author: wherevnto I haue not onelie added somewhat of mine owne experience, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent obseruation of the course of this riuier hath not a little helped me in the description of the same. Now it resteth that we come neerer to the coast of Northfolke, and set forth such waters as we passe by vpon the same, wherein I will deale so preciselie as I may: and so farre will I trauell therein, as I hope shall content euen the curious reader: or if anie fault be made, it shall not be so great, but that after some trauell in the finding, it shall with ease be corrected.

Sturus.

Bulbecke.

The first riuier that therefore we come vnto, after we be past the confluence of Granta, and the Ouze, and within the iurisdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This streame riseth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, aboue the greater Wheltham, and from thence it goeth on to Nawnton, Burie, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genouefa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeford, Icklingham, and to Milden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that springeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Asheleie, Moulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well prouided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the last not farre from Iselham into the Burne, from whence they go together as one into the Ouze. With the Burne also there ioineth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Iselham, and not verie far from Mildenhall.

Burne.

Dale.

**Dunus.** The Dune head, and rising of Wauenheie, are not much in sunder: for as it is supposed, they are both not farre distant from the bridge betwéene Lophâm and Ford, wherby the one runneth east and the other west, as I haue béene informed. The Dune goeth first of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, & to Kinets hall, where it meeteth with a water cōming out of a lake short of Banham (going, by Quiddenham, Herling, Gasthorpe) and so on, both in one chanell, they run to Ewston. Here they méet in like sort, with another descending from two heads, wherof the one is néere vnto Pakenham, the other to Tauestocke, as I heare. Certes these heads ioine aboue Ilesworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Yxworth, Thorpe, Berdwell, Hunnington, Fakenham, and so into the Dune at Ewston; as I said. From hence also they hasten to Downeham, which of this riuer dooth séeme to borow his name. South Rée rill I passe ouer as not worthie the description, because it is so small.

**Bradunus fortè.** Next vnto this riuer on the south side is the Braden, or Bradunus, which riseth at Bradenham, and goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, south Peckenham, Kirsingham, Bedneie, Langford, Igbor, Munford, North Old, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgie, and

**Linus.** so into the Ouze. The néerest vnto this is another which riseth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lexham, Massingham, Newton, the castell Acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie, Roughton (which at one time might haue béene my liuing if I would haue giuen sir Thomas Rugband money inough, but now it belongeth to Gundeuill and Caius college in Cambridge) Westchurch, and so to Linne. As so dooth also another by north of this, which commeth from the east hilles by

**Congunus.** Congenham, Grimston, Bawseie, Gaiwood, whereof let this suffice. And now giue

**Rising.** eare to the rest sith I am past the Ouze. Being past the mouth or fall of the Ouze, we méet next of all with the Rising chase water, which Ptolomie (as some thinke) doth

**Ingell.** call Metaris, and descendeth from two heads, and also the Ingell that commeth from about Snetsham. From hence we go by the point of saint Edmund, and so hold on our course till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the sea by south from Waterden, and going betwéene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burnham Norton, it striketh at the last into the sea; east of Burnham Norton a mile at the least,

**Glouius.** except my coniecture doo faile me. The Glow or Glowie riseth not far from Baconsthorpe, in the hundred of Tunsted; & going by and by into Holt hundred, it passeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnsford, Blackneie, Clare, and so into the sea, receiuing there at hand also a rill by east, which descendeth from the hilles lieng betwéene Killing towne and Waiburne.

**Wantsume.** The Wantsume riseth in Northfolke at Galesend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Watersend, Townton, Skelthorpe, Farneham, Pensthorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingsford. And here it receiueth two waters in one bottome, of which the first goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the other by Wandling and Gressonhall, and so run on ech his owne waie, till they méet at Houndlington, southwest of Billingsford with the Wantsume. From hence they go all together to

**Yocus.** Below, Ieng, Weston, and Moreton; but yer it come to Moreton, it méeteth with the Yowke, which (issuing about Yexham) goeth by Matteshall and Barrow. After this the said Wantsume goeth on by Ringland, and so to Norwich the pontificall sée of the bishop, to whome that iurisdiction apperteineth, which seemeth by this memoriall yet remaining in the corrupted name of the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Leland addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to procéed. Beneath Norwich also it receiueth two waters in one chanell, which I will seuerallie describe, according to their courses, noting their confluence to be at Bixleie, within two miles of Norwich, except my annotation deceiue me. The first of these hath two heads wherof one mounteth vp

**Hierus. Gerus.** southwest of Whinborow, goeth by Gerneston, and is the verie Hiere or Yare that drowneth the name of Wantsume, so soone as he meeteth withall. The other head riseth at Wood in Mitford hundred, and after confluence with the Hiere at Caston, going by Brandon, Bixton, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefield (not farre from Bixleie as I said) doth méet with his companion, which is the second to be described as followeth. It hath two heads also that méet northwest of Therstane; and hereof the one commeth from Findon hall, by Wrenningham from about Wotton, by Hemnall, Fretton, Stretton, and Tasborow, till they ioine at Therston, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Therston therefore they go together in one to Newton, Shotesham, Dunston, Castor, Arminghale, Bixleie, Lakenham, and Trowse, and then fall into the Wantsume beneath Norwich, which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere, Yare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his voiage, as it were to salute his grandame the Ocean, goeth from thence by Paswyc, Surlingham, Claxton, and Yardleie; and here it meeteth againe with another riueret descending from about Shotesham to Therstane, Shedgraue, Hockingham, and so into Gare or Yare, whereof Yardleie the towne receiueth denomination. After this it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burgh castell

**Wauen.** meeteth with the Waueneie, and so into the sea.

**Bure.** Into this riuer also falleth the Bure, which rising at a towne of the same name, passeth by Milton, Buresdune, Corpesteie, Marington, Blekeling, Bure, Alesham, Brampton, Buxton, Horsted, Werxham bridge, Horning, Raneworth; and beneath Bastewyc receiueth the Thurine which riseth aboue Rolesbie; then to Obie, Clipsbie (there also receiuing another from Filbie) Rimham, Castor, and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Waueneie afore mentioned, riseth on the south side of Brisingham, and is



- a limit betweene Northfolke and Suffolke. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Octe, it méeteth with the Eie, which riseth néere Ockold, or betwéene it and Braisworth, & goeth on by Brome, Octe, and so into the Waueneie. From thence our Waueneie runneth by Silam, Brodish, Nedam, Harleston, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton, Bungeie, Sheepemedow, Barsham, Beckles, Albie, & at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or receiuing Milford water (which is most likelie) it goeth along by Somerleie, Hormingfléet, S. Olaues, (there receiuing the Frithstane or Fristan brooke, out of low or litle England) Fristan & Burgh castell, where it méeteth with the Hiere, & from thencefoorth accompanieth it (as I said) vnto the sea. Willingham water commeth by Hensted, Einsted, or Enistate, and falleth into the sea by south of Kesland.
- Wauen.**
- Einus.**
- Fritha.**
- Cokelus.** The Cokell riseth south southwest of Cokeleie towne in Blithe hundred, and neere vnto Hastelworth it meeteth with the rill that commeth from Wisset, and so going on together by Wenhaston, and Bliborow, it falleth into the sea at an hauen betwéene Roidon and Walderswicke. A little rill runneth also thereinto from Eston by Sowold, and another from Dunwich, by Walderswijke: and hereby it wanteth little that Eston Nesse is not cut off and made a pretie Iland.
- Ford.**
- Orus.**
- Fromus.** The Ford riseth at Yoxford, and going by Forderleie, and Theberton, it falleth at last into Mismere créeke. Into the Oreford hauen runneth one water comming from Aldborow ward, by a narrow passage from the north into the south. By west wherof (when we are past a little Ile) it receiuethe the second, descending from betwéene Talingston and Framingham in Plomes hundred; which cōming at last to Marleford, meeteth with a rill southwest of Farnham called the Gleme (that commeth by Rendlesham, the Gleinhams) and so passing foorth, it taketh another at Snapesbridge, comming from Carleton by Saxmundham, Sternefield & Snape. Then going to Iken (where it méeteth with the third rill at the west side) it fetcheth a compasse by Sudburne east of Orford, and so into the hauen. Next vnto this by west of Orford, there runneth vp another créeke by Butleie, whereinto the waters comming from Cellesford, and from the Ike, doo run both in one bottome. And thus much of Orford hauen.
- Glema.**
- Iken, or Ike.**
- Deua.** The Deue riseth in Debenham, in the hundred of Hertesméere, and from thence goeth to Mickford, Winston, Cretingham, Lethringham, Wickham, hitherto still creeping toward the south: but then going in maner full south, it runneth neere vnto Ash, Rendlesham, Vfford, Melton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receiuethe on the west side, a water comming of two heads, wherof one is by north from Oteleie, and the other by south from Henleie, which ioining west of Mertelsham, go vnto the said towne and so into the Deue, east of Mertelsham abouesaid. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfield and Henleie, and méeting soone after with Brightwell brooke, it hasteth into the maine sea, leauing Bawdseie on the east, where the fall therof is called Bawdseie hauen.
- Clarus fons.**
- Vrus.** Vre riseth not farre from Bacton, in Hertesmeere hundred, and thense descendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Newton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it méeteth with a water comming from Rattlesden, by one house) and so going on to Nedeham (through Bosméere and Claidon hundreds) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ypswich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer against Ypswich, the Chatsham water, that goeth by Belsted, and so into the Vre, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous deepe and large pit, whereof some marriners saie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and ioining the name of the riuer withall, it commeth to passe that the hauen there is called Vrewell, for which in these daies we doo pronounce it Orwell. Into this hauen also the Sture or Stoure hath readie passage, which remaineth in this treatise next of all to be described.
- Sturus.** The Sture or Stoure parteth Essex from Suffolke, as Houeden saith, and experience confirmeth. It ariseth in Suffolke, out of a lake neere vnto a towne called Stourméere. For although there come two rilles vnto the same, whereof the one descendeth from Thirlo, the Wratings and Ketton, the other from Horshed parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in summer time they are often drie, so that they cannot be said to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforesaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth standeth a prettie towne named Manitrée, which carieth some shadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariseth at Stouremeere, which is a poole conteining twentie acres of ground at the least, the one side whereof is full of alders, the other of réeds, wherein the great store of fish there bred, is not a little succoured. From this méere also it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndish, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Foxerth, Buresleie, Sudburie, Bures, Boxsted, Stoke, Nailand, Lanham, Dedham, Strotford, east Barfold, Brampton, Manitree, Catwade bridge, and so into the sea, where in the verie fall also it ioineth with Orwell hauen, so néere that of manie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a shingle that dooth run along betwéene them: neither dooth it passe cléere in this voiage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receiuing sundrie brookes and rilles not héere to be omitted.
- For on Essex side it hath one from Hemsted, which goeth by Bumsted, and Birdbrooke: another rising short of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the same at Badlington, west of Sudburie: and the third

that glideth by Horkesleie, and méeteth withall west of Boxsted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke side, it receiueth one descending from Catiledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Kiddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The second descendeth northward from Posling field, and ioineth therewith east of Clare. It was in old time called Cicux or Ceuxis, and it méeteth with the Stoure in such wise that they séeme to make a right angle, in the point almost wherof standeth a ruinous castell. Howbeit as sithence which time this water (in some mens iudgement) hath béene named Clarus (not so much for the greatnesse as clearnesse of the streame) even so the Stoure it selfe was also called Ens as they say, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this lland of no small fame and honour. But these are but méere fables, sith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an house of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the same, because of an honour the prince had in those parties: which may suffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariseth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Risbie hundred, and ioining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Boxsted, Stansted, and north of Foxerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth issueth from betwéene the Waldingfields, and goeth by Edwardstone, Boxsted, Alington, Polsted, Stoke, and so at south Boxsted falleth into the same. The fift riseth northwest of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Brimsleie, Midling, and receiuing Kettle Baston water southwest of Chelsworth (and likewise the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitchham, and Bisseton stréet on the south east of the same towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadleie, Lainham, Shellie, Higham, and so into the Stoure. The sixt is a little rill descending southwest from Chappell. The seuenth riseth betwéene Chappell and Benteleie, and going betwéene Tatingston, and Whetsted, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of.

**Kettle  
baston.**

**Ocleie.**

As for Ocleie Drill, that riseth betwéene Ocleie, and Wikes parkes, and so goeth into the Stoure, on Essex side, west of Harwich, and east of Rée Ile; I passe it ouer, because it is of it selfe but a rill, and not of anie greatnesse, till it come to the mill about Ramseie bridge, where I was once almost drowned (by reason of the ruinous bridge which leadeth ouer the streame being there verie great) as an arme of the sea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Next vnto this, we came to another that runneth south of Beaumont by Mosse, and falleth into the sea about the midst of the Baie, betwixt Harwich and the Naze. Betwixt the Naze also and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riseth at little Benteleie, and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and east of little Holland, into the déepe sea.

**Mosa.**

**Claco.**

**Colonus.**

The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Ouington that goeth by Tilberie, and east of Yeldam falleth into the chiefe head which riseth about Redgewell in Essex, from whence also it goeth to Yeldam and Hedingham, otherwise called Yngham: also Hedningham or Heuedingham, \* or Heuedingham of the superioritie which accrued therevnto, because the chiefe lords of the same from time to time kept residence in the towne. For Heued or Hed signifieth The chiefe, in the old English language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet standing in England cannot easilie be forgotten. The third falleth in south of Yeldam, and being once met all in one chanell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I said) to Hedningham, Hawsted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colchester, in old time Camalodunum, and so into the sea at Bricklesleie. Some thinke that Colchester and Camalodunum are sundrie cities and situat in diuerse places, whereby Maldon (or Ithancester out of whose ruines the said towne of Maldon was erected) should rather be Camalodunum than Colchester, but hereof I cannot iudge. Indeed if (as Leland saith) Maldon should be written Malodunum, it were a likelihood that there assertions should be probable. Some reason also may be gathered for the same out of Dion, and such as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colchester water. But I dare not presume to conclude any thing hereof, least I should séeme rashlie to take hold of euerie coniecture. This I relie vpon rather as a more certeintie, that in the first edition of this treatise I was persuaded, that the sea entring by the Colne made thrée seuerall passages frō thence into the land: but now I vnderstand that these are seuerall entrances and streames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Stroud (a causeie that leadeth vnto Merseie Ile, ouer which the sea méeteth with a contrarie course) and the third the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all these thrée haue their falles either ouer against or néere vnto the aforesaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the shore. Into the Colne or Colonus also (whereof Leland thinketh Colchester to take his name, and not A colonia Romanorum, although I may not consent to him herein) doo run manie salt creekes beneath Fingering ho, of whose names sith I doo not know, nor whether they be serued with anie backewaters or not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further & likewise of their positions. Into that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will saie so much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

\* Sic.

**Gwin or  
Pant.**

There is a pretie water that beginneth néere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Essex, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Bache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause,

sith not onelie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough excessiue building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced.) This said brooke runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordships possessions in those parts, descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime chéefe owners of the same. By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the chéefe (whereof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Pant) and which (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. Certes by the report of common fame it hath béene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon vnto the moores in Radwinter for corne. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courses by act of parlement were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbech (surnamed the great eater, because he would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord Iohn of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping vp the head of Pantwell, to put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that brooke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof doo yet remaine. But sée the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a wolfe vnto the other in their mischeeuous moodes. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certeine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to doo his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: wherevpon insued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is trulie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Tilteie abbeie. The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from Iohn Cockswets house, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, méeteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northwest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendish hall: but bicause it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the chiefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Bendishes, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Ashdon. It belonged first to the Bendishes gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one laieng the said manour to morgage to the moonks of Feuersham, at such time as K. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he staid longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Wherevpon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalfe, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaie of paiement vpon the daie assigned. Herevpon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the daie came, the moonks for all this made seisure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further recompense, maugre all the friendship that the aforesaid Bendish could make. The said gentleman also tooke this cousening part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be séene among his euidences, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either knaue moonke or knaue frier, as one of the name and descended from him by lineall descent hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that méet and ioine with our Pant.

**Froshwell.**

The next is named Froshwell. And of this spring dooth the whole hundred beare the name, & after this confluence the riuier it selfe whervnto it falleth (from by north) so farre as I remember. Certes, all these, sauing the first and second, are within your lordships towne aforesaid. The streame therefore running from hence (& now, as I said, called Froshwell, of Frosh, which signifieth a frog) hasteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full streame (receiuing by the waie, the Finch brooke that commeth thorough Finchingfield) to Shalford, Bocking, Stifed, Paswyc, and so to Blackewater, where the name of Froshwell ceaseth, the water being from hencefoorth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the salt arme of the sea that beateth vpon the towne; and which of some (except I be deceiued) is called also

Pant: and so much the rather I make this conjecture, for that Ithancester stood somewhere vpon the banks thereof, & in the hundred of Danseie, whose ruines (as they saie) also are swalowed vp by the said streame, which can not be verified in our riuier that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, excéedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one hundred foot. But to returne to our Pant,

**Barus.**

alias the Gwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Coxall, Easterford, Braxsted and Wickham, where it méeteth with the Barus, and so going together as one, they descend to Heiebridge, and finallie into the salt water aboue Maldon, and at hand as is aforesaid. As for the Barus, it riseth in a statelie parke of Essex called Bardfield, belonging to sir Thomas Wroth whilest he liued, who hath it to him and his heires males for euer, from the crowne. Being risen, it hasteth directlie to old Saling Brainetrée, crossing a rillet by the waie comming from Raine, blacke Norleie, white Norleie, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the Blackewater beneath Braxsted on the south.

**Chelmer.**

Beside this, the said Pant or Gwin receiueth the Chelme or Chelmer, which ariseth also in Wimbech aforesaid, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not farre from Brodockes (where master Thomas Wiseman esquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams in the same paroch, and ioining yer long in one chanell, they hie them toward Thacsted vnder Prowds bridge, méeting in the waie with a rill comming from Boiton end, whereby it is somewhat increased. Being past Thacsted, it goeth by Tilteie, and soone after receiueth one rill which riseth on the north side of Lindsell, & falleth into the Chelmer by northeast at Tilteie aforesaid, & another cōming from southwest, rising southeast from Lindsell at much Eiston. From thence then holding on still with the course, it goeth to Candfield the more, Dunmow, litle Dunmow, Falsted, Lies, both Walthams, Springfield, and so to Chelmeresford. Here vpon the south side I find the issue of a water that riseth fiue miles (or thereabouts) south and by west of the said towne, from whence it goeth to Munasing, Buttesburie (there receiuing a rill from by west, to Inगतstone, Marget Inge, Widford bridge, Writtle bridge, and so to Chelmeresford (crossing also the second water that descendeth from Roxford southwest of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this suffice.

**Lindis.**

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodham water, Bilie, and so to Blackwater northwest of Maldon, receiuing neuertheless yer it come fullie thither, a becke also that goeth from Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and so into Blackwater (whereof I spake before) as Maldon streame dooth a rill from by south ouer against saint Osithes, and also another by Bradwell. After which the said streame growing also to be verie great, passeth by the Tolshunts, Tollesbie, and so fourth into the maine sea neere vnto Marseie: betwéene which fall and the place where Salute water entreth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius sometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beeset, did send vnto him for aid and spéedie succour, who also being come did not onelie rescue his legat, but in like manner wan Colchester, and put it to the spoile, if it be Camalodunum.

**Roxford.**

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodham water, Bilie, and so to Blackwater northwest of Maldon, receiuing neuertheless yer it come fullie thither, a becke also that goeth from Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and so into Blackwater (whereof I spake before) as Maldon streame dooth a rill from by south ouer against saint Osithes, and also another by Bradwell. After which the said streame growing also to be verie great, passeth by the Tolshunts, Tollesbie, and so fourth into the maine sea neere vnto Marseie: betwéene which fall and the place where Salute water entreth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius sometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beeset, did send vnto him for aid and spéedie succour, who also being come did not onelie rescue his legat, but in like manner wan Colchester, and put it to the spoile, if it be Camalodunum.

Lée.

**Burne.**

The Burne riseth somewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, south Fambridge, Kirkeshot ferrie, and so to Foulnesse. And as this is the short course of that riuier, so it brancheth, and the south arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Pakesham dooth méet by south with the said arme, and so finish vp his course, as we doo our voiage also about the coast of England.

Thus haue I finished the description of such riuers and streames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpose, although not in so precise an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promised had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I saie of that which is here done, that from the Solueie by west, which parteth England & Scotland on that side; to the Twede, which separateth the said kingdoms on the east: if you go backward, contrarie to the course of my description, you shall find it so exact, as beside a verie few by-riuers, you shall not need to vse anie further aduise for the finding and falles of the aforesaid streames. For such hath bene my helpe of maister Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about these, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I haue also to remember, that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my dutie discharged, if I hit vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I haue noted some one man, in the description of a riuier, to write one towne two or thrée manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to choose one (at aduerture most commonlie) that séemed the likeliest to be sound in mine opinion and iudgement.

Finallie, whereas I minded to set downe an especiall chapter of ports and créeks, lieng on ech coast of the English part of this Ile; and had prouided the same in such wise as I iudged most conuenient: it came to passe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by stealth, and therefore as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I would haue giuen ouer to set downe anie thing therefore at all: and

so much the rather, for that I see it may prooue a spurre vnto further mischēefe, as things come to passe in these daies. Neuerthesse, because a little thereof is passed in the beginning of the booke, I will set downe that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the supplie of the rest either to my selfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to some other that can better performe the same.

## CHAP. XVII.

It maie be that I haue in these former chapters omitted sundrie hauens to be found vpon the shore of England, and some of them serued with backe waters, through want of sound and sufficient information from such as haue written vnto me of the same. In recompense whereof I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports and creekes, whereby (so farre as to me is possible) I shall make satisfaction of mine ouersights. And albeit I cannot (being too too much abused by some that haue béereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring my purpose to passe for all the whole coast of England round about, from Berwike to the Solue: yet I will not let to set downe so much as by good hap remaineth, whereby my councitriemen shall not altogether want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer also the rest, if God grant life and good successe thereto.

- Northumberland.** In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwike, Holie Iland, Bamborow, Bedwell, Donstanborow, Cocket Iland, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Almow, Blithes nuke, and Tinmouth hauen.
- Durham.** In the bishoprijc, Sonderland, Stocketon, Hartlepoole, These.
- Yorkshire.** In Yorkshire, Dapnam sands, Steningreene, Staies, Runswike, Robinhoods baie, Whitbie, Scarborow, Fileie, Flamborow, Bricklington, Horneseie becke, Sister kirke, Kelseie, Cliffe, Pattenton, Holmes, Kenningham, Pall, Hidon, Hulbrige, Beuerlie, Hull, Hasell, Northferbie, Bucke créeke, Blacke cost, Wrethell, Howden.
- Lincolneshire.** In Lincolneshire, Selbie, Snepe, Turnebrige, Rodiffe, Catebie, Stockwith, Torkeseie, Gainsborow, Southferbie, Barton a good point, Barrow a good hauen, Skatermill a good port, Penningham, Stalingborow a good hauen, Guimsbie a good port, Clie, March chappell, Saltfléete, Wilgripe, Mapleford, saint Clements, Wenfléete, Friscon, Toft, Skerbike, Boston, Frompton, Woluerton, Fossedike a good hauen.
- Northfolke.** In Northfolke, Linne a good hauen, Snatchham, Hitchham, Desingham good, Thunstone, Thorneham good, Brankester good, Burnham good, with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging, Welles good, Strikeie, Marston, Blakeleie towne, Withon Claie, Blakelie hauen good, Salthouse créeke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer, Beston, Trinningham, Mounsleie, Bromwall, Haseborow, Wakesham, Eckelles, Winterton, Custer, Helmesleie, Okell, Vpton, Waibridge, Yarmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with diuerse villages on the riuer side.
- Suffolke.** In Suffolke, Becles, Bongeie, Southton, Corton, Gorton, Laistow a good port, Kirtill, Pakefield, Kasseldon, Bliorow, Coffe hith, Eston, Walderswiyc, Donewich, Swold hauen, Sisewell, Thorpe, Alborow, Orford a good hauen, Balseie good, Felixstow, Colneie, Sproten, Ypswich, Downambridge good, Pinnemill, Shoteleie, Cataweie, Barfold.
- Essex.** In Essex we haue Dedham, Maning trée, Thorne, Wrabbesnes, Ramseie, Harwich, Douercourt, Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Brichwill, Walton mill, Walton hall, Ganfléete, Newhauen good, S. Osithes, Benteleie good, Bricleseie, Thorlington (where good ships of a hundred tun or more be made) Alsford, Wiuenhall, Colchester, Cold hith, Rough hedge, Fingering ho, east Merseie, west Merseie, Salcot, Goldanger, Borow, Maldon, Stanesgate, Sudmester, S. Peters, Burnham, Crixseie, Aldon, Clements gréene, Hulbridge, Pacleston, Barling, litle Waking, much Waking, south Sudburie, Wakingham, Melton, Papper hill, or Lee, Beamfléete, Pidseie range, Fobbing, Hadleie good, Mucking, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.
- Kent.** In Kent, Harling, Cliffe, Tanfleete, Stokehow, Snodlond, Melhall, Maidston, Ailesford, New hith, Rochester, Gelingham, Reinham, Vpchurch, Halsted, Quinborow, Milton, Feuersham, Whitstaple, Herne, Margate, Brodestaier, Ramsgate; and manie of these good créekes: also Sandwich, Douer, Hide, reasonable ports, although none of the best.
- Sussex.** In Sussex we haue Smalade with the créekes adioining to the same, Ridon, Appledoure, Rie a good hauen, and Winchelseie nothing at all inferiour to the same, and so manie shires onelie are left vnto me at this time, wherefore of force I must abruptly leaue off to deale anie further with the rest, whose knowledge I am right sure would haue been profitable: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great thanks at the hands of such sea-faring men, as should haue had vse hereof.

*Desunt cætera.*

## CAP. XVIII.

**The aire of Britaine.** The aire (for the most part) throughout the Iland is such, as by reason in maner of continuall clouds, is reputed to be grosse, and nothing so pleasant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirme these things, haue onelie respect to the impediment or hinderance of the sunne beames, by the interposition of the clouds and oft 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 séene amongst other nations lieng beyond the seas. Wherefore, we must néeds 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 open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Elisian fields to be found in Britaine, and the Iles that are situate about it in the Ocean.

**The soile.** The soile of Britaine is such, as by the testimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience also of such as now inhabit the same, is verie fruitfull; and such in deed as bringeth foorth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue néed, and yet it selfe (if fond nicenesse were abolished) néedlesse of those that are dailie brought from other places. Neuerthelesse it is more inclined to féeding and grasing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reason whereof the countrie is wonderfullie 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 scarselie 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 féeding and grasing onelie. The grasiers themselues also then dwelled in mooueable villages by companies, whose custome was to diuide the ground amongst them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie (a thing much like to the Irish Criacht) till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remooue further, and séeke for better pasture. And this was the British custome (as I learne) at first. It hath béene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither so fruitfull as that of England, neither the soile of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the most part: otherwise, there is so good ground in some parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the best of Scotland be scarselie comparable to the meane 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 yéeld foorth like commodities.

**Criacht.** But where our ground is not so good as we would wish, we haue (if néed be) sufficient help 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 péece of land but once in thrée score years, it shall not need of anie further compeste. 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 fourescore yeares: insomuch that it is laid vpon the same but once in a mans life, whereby the owner shall not need to trauell twice 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 déepe, and farre better than the scattering of chalke vpon the same, as the Hedni 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.

**Marle.** There are also in this Iland great plentie of fresh riuers and streams, as you haue heard alreadie, and these throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewise is verie full of hilles, of which some (though not verie manie) are of exceeding 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 side of the Iland westward, vntill it come to Cornewall. Like vnto these also are the Crowdon hils, which though vnder diuers names (as also the other from the Peke) doo run into the borders of Scotland. What should I speake of the Cheuiot hilles, which reach twentie miles in length? of the blacke mountaines 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 Teme? of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Children, which are eightéene miles at the least from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordshire to Dunstable in Bedfordshire, and are verie well replenished with wood and corne? notwithstanding that the most part yéeld a sweet short grasse, profitable for shéepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland doo somewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompensed, not onelie with plentie of quarries (and those of sundrie kinds of

**Plentie of riuers.**

**(\*) Here lacks.**

marble, hard stone, and fine alabaster) but also rich mines of mettall, as shall be shewed hereafter.

- Winds.** In this Iland likewise the winds are commonlie more strong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane also espied: and that is often séene vpon the naked hilles, not garded with trées to beare and kéepe it off. That grieuous inconuenience also inforceth our nobilitie, gentrye, and commualtie, 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 bréed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one desireth to set his house aloft on the hill, not onlie to be seene a farre off, and cast forth his beames of statelie and curious workmanship 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 not so farre as the highest, or else becommeth not so strong as when it is reflected upon the lower soile.
- Building.**
- Husbandrie amended.** But to leaue our buildings vnto the purposed place (which notwithstanding haue verie much increased, I meane for curiositie and cost, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within these few yeares) and to returne to the soile againe. Certeinelie it is euen now in these our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath béene in times past. The cause is for that our councitmen are growne to be more painefull, skilfull, and carefull through recompense of gaine, than heretofore they haue béene: insomuch that my Synchroni or time fellows can reape at this present great commoditie in a little roome; whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yéelded 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, dissolutelie, and by picking and stealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the most part) relinquished, so that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.
- Pasture.** The pasture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie of the soile, whereby in most places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattell with speed, or yéeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yellowest butter and finest chéese 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 verie apt for brushes: by which occasion it commeth nothing so profitable vnto the owner as the other. The best pasture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the pasture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheefe. I speake of 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 soile becommeth matted, and diuerse bogges and quicke moores made withall in long continuance: because all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good soile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morrow find it hidden and ouergrown with grasse: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheless, such is the fruitfulness of the aforsaid countie that it farre surmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batableness with Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wickednesse of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and draine of hell: so that whereas they were woont to saie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie speake it; whereas we know by experience that the soile of Italie is a noble soile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodnesse.
- Medowes.** Our medowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those verie large, bicause our soile is hillie) or else such as we call land meads, and borrowed from the best & fattest 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 onelie full of sandie cinder, which breedeth sundrie diseases in our cattell, but also more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not so profitable for stouer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often aboue one good load of haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of ground (I vse the word Carrucata or Carruca which is a waine load, and, as I remember, vsed by Plinie lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue sometimes thrée, but commonlie two or vppward, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are twice mowed I speake not, sith their later math is not so wholesome for cattell as the first; although in the mouth more pleasant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increase so fast in bloud, that the garget and other diseases doo consume manie of them before the owners can séeke 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, whilst the cattell go scot free and are not molested by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the toies that superstition hath brought into our husbandmens heads in this and other 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.

**Corne.**

The yéeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate folowing. Through out the land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yeeld commonlie sixtéene or twentie bushels, an acre of barlie six and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, sowen togither, tares and otes (which they call bulmong) rie and wheat named miscelin here is no place to speake, yet their yéeld is neuerthesse much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And yet is not this our great foison comparable to that of hoter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increase which Eldred Danus writeth of in his *De imperio Iudæorum* in Aethiopia surmounteth, where he saith that in the field néere to the Sabbatike riuier, called in old time Gosan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barleie growing dooth yéeld 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 us. Certes the corruptions vsed by the Flemings, and forgerie dailie practised in this kind of ware, gaue vs occasion to plant them here at home: so that now we may spare and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man by conuersion of his moorie grounds into hopyards, 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 fréends of Flemings let not to exclaime against this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason of the poles, which neuerthesse after three yeares doo also come to the fire, and spare their other fewell.

**Cattell.**

The cattell which we breed are commonlie such, as for greatnesse of bone, swéetnesse 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 excéed them. Our shéepe likewise for good tast of flesh, quantitie of lims, finesse of fléece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and abundance of increase (for in manie places they bring foorth two or thrée at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than doo our goates, who in like sort doo follow the same order, and our déere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue séene them so fat in some soiles, especiallie about Meall and Disnege, that the grease of one being weighed, hath peised verie néere 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 indued with so notable and commodious fruitfulnessse.

**Meall and Disnege.**

**Wine.**

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

If it be true, that where wine dooth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this Iland heretofore, first the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one sufficient testimonie. And that it did grow here, beside the testimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of some parsons and vicars in Kent, & elsewhere, besides the records of sundrie sutes, commensed in diuerse ecclesiasticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: also the inclosed parcels

almost in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witness, 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 Knighten Guild. The truth is (saith Iohn Stow our countrie man, and diligent traueiler in the old estate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Port soken ward, and giuen in time past to the religious house within Algate. Howbeit first Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Essex constables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion frō the said house, vntill the reigne of king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie also was in the first times of the Normans called Le Ile des vignes. And good record appéereth, that the bishop there had yearelie thrée or foure tunne at the least giuen him Nomine decimæ, beside whatsoever ouer-summe of the liquor did accrue to him by leases and other excheats, whereof also I haue seene mention. Wherefore our soile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were so exceeding short, that in August and September the moone which is ladie of moisture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wise shine long enough vpon the same: a verie méere toie and fable right worthie to be suppressed, because experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rhenish wines.

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

Some saie that our great number of lawes doo bréed 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, which (after Aristotle) doth séeme to carie some reason withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath:)

Euentus varios res noua semper habet.

But verie manie let not to affirme, that the gréedie corruption of the promoters on the one side, facilitie in dispensing with good lawes, and first breach of the same in the lawmakers & superiors, & priuat respects of their establishment on the other, are the greatest causes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies so redie to offend without anie facultie one waie, as they are otherwise to presume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in these things I haue no skill, so I wish that fewer licences for the priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorablie increased) & that euerie one which by féeed friendship (or otherwise) dooth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open assizes and sessions denounced enimie to his countrie and commonwealth of the land.

Glasse also hath beene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the said stufte also, beside fine scissers, shéeres, collars of gold and siluer for womens necks, cruses and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Augustus in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like sort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and vessels of iuorie (as Strabo saith.) Wherby it appéereth 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.

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

Wad.

Rape.

Principis longè  
magis exemplo  
quion culpa  
peccare solent.

Madder.

Flax.

Eleg. 2.

Earth.

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.** I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horse, another of Eouesham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worcestershire, the third of Ailesbirie that goeth by Tame, the rootes of Chilterne hils, to Donstable, Newport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckingham, Birstane parke, &c. Likewise of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemoore in Dorsetshire. The fift of Ringdale or Renidale, corruptlie called Ringtaile, that lieth (as mine author saith) vpon the edge of Essex and Cambridgeshire, and also the Marshwood vale: but for somuch as I know not well their seuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their description. In like sort it should not be amisse to speake of our fennes, although our countrie be not so full of this kind of soile as the parties beyond the seas, to wit, Narbon, &c: and thereto of other pleasant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great store of corne and fine fodder for neat and horssees in time of the yeare (whereby they are excéeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but also of no small compasse and quantitie in ground. For some of our fens are well knowen to be either of ten, twelue, sixtéene, twentie, or thirtie miles in length, that of the Girwies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein also Elie the famous Ile standeth, which is seuen miles euerie waie, and wherevnto there is no accesse but by thrée 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, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetousnesse hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aswell in the said Ile as most other places of this land.
- Fennes.**
- Commons.** Finallie, I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the soiles for the benefit of such poore, as inhabit within the compasse of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in most places defrauded, in so much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the same, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, so the tractation of them belongeth rather to the second booke. Wherefore I meane not at this present to deale withall, but reserue the same wholie vnto the due place whilst I go forward with the rest; setting downe neuerthelesse by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

Illa quidem longè celebris splendore, beata,  
Glebis, lacte, fauis, supereminet insula  
cunctis,  
Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cuius ab ore  
Profluit oceanus, &c.

*And a little after:* Testis Lundonia ratibus, Wintonia  
Baccho,  
Herefordia grege, Worcestria fruge  
redundans,  
Batha lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria pisce,  
Eboraca syluis, Excestria clara metallis,  
Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Cestria Gallis,  
Cicestrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia  
præpinguis,  
Testis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,  
Testis Eli formosa situ, Doncastria visu, &c.

THIS ILAND.

## CAP. XIX.

There are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, doo affirme, that this diuision of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should apperteine vnto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and herevpon they inferre, that Watling 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 sort, are also set downe by Antoninus; and those that haue written of the seuerall 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 already 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) wherefore 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, procéeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our sauour Iesus Christ, séeing the subjects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by théeues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (so much as in him laie) to redresse these inconueniences, caused his whole kingdome to be surueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which should leade such as trauelled into all parts thereof, from sea to sea, he gaue sundrie large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the securitie of his subjects, so he made sharpe lawes grounded vpon iustice, for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that should be met withall or found within the limits of those passages. How and by what parts of this Iland these waies were conueied at the first, it is not so wholie left in memorie: but that some question is mooued among the learned, concerning their ancient courses. Howbeit such is the shadow remaining hitherto of their extensions, that if not at this present perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not vnpossible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto posteritie. It seemeth by Galfride, that the said Dunwallon did limit out those waies by dooles and markes, which being in short time altered by the auarice of such irreligious persons as dwelt néere, 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 mooued for their bounds before Belinus his sonne, he to auoid all further controuersie that might from thencefoorth insue, caused the same to be pauered with hard stone of eightéene 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 his workemanship, and the higher ground ouer-grow their rising crests. He indued them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whosoever should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wise, neere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by freendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie prouided in those cases were due vnto the offenders. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

Fosse.

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

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

**Watling  
stréet.**

The Watlingstréete begun (as I said) by Dunwallo, but finished by Gutheline, of whome it is directlie to be called Gutheline stréet, though now corrupted into Watlingstréet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and so stretcheth through the middest of Kent vnto London, and so foorth (peradventure by the middest of the citie) vnto Verolamium or Verlamcester, now saint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thousand fiue hundred thirtie & one, the course thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell wherwith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eighteene foot broad, and about ten foot déepe, and stoned in the bottome in such wise as I haue noted afore, and peradventure 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 yéeres passed, remained there so fresh and so strong, as if it had béene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yéeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the west side. And a little by south of this place, where the priorie stood, is a long thorough fare vpon the said street, méetly well builded (for low housing) on both sides. After this it procéedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell saith) to Caxton, and so to Huntingdon, & then forward, still winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leicestershire toward Lugbie, but also passeth from Castleford to Stamford, and so foorth by west of Marton, which is but a mile from Torkeseie.

Here by the waie I must touch the opinion of a traueller of my time, who noteth the said stréet to go another waie, insomuch that he would haue it to crosse the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, and so go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoft, 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 Watlingstréet should passe by Atherston, I cannot as yet be persuaded. Neuerthesse his coniecture is not to be misliked, sith it is not vnlikelie that thrée seuerall waies might méet 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 thrée Maries, vnto whom it hath béene dedicated: but that the Watlingstréet 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.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watlingstréet, are 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 fiue miles from thence, and where are most manifest tokens of this stréet and his broad crest by a great waie togither, also to Yorke, to Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge, 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 stréet. 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 sharpe stones of a yard in length; but the greatest of all is eighteene foot high at the least, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they stand on an hill in the edge of Stanes moore, and are as bounds betwéene Richmondshire, and Westmerland. But to procéed. This stréet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eightéene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & six to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greteie or Gritto, fiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes moore, foure miles from Applebie, and fiue to Browham, where the said stréet commeth thorough Winfull parke, and ouer the bridge on Eiemouth and Loder, and leauing Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the west side of it, goeth to Carleill seuentaene miles from Browham, which hath béene some notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth eidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathnesse, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

**Erming  
stréet.**

The Erming stréet, which some call the Lelme, stretcheth out of the east, as they saie, into the southeast, 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 méet about Cirnecester, as it commeth from Gloucester, 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.

**Ikenild.**

The Ikenild or Rikenild began somewhere in the south, and so held on toward Cirnecester, then to Worcester, Wicombe, Brimcham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield; and crossing the Watlingstréet somewhere in Yorkeshire, stretched foorth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine sea, as most men doo confesse. I take it to be called the Ikenild, because it passed thorough the kingdome

of the Icenés. For albeit that Leland & other following him doo séeme 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 néere 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 stréet 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.

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 déepe and troublesome in the winter halfe. Wherefore by authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all sorts of the common people doo imploie their trauell for six daies in summer vpon the same. And albeit that the intent of the statute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decaied places, yet the rich doo so cancell their portions, and the poore so loiter in their labours, that of all the six, scarcelie two good days works are well performed and accomplished in a parish on these so necessarie affaires. Besides this, such as haue land lieng vpon the sides of the waies, doo vtterlie neglect to dich and scowre their drains and watercourses, for better auoidance of the winter waters (except it may be set off or cut from the meaning of the statute) whereby the stréets doo grow to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noisome for such as trauell by the same. Sometimes also, and that verie often, these daies works are not imploied vpon those waies that lead from market to market, but ech surueior amendeth such by-plots & lanes as séeme best for his owne commoditie, and more easie passage vnto his fields and pastures. And whereas in some places there is such want of stones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to seeke them farre off in other soiles: the owners of the lands wherein those stones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no small commoditie by raising the same to excessiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another cause wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewise to be considered of, that the trées and bushes growing by the stréets sides; doo not a little keepe off the force of the sunne in summer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs should continuallie be kept short, and the bushes not suffered to spread so far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would also be remedied, and manie a slough proue hard ground that yet is déepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroaching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I speake not. But this I know by experience, that wheras some stréets within these fiue and twentie yeares haue béene in most places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the traueller might either escape the théefe or shift the mier, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horsse; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or six and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be the worse, and manie an honest man encombred in his iourneie. But what speake I of these things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iust redresse, because the error is so common, and the benefit thereby so swéet and profitable to manie, by such houses and cotages as are raised vpon the same.

## CHAP. XX.

Such as are bred in this Iland are men for the most part of a good complexion, tall of stature, strong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldnesse and courage in the warres. As for their generall comelinesse of person, the testimonie of Gregorie the great, at such time as he saw English capteins sold at Rome, shall easilie confirme what it is, which yet dooth differ in sundrie shires and soiles, as also their proportion of members, as we may perceiue betwéene 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 béene the estimation of our souldiers from time to time, since our Ile hath béene knowne vnto the Romans, that wheresoeuer they haue serued in forren countries, the cheefe brunts of seruice haue beene reserued vnto them. Of their conquests and bloudie battels woone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our histories are full: & where they haue beene ouercome, the victorers themselues confessed their victories to haue béene so déerelie bought, that they would not gladlie couet to ouercome often, after such difficult maner. In martiall prowesse, there is little or no difference betwéene Englishmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue beene often and verie gréeuoslie ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not béene for want of manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of God shewed on vs, and his iustice vpon them, sith they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs méere iniurie with great despite and crueltie.

Leland noting somewhat of the constitution of our bodies, saith these words grounding (I thinke vpon Aristotle, who writeth that such as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and strength of bodie than skilfulnesse or wisdom.) The Britons are white in colour, strong of bodie, and full of bloud, as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the soile is not so fruitfull, and therefore the people not so feeble: whereas contrariwise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & some so blacke in déed as anie crow or rauen. Thus saith he. Howbeit, as those which are bred in sundrie places of the maine, doo 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 méere subtiltie, instabilitie, vnfaithfulnesse, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the fertilest region dooth bring foorth the dullest wits, and contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in mine opinion, the most fertile soile dooth bring foorth the proudest nature, as we may see by the Campanians, who (as Cicero also saith) had "Penes eos ipsum domicilium superbiæ." But nether of these opinions do iustlie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleased the writers to saie their pleasures of vs. And for that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the forren historiographers, to be men of great strength and little policie, much courage and small shift, bicause of the weake abode of the sunne with vs, whereby our braines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymerus noteth lib. 3: affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockish, vnciuill, fierce and warlike, which qualities increase, as they come neerer vnto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blacknesse, wisdom, ciuilitie, weakenesse, and cowardise, thus saith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the same conclusion to be made of the constitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his assertion holdeth onelie in their persons that inhabit néere vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the small tariance of the sunne with vs, it is also confuted by the length of our daies. Wherefore his reason seemeth better to vphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro afore alledged, than to prooue that we want wit, bicause our brains are not warmed by the tariance of the sunne. And thus also dooth Comineus burden vs after a sort in his historie, and after him, Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compasse to doo so much in Britaine, as the strength and courage of our Englishmen (not without great wisdom and forecast) haue brought to passe in France. The Galles in time past contemned the Romans (saith Cæsar) bicause of the smalnesse of their stature: howbeit, for all their greatnesse (saith he) and at the first brunt in the warres, they shew themselues to be but féeble, neither is their courage of any force to stand in great calamities. Certes in accusing our wisdom in this sort, he dooth (in mine opinion) increase our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with singlenesse of mind, sincerelie and plainlie, without anie such suspicious fetches in all our dealing, as they commonlie practise in their affaires, then are our countrimen to be accompted wise and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftinesse, subtile practises, doublenesse, and hollow behaiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wisdom: then are Comineus and his countrimen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time beene vsed as an eare marke of their dissimulation,

Non vi sed  
virtute, non  
armis sed  
ingenio  
vincuntur  
Angli.

How these latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to discusse. How they are dailie practised in manie places of the maine, & he accompted most wise and politike, that can most of all dissemble; here is no place iustlie to determine (neither would I wish my countrimen to learne anie such wisdom) 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: which being mixed more or lesse among themselues, doo yéeld an infinit varietie. By this meanes therefore it commeth to passe, that he whose nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which joined 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 in common table talke) as barbarous, bicause we so little regard the shedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we see the liquor of life to go from vs (I vse their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eies, bicause we be rather inflamed than appalled at our wounds, then are those obiectors flat cowards in our iudgement: sith we thinke it a great péce of manhood to stand to our tackling, vntill the last drop, as men that may spare much bicause we haue much: whereas they hauing lesse are afraid to lose that little which they haue: as Frontinus also noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their histories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that as an Italian writing of his credit; A papist intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his méekenesse, 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 excéed, which is a foule vice in such as professe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we so hard to strangers as Horace wold séeme to make vs, sith we loue them so long as they abuse vs not, & make accompt of them so far foorth as they despise vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vse our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in so ample manner as we our selues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to doo in their countries, where no stranger is suffered to haue worke, if an home-borne be without. But to procéed with our purpose.

With vs (although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well) some doo liue an hundred yéers, verie manie vnto foure score: as for thrée 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 thrée score, at which time God spéed 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 thréescore, God kéepe you; but after thréescore, it is best to saie, God spéed 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 béene séene 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 fíue daies together, are easie to be knowne and discerned by their fréends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of sundrie nations, saieng, that their bodies are "Tam fluidae substantiæ," that within certeine houres the wife shall hardlie know hir husband, the mother hir sonne, or one fréend another after their liues be ended. In like sort the comelinesse of our liuing bodies doo continue from midle age (for the most) euen to the last gaspe, speciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children doo after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie so wretched and hard faoured 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 peeish, that nothing in maner may content them.

I might here adde somewhat also of the meane stature generallie of our women, whose beautie commonlie excéedeth the fairest of those of the maine, their comlinessse of person and good proportion of limmes, most of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the seas. This neuerthelessse I vtterlie mislike in the poorer sort of them, for the wealthier doo sildome offend herein: that being of themselues without gouernement, they are so carelesse in the education of their children (wherein their husbands are also 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 béene vsed toward them in youth) might haue prooued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good seruice and industrie. I could make report likewise of the naturall vices and vertues of all those that are borne within this Iland, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to set foorth the same, so will I giue place to other men that list to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the



constitutions of our bodies: and so much may suffice.

## CAP. XXI.

After the coming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you haue read in the foresaid treatise, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Christ, although Goropius after his maner doo vtterlie denie our historie in this behalfe) he made a generall surueie of the whole Iland from side to side, by such means to view and search out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but also what commodities this new atchiued conquest might yéeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the last also a conuenable place wherin to erect a citie, he began there euen the verie same which at this daie is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his ancestors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welshmen doo call it still Trenewith. This citie was builded (as some write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, so that he liued not aboue fiftéene yeares after he had finished the same. But of the rest of his other acts attempted and doone, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certeine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arriuell by the space of foure and twentie yeares, he finished his daies at Trenouanton aforesaid, being in his yoong and flourishing age, where his carcase was honourable interred. As for the maner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among such writers as are extant; I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of gréuous wounds receiued in his warres against such as withstood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can saie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languishing paines, he made a disposition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his sonnes then liuing, whereof the eldest excéded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my coniecture giueth me.

**Locrine.**

To the eldest therefore, whose name was Locrine, he gaue the greatest and best region of all the rest, which of him to this daie is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England: of such English Saxons as made conquest of the same. This portion also is included on the south with the British sea, on the est with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the west with the Irish sea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall description of this Iland I haue spoken more at large. To Camber his second sonne he assigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Déé, toward the west (which parcell in these daies containeth Southwales and Northwales) with sundrie Ilands adiacent to the same, the whole being in maner cut off and separated from England or Lhoegria by the said streams, wherby it séemeth also a peninsula or by-land, if you respect the small hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betwéene their maine courses, or such branches (at the least) as run and fall into them. The Welshmen or Britons call it by the ancient name still vnto this day, but we Englishmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time past did vse the word Walsh in such sort as we doo Strange: for as we call all those strangers that are not of our nation, so did they name them Walsh which were not of their countrie.

**Lhoegria.****Camber.  
Cambri.**

The third and last part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanact his youngest sonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue said before) whose portion séemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatnesse with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the seuerall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you shall find them to be not much discrepant or differing one from another: for whatsoever the first & second haue in plentie of corne, fine grasse, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in excéding store of fish, rich mettall, quarries of stone, and abundance of wild foule: so that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforesaid maner. This later parcell at the first, tooke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the said denomination, the rest being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in those quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres also by the Solue and the Firth, yet some doo note the Humber; so that Albania (as Brute left it) contained all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforesaid streame, vnto the point of Cathnesse.

**Albanact.****Albania.**

To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himselfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life; and being solemnelie interred at his new citie by his thrée children, they parted each from other, and tooke possession of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was slaine by Humber king of the Scithians, and left none issue behind him to succéed him in that kingdome.

**Locrine king  
also of  
Scotland.**

## CHAP. XXII.

The Scots  
alwaies  
desirous to  
shake off  
the English  
subiection,  
have often  
made cruell  
& odious  
attempts so  
to doo, but  
in vaine.

It is possible that some of the Scottish nation, reading the former chapter, will take offence with me for meaning that the principalitie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwaies belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whose more ample satisfaction in this behalfe, I will here set downe a discourse thereof at large, written by diuerse, and now finallie brought into one treatise, sufficient (as I thinke) to satisfie the reasonable, although not halfe enough peradventure to content a wrangling mind, sith there is (or at the leastwise hath beene) nothing more odious among some, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to doo in Scotland.

How their historiographers haue attempted to shape manie coloured excuses to auoid so manifest a title, all men may see that read their bookes indifferentlie, wherevnto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments together, wherein chéeflie I haue vsed the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawier, who wrote thereof (of set purpose) to king Edward the sixt, as Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, Iohn Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beside thrée other, whereof the first dedicated his treatise to Henrie the fourth, the second to Edward the third, and the third to Edward the first, as their writings yet extant doo abundantlie beare witness. The title also that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hand, beginneth in this maner: "These remembrances following are found in chronicles authorised, remaining in diuerse monasteries both in England and Scotland, by which it is euidentlie knowne and shewed, that the kings of England haue had, and now ought to haue the souereigntie ouer all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the kings there reigning from time to time, &c." Herevnto you haue heard already, what diuision Brute made of this Iland not long before his death, wherof ech of his children, so soone as he was interred, tooke seisure and possession. Howbeit, after two yeares it happened that Albanact was slaine, wherevpon Locrinus and Camber raising their powers, reuenged his death: and finallie the said Locrinus made an entrance vpon Albania, seized it into his owne hands (as excheated wholie vnto himselfe) without yéelding anie part thereof vnto his brother Camber, who made no claime nor title vnto anie portion of the same. Hereby then (saith Adams) it euidentlie appeareth, that the entire seigniorie ouer Albania consisted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren euer since hath continued, in preferring the eldest brother to the onelie benefit of the collaterall ascension from the yongest, as well in Scotland as in England vnto this daie.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to saie, the sonne of Mempris, sonne of Madan, sonne of the same Locrine builded in Albania the castell of Maidens, now called Edenborough (so called of Aidan sometime king of Scotland, but at the first named Cair Minid Agnes. 1. the castell on mount Agnes, and the castell of virgins) and the castell of Alcluth or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scottish Hector Boetius confesseth: whereby it most euidentlie appeareth, that our Ebranke was then thereof seized. This Ebranke reigned in the said state ouer them a long time; after whose death Albania (as annexed to the empire of Britaine) descended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill the time of the two sisters sonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the said Ebranke, who brotherlie at the first diuided the realme betwéen them; so that Morgan had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania. But shortlie after Morgan the elder brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature, and gaue place to ambition, and therevpon denouncing warre, death miserablie ended his life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obtained the whole empire of all Britaine: in which state he remained during his naturall life.

From him the same lineallie descended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne of Gorbodian, who had issue two sonnes, Ferrex, and Porrex. This Porrex, requiring like diuision of the land, affirming the former partitions to be rather of law than fauor, was by the hands of his elder brother (best loued of queene mother) both of his life and hoped kingdome béereaueed at once. Wherevpon their vnnaturall mother, vsing hir naturall malice for the death of hir one sonne (without regard of the loosing of both) miserablie slue the other in his bed mistrusting no such treason.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scottish as other, was the next inheritour to the whole empire: but lacking power (the onelie meane in those daies to obteine right) he was contented to diuide the same among foure of his kinsmen; so that Scater had Albania. But after the death of this Cloten, his sonne Dunwallo Mulmutius made warre vpon these foure kings, and at last ouercame them, and so recouered the whole dominion. In token of which victorie, he caused himselfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the verie first of that mettall (if anie at all were before in vse) that was worne among the kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people should assemble for praier; to which temples he gaue benefit of sanctuarie. He made the law

for wager of battell, in cases of murder and felonie, whereby a théefe that liued and made his art of fighting, should for his purgation fight with the true man whom he had robbed, beléeuing assuredlie, that the gods (for then they supposed manie) would by miracle assigne victorie to none but the innocent partie. Certes the priuileges of this law, and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in England, be inioied to this daie, few causes by late positiuie laws among vs excepted, wherin the benefit of wager of battell is restrained. By which obedience to his lawes, it dooth manifestlie appéere, that this Dunwallo was then seized of Albania, now called Scotland. This Dunwallo reigned in this estate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Brenne the sonnes also of Dunwallo, did after their fathers death fauorable diuide the land betweene them; so that Beline had Lhoegres, & Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a subiect) without the consent of his elder brother and lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the king of Denmarke; Beline seized Albania into his owne hands, and thervpon caused the notable waies priuileged by Dunwallons lawes to be newlie wrought by mens hands, which for the length extended from the further part of Cornwall, vnto the sea by north Cathnesse in Scotland. In like sort to and for the better maintenance of religion in those daies, he constituted ministers called archflamines, in sundrie places of this Iland (who in their seuerall functions resembled the bishops of our times) the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and the whole region Caerbrantonica (whereof Ptolomie also speaketh but not without wresting of the name) whose power extended to the vttermost bounds of Albania, wherby likewise appeareth that it was then within his owne dominion. After his death the whole Ile was inioied by the onelie kings of Britaine, vntill the time of Vigenius & Peridurus lineall heires from the said Beline, who fauorable made partition, so that Vigenius had all the land from Humber by south, and Peridurus from thence northwards all Albania, &c. This Vigenius died, and Peridurus suruiued, and thereby obtained the whole, from whom the same quietlie descended, and was by his posteritie accordinglie inioied, vntill the reigne of Coell the first of that name. In his time an obscure nation (by most writers supposed Scythians) passed by seas from Ireland, and arriued in that part of Britaine called Albania: against whome this Coell assembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell them, one Fergus in the night disguised, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traitorouslie slue him.

This Fergus was therefore, in reward of his great prowesse, made there king, whervpon they sat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotland, and themselues Scots: from the beginning of the world, foure thousand six hundred and seauentéene yeares after the Scottish accompt, which by iust computation and confession of all their owne writers, is six hundred yeares lacking ten, after that Brutus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the same land being inioied by him and his posteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie descents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large prescription. Certes this intrusion into a land so manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by so manie descents of kings quietlie inioied, is the best title that all their owne writers can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus herevpon immediatlie did diuide Albania also among his capteins and their souldiers: whereby it most euidentlie appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in prooffe whereof the same partition shall follow.

Out of  
Hector  
Boecius lib.  
1.

The lands of Cathnes lieng against Orkneie, betwéene Dumesbeie and the water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capteine and his people. The lands betwéene the water of Thane & Nes, now called Rosse, being in bredth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Loch, were giuen to Lutorke, another capteine and his people. The lands betweene Spaie and Nes, from the Almane seas to the Ireland seas, now called Murraie land, were giuen to one Warroch and his people. The land of Thalia, now called Boin Ainze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bowguhan, were giuen to one Thalís and his people. The lands of Mar Badezenoch, and Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martach and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles and mounteins thereof, lieng from Mar to the Ireland seas, were giuen to capteine Nanance and his people. The lands of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabraun, & Brawdawane lieng west from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones & Epidithes two capteins. The lands of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a capteine. The lands of Linnox & Clidisdale were allotted to Logona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike & Cuningham, were giuen to Silurth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now called Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie called Brigandes, which (as their best men) were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons from Annandale in Albania, whereby it is confessed to be before inhabited by Britons. The residue of the land now called Scotland, that is to saie: Meirnis, Angus, Steremond, Gowrie, Strahern, Pirth, Fiffe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwood, Loughthian, Mers, Teuedale, with other the Rement Dales, & the Sherifdome, of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nation mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whose capteine called Beringer builded the castell and towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, & these people were called Picts, vpon whome by the death of this Coell, these Scots had opportunitie to vse wars, whereof they ceased not, vntill such time as it pleased God

Berouicum potiùs  
à Berubio  
promontorio.

to appoint another Coell king of Britons, against whose name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the first, yet he preuailed and ceased not his warre, vntill these Scots were vtterlie expelled out of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troublesome reigne of Sisilt king of Britons, which was the twelfth king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill discord of this realme, betweene this Sisilt and his brother Bleda to their best aduantage, arriued againe in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Vpon this their new arriual, new warre was made vpon them by this Sisilt king of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new king died, and Thereus succéded, against whome the warre of Britons ceased not, vntill he freelie submitted himselfe to the said Sicill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where shortlie after the tenth yeare of his reigne he died. Finnane brother of Josine succeeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who shortlie after (compelled by the warres of the same Sicill) declared himselfe subiect, and for the better assurance of his faith and obeisance to the king of Britons, deliuered his sonne Durstus into the hands of this Sicill: who fantasieng the child, and hoping by his owne succession to alter their subtiltie (I will not saie duplicitie saith Adams) married him in the end to Agasia his owne daughter.

**Durstus.** This Durstus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed she was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the same cause, for which they ought rather to haue liked him the better, and therefore not onelie traitorouslie slue him; but further to declare the end of their malice, disinherited (as much as in them was) the issues of the same Durstus and Agasia. Herevpon new warre sproong betweene them and vs, which ceased not vntill they were contented to receiue Edeir to their king, the next in bloud then liuing, descended from Durstus and Agasia, and thereby the bloud of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was restored to the crowne of Albania: so that nature, whose law is immutable, caused this bond of loue to hold. For shortlie after this Edeir attended vpon Cassibelane king of Britons, for the repulse of Iulius Cæsar, as their owne author Boetius confesseth, who commanded the same as his subiect. But Iulius Cæsar, after his second arriual, by treason of Androgeus preuailed against the Britons, and therevpon pursued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himselfe saith in his commentaries) subdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots denie it, their dead writers confesse that he came beyond Calender wood, and cast downe Camelon, the principall citie of the Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of stone, which remained in some perfection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called the first after the conquest, by whome it was subuerted: but the monument thereof remaineth to this daie.

**Marius.** Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scithian, with a great rabble of néedie souldiours, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the sea, diuiding Pentland from Fiffe: against whome this Marius assembled a power, by which he slue this Rodericke, and discomfited his people in Westmerland: but to those that remained aliue, he gaue the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which proueth it to be within his owne dominion.

**Coelus.** Coell the sonne of this Marius had issue Lucius, counted the first Christian king of this nation: he conuerted the three archflamines of this land into bishopriks, and ordeined bishops vnto ech of them. The first remained at London, and his power extended from the furthest part of Cornwall to Humber water. The second dwelled at Yorke, and his power stretched from Humber to the furthest part of all Scotland. The third aboded at Caerleon vpon the riuier of Wiske in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Seuerne through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, and turned their names to archbishops, the one to remaine at Canturburie, the other at Yorke: yet they confesse that he of Yorke had iurisdiction through all Scotland: either of which is sufficient to prouue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in bloud a Briton (as some thinke) and the lineall heire of the bodie of Androgeus sonne of Lud, & nephue of Cassibelane, was shortlie after emperour & king of Britons, in whose time the people to whom his ancestor Marius gaue the land of Cathnesse in Scotland, conspired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Iles into Scotland. But herevpon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and méeting with their faith and false harts together, droue them all out of the maine land into Iles, the vttermost bounds of all great Britaine. But notwithstanding this glorious victorie, the Britons considering their seruitude to the Romans, imposed by treason of Androgeus, ancestor to this Seuerus, began to hate him, whome yet they had no time to loue, and who in their defense and suertie had slaine of the Scots and their confederats in one battell thirtie thousand: but such was the consideration of the common sort in those daies, whose malice no time could diminish, nor iust desert appease.

**Seuerus.**

**Bassianus.** Antoninus Bassianus borne of a Briton woman, and Geta borne by a Romane woman, were the sonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended for the crowne. Few Britons held with Bassianus, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end

Geta was slaine, and Bassianus remained emperour, against whom Carautius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scithians, the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his seison thereof appeareth.

**Coill.** Coill, descended of the bloud of the ancient kings of this land, was shortlie after king of the Britons, whose onelie daughter and heire called Helen, was married vnto Constantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Britaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his state ouer them thirtéene or fourtéene yeares.

**Constantine.** Constantine the sonne of this Constance, and Helen, was next king of Britons, by the right of his mother, who passing to Rome to receiue the empire thereof, deputed one Octavius king of Wales, and duke of the Gewisses (which some expound to be afterward called west Saxons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abusing the kings innocent goodnesse, this Octavius defrauded this trust, and tooke vpon him the crowne. For which traitorie albeit he was once vanquished by Leonine Traheron, great vnclé to Constantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he preuailed againe, and vsurped ouer all Britaine. Constantine being now emperour sent Maximius his kinsman hither (in processe of time) to destroie the same Octavius, who in singular battell discomfited him. Wherevpon this Maximius, as well by the consent of great Constantine, as by the election of all the Britons, for that he was a Briton in bloud, was made king or rather vicegerent of Britaine. This Maximius made warre vpon the Scots and Scithians within Britaine, and ceased not vntill he had slaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and driuen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Britaine. Finallie he inhabited all Scotland with Britons, no man, woman, nor child of the Scottish nation suffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius saith) was for their rebellion; and rebellion properlie could it not be, except they had béene subiects. He suffered the Picts also to remaine his subiects, who made solemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Britaine. I had once an epistle by Leland exemplified (as he saith) out of a verie ancient record which beareth title of Helena vnto hir sonne Constantine, and entreth after this manner; "Domino semper Augusto filio Constantino, mater Helena semper Augusta, &c." And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conueigh it into this treatise whilst I had his books. For thereby I might haue had great light for the estate of this present discourse: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuerthelesse, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wish it were reserued. It followeth on also in this maner (as it is translated out of the Gréeke) "Veritatem sapientis animus non recusat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quamcunque iacturam, &c."

About fiue and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximius) with the helpe of Gouan or Gonan and Melga, the Scots newlie arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the second of that name to be there king. But bicause they were before banished the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduention in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yéere of our Lord four hundred and two and twentie, as they themselues doo write.

**Maximian.** Maximian sonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to king Coill, and vnclé to Helene, was by lineall succession next king of Britons: but to appease the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who also claimed the kingdome, he married Othilia eldest daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards assembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, inuading Gallowaie, Mers, Annandale, Pentland, Carriker, Kill, and Cuninghame, and in battell slue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durstus the king of Picts, and exiled all their people out of the continent land: wherevpon the few number of Scots then remaining a liue, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obtained quietnesse in Britaine, he departed with his cousine Conan Meridocke into Armorica, where they subdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gaue to Conan his cousine, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britaine the lesse: and hereof this realme tooke name of Britaine the great, which name by consent of forren writers it keepeth vnto this daie.

After the death of Maximian, dissention being moued betweene the nobles of Britaine, the Scots swarmed together againe, and came to the wall of Adrian, where (this realme being diuided in manie factions) they ouercame one. And herevpon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that for laing of one eg, will make a great cakeling) solemnlie triumphing for a conquest before the victorie, alledgeth that hereby the Britons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confesseth that they won no more land, by that supposed conquest, but the same portion betwéene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beléued, that such a broken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from banishment within foure yeares before, and since in battell loosing both their kings, and the great number of their best men, to be thus able to make a conquest of great Britaine; and verie vnlikelie if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot sunne of the south parts, to dwell in the cold snow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in cases of conquest behoueth. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Britaine, or any other countrie, should be woon without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not,

but taried finallie at the same wall of Adrian, whereof I spake before.

But what need I speake of these defenses, when the same Boecius scantlie trusteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he saieth that Galfride, and sundrie other authentike writers, diuerslie varie from this part of his storie, wherein his owne thought accuseth his conscience of vntruth: herein also he further forgetting how it behooueth a lier to be mindfull of his assertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie bewraieith himselfe, saieng that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betwéene the Britons (which then followed) hoped shortlie to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the fresh sea, which hope had bene vaine, and not lesse than void, if it had béene their owne by anie conquest before.

Constantine of Britaine, descended from Conan king thereof, cousine of Brutes bloud to this Maximian, and his neerest heire was next king of Britaine; he immediatlie pursued the Scots with wars, and shortlie in battell slue their king Dongard, in the first yeare of his reigne, whereby he recouered Scotland out of their hands, and tooke all the holdes thereof into his owne possessions. Vortiger shortlie after obtained the crowne of Britaine, against whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repressing whereof (mistrusting the Britons to hate him for sundrie causes, as one that to auoid the smoke dooth oft fall into the fire) receiued Hengest a Saxon, and a great number of his councitriemen, with whom and a few Britons he entred Scotland & ouercame them, wherevpon they tooke the Iles, which are their common refuge. He gaue also much of Scotland, as Gallowaie, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with sundrie other lands to this Hengest and his people to inhabit, which they did accordinglie inioie. But when this Hengest in processe of time thirsted after the whole kingdome of the south, he was banished, and yet afterward being restored, he conspired with the Scots against Aurilambrose the sonne of Constantine, the iust inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompensed together, for he was taken prisoner by Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie striken off at the commandement of Aurilambrose. In the field the Scots were vanquished: but Octa the sonne of Hengest was receiued to mercie, to whome and his people this Aurilambrose gaue the countrie of Gallowaie in Scotland, for which they became his subiects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

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the Seimors  
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lineall  
descent and  
I suppose no  
lesse.

Vter called also Pendragon, brother to Aurilambrose was next king of the Britons, against whome, these sworne Saxons now foresworne subiects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power assembled against them in Gallowaie in Scotland, they were discomfited, & Albania againe recouered vnto his subiection. Arthur the sonne of this Vter, begotten before the mariage, but lawfullie borne in matrimonie, succéded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whose noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather stained than commended: yet all the Scottish writers confesse, that he subdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then scattered as far as Cathnesse in Scotland: and in all these wars against them, he had the seruice and obeisance of Scots and Picts. But at the last setting their féet in the guilefull paths of their predecessors, they rebelled and besieged the citie of Yorke, Howell king of the lesse Britaine cousine to king Arthur being therein. But he with an host came thither and discomfited the Scots, chased them into a marsh, and besieged them there so long, that they were almost famished: vntill the bishops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were christened people) besought him to take them to his mercie and grace, and to grant them a portion of the same countrie to dwell in vnder euerlasting subiection. Vpon this he tooke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were sworne his subiects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinsman Anguisan to be their king and gouernour, Vrian king of Iland, and Murefrence king of Orkeneie. He made an archbishop of Yorke also, whose authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finallie, the said Arthur holding his roiall feast at Cairleon, had there all the kings that were subiects vnto him, among which, Angusian the said king of Scots did his due seruice and homage, so long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs sword afore him. Malgo shortlie after succéded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new resistance made, subdued Ireland, Iland, the Orchads, Norwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the sword obtained at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true subject to this Malgo.

Cadwan succéded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defense of his subiects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the last they agréed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he therevpon subdued and inioied: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that next succeeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Whervpon the same Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treason reseised the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the vicerois of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his subiects, in singular battell he slue the same Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Oswald was shortlie after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as subject

to Cadwallo, and by his commandement discomfited the Scots and Picts, and subdued all Scotland. Oswie the brother of this Oswald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie subdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obeisance to this Cadwallow, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the seuen kings thereof, as well Saxons as others his subiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatlie increased, yet were they alwaies either at the first expelled, or else made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne writers doo confesse.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his subiects, which died of sundrie diseases innumerablie, he departed into little Britaine. His sonne and cousine Iuor and Iue, being expelled out of England also by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their posteritie remained princes. Vpon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betwéene the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to slip the collar of obedience, and therevpon entred in league with Charles then king of France, establishing it in this wise.

1 "The iniurie of Englishmen doone to anie of these people, shall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.

2 "When Frenchmen be inuaded by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their armie in defense of France, so that they be supported with monie and vittels by the French.

3 "When Scots be inuaded by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come vpon their owne expenses, to their support and succour.

4 "None of the people shall take peace or truce with Englishmen, without the aduise of other, &c."

Manie disputable opinions may be had of warre without the praising of it, as onelie admittable by inforced necessitie, and to be vsed for peace sake onelie, where here the Scots sought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league giueth no benefit to themselues, either in free traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other priuilege to the people of both. What discommoditie riseth by loosing the intercourse and exchange of our commodities (being in necessaries more abundant than France) the Scots feele, and we perfectlie know. What ruine of their townes, destruction of countries, slaughter of both peoples, haue by reason of this bloudie league chanced, the histories be lamentable to read, and horrible among Christian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increase according to their séed, for as they did hereby sowe dissention, so did they shortlie after reape a bloudie slaughter and confusion. For Alpine their king, possessing a light mind that would be lost with a little wind, hoped by this league shortlie to subdue all great Britaine, and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but also vsurped vpon the kingdome of Picts. Whervpon Edwine king of England, made one Brudeus king of Picts, whom he sent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he tooke this Alpine king of Scots prisoner, and discomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found subiect and rebell, his head was stricken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Pasalpine, that is to saie, the head of Alpine. And this was the first effect of their French league.

*Nicholas Adams.*

Osbright king of England, with Ella his subiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons shortlie after, for that the Scots had of themselues elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceassed not his war against them, vntill their king and people fled into the Iles, with whome at the last vpon their submission, peace was made in this wise.

The water of Frith shall be march betwéene Scots and Englishmen in the east parts, and shall be named the Scottish sea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbriton, shall be march in the west parts betwéene the Scots and Britons. This castell was before called Alcluide, but now Dunbriton, that is to say, the castle of Britons, and sometimes it was destroyed by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland seas, and from the water of Frith & Cluide to Cumber, with all the strengths and commodities thereof: and the Englishmen had the lands betwéene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betwéene the Scots and the Britons on the one side, and the water of Frith named the Scottish sea, march betwéene them and Englishmen on the other side, and Sterling common march to thrée people, Britons, Englishmen, and Scots, howbeit king Osbright had the castle of Stirling, where first he caused to be coined Sterling monie. The Englishmen also builded a bridge of stone, for passage ouer the water of Frith, in the midst whereof they made a crosse, vnder which were written these verses:

I am free march, as passengers may ken,  
To Scots, to Britons, and Englishmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and slue Constantine, whom Osbright had before made



king: wherevpon Edulfe or Ethelwulfe, then king of England, assembled his power against Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell slue them both; but such of their people as would remaine and become christians, he suffered to tarie: the rest he banished or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulfe granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and lesse right: yet the paiment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer since vnto this daie haue, and yet doo paie it, by reason of that grant, which proueth them to be then vnder his obeisance.

Alured or Alfred succéded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noblie ouer the whole monarchie of great Britaine: he made lawes, that persons excommunicated should be disabled to sue or claime anie propertie; which law Gregour, whome this Alured had made king of Scots, obeied; and the same law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which also proueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured constreined Gregour king of Scots also to breake the league with France, for generallie he concluded with him, and serued him in all his warres, as well against Danes as others, not reseruing or making anie exception of the former league with France.

The said Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like seruice and obeisance of Donald king of Scots with fiue thousand horssemen, against one Gurmond a Dane that then infested the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obeisance with Alured.

Edward the first of that name called Chifod sonne of this Alured succéded his father, and was the next king of England: against whome Sithrijc a Dane and the Scots conspired; but they were subdued, and Constantine their king brought to obeisance. He held the realme of Scotland also of king Edward, and this dooth Marian their owne councillman a Scot confesse: beside Roger Houeden, and William of Malmesberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 923, the same king Edward was president and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

King Athelstane in like sort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beside Yorke, whilst the warres lasted, the king of Scots feined himselfe to be a minstrell, and harped before him onelie to espie his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confesse) corrupted with monie, he sold his faith and false heart together to the Danes, and aided them against king Athelstane at sundrie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Broningfield in the west countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the first booke of this description, where he discomfited the Danes, and slue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confesse themselues to haue lost more people than were remembred in anie age before. Then Athelstane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie subdued it, and being in possession thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie wherof dooth follow:

"I king Athelstane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto wnesse Mauld my wife."

By which course words, not onelie appeareth the plaine simplicitie of mens doings in those daies: but also a full prooffe that he was then seized of Scotland. At the last also he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but for that he could not be restored to his whole kingdome, he entered into religion, and there shortlie after died.

Then Athelstane, for his better assurance of that countrie there after, thought it best to haue two stringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie constituted one Malcolme to be their king, but also appointed one Indulph sonne of Constantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolme did homage to Athelstane.

Edmund brother of Athelstane succéded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but also serued him with ten thousand Scots, for the expulsion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Edred or Eldred brother to this Edmund succéded next king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Irise then king of Scots, but also the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the sonne of Edmund, brother of Athelstane, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the same Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before seized into the hands of Osbright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He iniointed Keneth their said king also once in euerie yéere at certeine principall feasts (wherent the king did vse to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in those daies was doone by the noble men or péeres according to the order of France at this daie. He allowed

Some  
referre this  
to an  
Edward.

also sundrie lodgings in England, to him and his successours, whereat to lie, and refresh themselves in their iourneies, whensoever they should come vp to doo their homages: and finallie a péece of ground lieng beside the new palace of Westminster, vpon which this Keneth builded a house, that by him and his posteritie was inioid vntill the reigne of king Henrie the second. In whose time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was resumed into the king of Englands hand. The house is decayed, but the ground where it stood is called Scotland to this daie.

**Lawfull age  
and  
wardship of  
heires.**

Moreouer, Edgar made this law, that no man should succéed to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights seruice, vntill he accomplished the age of one and twentie yéeres: because by intendment vnder that age, he should not be able in person to serue his king and countrie according to the tenor of his deed, and the condition of his purchase. This law was receiued by the same Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obserued to this daie: which proueth also that Scotland was then vnder his obeisance.

In the yeere of our Lord 974, Kinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Iles, Duuenall king of Southwales, Siferth and Howell kings of the rest of Wales, Jacob or James of Gallowaie, & Jukill of Westmerland did homage to king Edgar at Chester. And on the morrow going by water to the monasterie of saint Iohns to seruice, and returning home againe: the said Edgar sitting in a barge, and stirring the same vpon the water of Dée, made the said kings to row the barge, saieng that his successors might well be ioifull to haue the prerogatiue of so great honour, and the superioritie of so manie mightie princes to be subiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the sonne of this Edgar, was next king of England, in whose time this Keneth king of Scots caused Malcolme king of Scotland to be poisoned. Wherevpon king Edward made warre against him, which ceased not vntill this Keneth submitted himselfe, and offered to receiue him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Herevpon king Edward proclaimed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the same king Edward.

Etheldred, brother of this Edward succeeded next ouer England, against whome Swaine king of Denmarke conspired with this last Malcolme then king of Scots. But shortly after, this Malcolme sorrowfullie submitted himselfe into the defense of Etheldred: who considering how that which could not be amended, must onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whose seruice at last Etheldred recouered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yéeres.

Edmund surnamed Ironside, sonne of this Etheldred, was next king of England, in whose time Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much crueltie. But at the last he married with Emme sometime wife vnto Etheldred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratix betweene hir naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured such amitie betwéene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himselfe all England on this side Humber, gaue all the rest beyond Humber, with the seigniorie of Scotland to this Canutus. Wherevpon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accustomed resistance) did homage to the same Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the said Canutus held the same ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like seruices, so long as they liued together. This Canutus in memorie of this victorie, and glorie of his seigniorie ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Norwaie and Denmarke, which church was by the same Malcolme accordinglie performed.

Edward called the Confessor, sonne of Etheldred, and brother to Edmund Ironside, was afterward king of England: he tooke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme sonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

This Edward perused the old lawes of the realme, and somewhat added to some of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardship of the lands vntill the heire should accomplish the age of one and twentie yeeres. He added, that the marriage of such heire should also belong to the lord of whom the same land was holden. Also, that euerie woman marrieng a freeman, should (notwithstanding she had no children by that husband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during hir life: with manie other lawes which the same Malcolme king of Scots obeied, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obserued to this day, and directlie proueth the whole to be then vnder his obeisance.

**To whome  
the  
marriage of  
the ward  
pertaineth.**

By reason of this law, Malcolme the sonne of Duncane next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the custodie also of king Edward. During whose minoritie, one Makebeth a Scot traitorouslie vsurped the crowne of Scotland. Against whome the said Edward made warre, in which the said Mackbeth was ouercome and slaine. Wherevpon the said Malcolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeere of the reigne of

king Edward aforesaid. This Malcolme also by tenor of the said new law of wardship, was married vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward sonne of Edmund Ironside and Agatha, by the disposition of the same king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confessour for the kingdome of Scotland.

**Edward the Confessour.**

Moreouer, Edward of England, hauing no issue of his bodie, and mistrusting that Harald the son of Goodwine, descended of the daughter of Harald Harefoot the Dane, would vsurpe the crowne, if he should leaue it to his cousine Edgar Eatling (being then within age) and partlie by the petition of his subiects, who before had sworne neuer to receiue anie kings ouer them of the Danish nation, did by his substantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demise the crowne of great Britaine vnto William Bastard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, constituting him his heire testamentarie. Also there was proximitie in bloud betwéene them: for Emme daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife vnto Etheldred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was son of Robert sonne of Richard, brother of the whole bloud to the same Emme. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conquest, albeit that partlie to extinguish the mistrust of other titles, and partlie for the glorie of his victorie, he chalenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath béene so written euer since the time of his arriuall.

**William Bastard.**

Furthermore, this William, called the Bastard and the Conquerour, supposed not his conquest perfect till he had likewise subdued the Scots. Wherefore to bring the Scots to iust obeisance after his coronation, as heire testamentarie to Edward the Confessour; he entred Scotland, where after a little resistance made by the inhabitants, the said Malcolme then their king did homage to him at Abirnethie in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his superiour also by meane of his late conquest.

**William Rufus.**

William surnamed Rufus, sonne to this William called the Conquerour, succéded next in the throne of England, to whome the said Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus slaine in plaine field. Wherevpon the Scottishmen did choose one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus deposed him, and created Dunkane sonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finallie, this Dunkane was slaine by the Scots, and Dunwall restored, who once againe by this William Rufus was deposed; and Edgar son of Malcolme, and brother to the last Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

**Henrie I.**

Henrie called Beauclerke the sonne of William called the Conquerour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, succéded to the crowne of England, to whome the same Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beauclerke married Mawd the daughter of Malcolme K. of Scots, and by hir had issue Mawd afterward empresse.

Alexander the sonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawd was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the first, as Edgar had doone before him.

**Mawd.**

Mawd called the empresse, daughter and heire to Henrie Beauclerke and Mawd his wife, receiued homage of Daud, brother to hir and to this Alexander next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This Mawd the empresse gaue vnto Daud in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Voldosius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And herein their euasion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon. For this Daud was the first that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was since all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this mariage, & long after the said Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforesaid to Henrie Beauclerke son to the aforesaid ladie, of whome I find this epitaph worthie to be remembred:

Ortu magna, viro maior, sed maxima partu,  
Hïc iacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.

In the yéere of our Lord 1136, and first yéere of the reigne of king Stephan, the said Daud king of Scots being required to doo his homage, refused it: for so much as he had doone homage to Mawd the empresse before time; notwithstanding the sonne of the said Daud did homage to king Stephan.

**Henrie 2.**

Henrie called Fitz empresse, the sonne of Mawd the empresse daughter of Mawd, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He receiued homage for Scotland of Malcolme sonne of Henrie, sonne of the said Daud their last king. Which Malcolme after this homage attended vpon the same king Henrie in his warres against Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was neuer renewed after the last diuision of their countrie by Osbright king of England. But after these warres finished with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: wherevpon king Henrie immediatlie seized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiscation, and made warres vpon him in Scotland: during which the same Malcolme died without issue of his bodie.

Because  
they were  
taken from  
him before.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for anie earledome) did homage to the sonne of Henrie the second, his father. Also the earledome of Huntingdon was (as ye haue heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after restored to the crowne of Scotland.

This William did afterward attend vpon the same Henrie the second, in his warres in Normandie against the French king (notwithstanding their French league) and then being licenced to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and vpon the fifteenth of Februarie he returned, and vpon the sixteenth of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token also of his perpetuall subjection to the crowne of England, he offered vp his cloake, his saddle, and his speare at the high altar in Yorke: wherevpon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediatlie he mooued cruell warre in Northumberland against the same king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God tooke the defense of king Henries part, and deliuered the same William king of Scots into the hands of a few Englishmen, who brought him prisoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentieth yeere of his reigne. But at the last, at the sute of Dauid his brother, Richard bishop of saint Andrews, and other bishops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendement of his trespasse; to wit, to paie ten thousand pounds sterling, and to surrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie, which he did in all things accordinglie, sealing his charters thereof with the great scale of Scotland, and signets of his nobilitie yet to be seene: wherein it was also comprised, that he and his successours should hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his successours for euer. And herevpon he once againe did homage to the same king Henrie, which now could not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was already by him surrendered. And for the better assurance of this faith also, the strengths of Berwike, Edenborough, Roxborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confesse. But Hector Boetius saith, that this trespasse was amended by fine of twentie thousand pounds sterling, and that the erledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as morgage into the hands of king Henrie, vntill other ten thousand pounds sterling should be to him paid, which is so farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet proueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwise redéemed, or euer after came to anie Scottish kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdon was neuer occasion of the homages of the Scottish kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was doone 1175. Moreouer I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montensis that liued in those daies, and was (as I take it) "confessor to king Henrie. The king of Scots dooth homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is sent home againe, his bishops also did promise to doo the like to the archbishop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themselues to be of his prouince and iurisdiction. By vertue also of this composition the said Robert saith, that Rex Angliæ dabat honores, episcopatus, abbatias, & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel saltem eius consilio dabantur, that is, The king of England gaue honors, bishopriks, abbatships, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leastwise they were not giuen without his aduise and counsell."

At this time Alexander bishop of Rome (supposed to haue generall iurisdiction ecclesiasticall through christendome) established the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iurisdiction of the archbishop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of August, at Cairleill, Rouland Talmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, Gilbert sonne of Ferguse prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie, and left Dunecan his sonne in hostage for conseruation of his peace.

Richard surnamed Cœur de Lion, because of his stoutnesse, and sonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whome the same William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken prisoner by the duke of Ostrich, for whose redemption the whole realme was taxed at great summes of monie vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a subject) was contributorie, and paid two thousand markes sterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, Iohn king of England sent to William king of Scots, to come and doo his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the same yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the presence of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and of all the people there assembled, and therevnto tooke his oth and was sworne vpon the crosse of the said Hubert: also he granted by his charter confirmed, that he should haue the mariage of Alexander his sonne, as his liegeman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promising moreouer that he the said king William and his sonne Alexander, should keepe and hold faith and

allegiance to Henrie sonne of the said king Iohn, as to their chiefe lord against all maner of men that might liue and die.

Also whereas William king of Scots had put Iohn bishop of saint Andrew out of his bishoprike, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he should mooue and induce the same William; and if néed required by his roiall power and prerogatiue ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancor against the said bishop, and suffer him to haue and occupie his said bishoprike againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and fiue & twentith of the reigne of Henrie, sonne to king Iohn, the same Henrie and the quéene were at Yorke at the feast of Christmasse, for the solemnization of a marriage made in the feast of saint Stephan the martyr the same yeare, betwéene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the said Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerse popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the fift and Clement his successor, that they should obserue and trulie kéepe all such appointments, as had béene made betwéene the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland should still hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of curse and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his sonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whose minoritie king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to subdue a commotion in this realme, vsed the aid of fiue thousand Scottishmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reason and law was respited vntill his full age of one and twentie yeares.

Edward the first after the conquest, sonne of this Henrie was next king of England; immediatlie after whose coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Westminster, swearing (as all the rest did) after this maner.

"I. D. N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men, faithfullie I shall knowlege and shall doo you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid, as God me so helpe and these holie euangelies."

This Alexander king of Scots died, leauing one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had married Hanigo, sonne to Magnua king of Norwaie, which daughter also shortlie after died, leauing one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whose custodie and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confessor, belonged to Edward the first: whervpon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to send into Norwaie, to conueie this yoong queene into England to him, whome he intended to haue married to his sonne Edward: and so to haue made a perfect vnion long wished for betwéene both realmes. Herevpon their nobles at that time considering the same tranquillitie that manie of them haue since refused, stood not vpon shifts and delaies of minoritie nor contempt, but most gladlie consented, and therevpon sent two noble men of Scotland into Norwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward, but she died before their comming thither, and therefore they required nothing but to inioie the lawfull liberties that they had quietlie possessed in the last king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were destitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alexander their last king, at which time this Edward descended from the bodie of Mawd daughter of Malcolme sometime king of Scots, being then in the greatest broile of his warres with France, minded not to take the possession of that kingdome in his owne right, but was contented to establish Balioll to be king thereof, the weake title betwéene him, Bruse, & Hastings, being by the humble petition of all the realme of Scotland cōmitted to the determination of king Edward, wherein by autentike writing they confessed the superioritie of the realme to remaine in king Edward, sealed with the seales of foure bishops, seuen earles, and twelue barons of Scotland, and which shortlie after was by the whole assent of the three estates of Scotland, in their solemne parlement confessed and enacted accordinglie, as most euidentlie dooth appeare.

The Balioll in this wise made king of Scotland, did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at Newcastle vpon saint Stéeuens daie (as did likewise all the lords of Scotland, each one setting his hand to the composition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but shortlie after defrauding the benigne goodnesse of his superiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in England. Herevpon king Edward invaded Scotland, seized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and tooke all the strengths thereof. Whervpon Balioll king of Scots came vnto him to Mauntrosse in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there resigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and interest to the same, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and

sealed the fourth yeare of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland also repaired to Berwike, and did homage and fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his subiects. For the better assurance of whose oths also, king Edward kept all the strengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and herevpon all their lawes, processes, all iudgements, gifts of assises and others, passed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the same rehearsall, writeth thereof in this maner.

"In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the same Iohn king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance rebelled against king Edward, and came into England, and burnt and slue without all modestie and mercie. Wherevpon king Edward with a great host went to Newcastle vpon Tine, passed the water of Twéed, besieged Berwike, and got it. Also he wan the castell of Dunbar, and there were slaine at this brunt 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gat the castell of Rokesborow, and the castell of Edenborow, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people harried all the land. In the meane season, the said king Iohn of Scots, considering that he was not of power to withstand king Edward, sent his letters and besought him of treatie and peace, which our prince benignlie granted, and sent to him againe that he should come to the towre of Brechin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him. The king of England sent thither Antonie Becke bishop of Durham, with his roiall power, to conclude the said treatise. And there it was agreed that the said Iohn and all the Scots should vtterlie submit themselues to the kings will. And to the end the submission should be performed accordinglie, the king of Scots laid his sonne in hostage and pledge vnto him. There also he made his letters sealed with the common seale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his simplenes and great offense doone to his lord king Edward of England, by his full power and frée will yeelded vp all the land of Scotland, with all the people and homage of the same. Then our king went fourth to sée the mounteins, and vnderstanding that all was in quiet and peace, he turned to the abbeie of Scone, which was of chanons regular, where he tooke the stone called the Regall of Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were woont to sit, at the time of their coronations for a throne, & sent it to the abbeie of Westminster, commanding to make a chaire therof for the priests that should sing masse at the high altar: which chaire was made, and standeth yet there at this daie to be séene."

The Scots dreame that this was the stone whereon Jacob slept when he fled into Mesopotamia.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his parlement at Berwike: and there he tooke homage singularlie of diuerse of the lords & nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memorie of the same, they made their letters patents sealed with their seales, and then the king of England made William Warreine earle of Surrie and Southsax lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesbie iustice of Scotland, and fourthwith sent king Iohn to the Tower of London, and Iohn Comin, and the earle Badenauth, the earle of Bohan and other lords into England to diuerse places on this side of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at the feast of Christmas, the king called before him the said Iohn king of Scots, although he had committed him to ward: and said that he would burne or destroie their castels, townes, and lands, if he were not recompensed for his costs and damages susteined in the warres; but king Iohn and the other that were in ward, answered that they had nothing, sith their liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The king vpon that answer mooued with pitie, granted them their liues; so that they would doo their homage, and make their oth solenmelie at the high altar (in the church of the abbeie of Westminster) vpon the eucharist, that they and euerie of them should hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England for euer. And where the said king of Scots saw the kings banner of England displaid, he and all his power should draw therevnto. And that neither he or anie of his from thencefoorth should beare armes against the king of England or anie of his bloud. Finallie, the king rewarding with great gifts the said king Iohn and his lords, suffered them to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie imagining (notwithstanding this their submission) how they might oppresse king Edward, and disturbe his realme. The Scots sent also to the king of France for succour and helpe, who sent them ships to Berwike furnished with men of armes, the king of England then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went into Scotland with a great host, and the Scots also assembled in great number, but the king fought with them at Fawkirke on S. Marie Magdalens daie, where were slaine thréescore thousand Scots, & William Walleis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, & quartered at London, for his trespasses.

This was doone upon the nine & twentieth of Ianuarie, 1306.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chose Robert Bruse to be king, except onelie Iohn Commin earle of Carrike, who would not consent thereto bicause of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruse slue him at Dumfrise, and then was crowned at Schone abbeie. Herevpon the king of England assembled a great hoast, and rode through all Scotland, discomfited Robert Bruse, slue eight thousand Scots, & tooke the most part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to deth bicause they were forsworne.

Edward borne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceable, dooing in all things as is aboue said of king Edward his father, vntill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruse conspired against him, and with the helpe of a few forsworne Scots, forswore himselfe king of Scots. Herevpon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and manie other lords made warre vpon him, about the feast of Marie Magdalene, the said Bruse and his partakers being alreadye accursed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt them. But being infortunate in his first warres against him, he suffered Edward the sonne of Balioll to proclame himselfe king of Scots; and neuertheless held fourth his warres against Bruse, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windsore sonne of Edward the second was next king of England, at the age of fifteene yeares, in whose minoritie the Scots practised with Isabell mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages released: whose good will therein they obtained, so that for the same release they should paie to this king Edward thirtie thousand pounds starling, in three yeares next following, that is to saie, ten thousand pounds starling yeerelie. But bicause the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement consent vnto it, their king being within age, the same release procéded not, albeit the Scots ceased not their practises with this quéene and earle. But before those thrée yeares, in which their monie (if the bargaine had taken place) should haue béene paied, were expired, our king Edward inuaded Scotland, and ceased not the warre, vntill Daudid the sonne of Robert le Bruse (then by their election king of Scotland) absolutelie submitted himselfe vnto him. But for that the said Daudid Bruse had before by practise of the quéene and the earle of March, married Iane the sister of this king Edward: he moued by naturall zeale to his sister, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this Daudid Bruse, and to the heires that should be begotten of the bodie of the said Iane (sauing the reuersion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the same Daudid Bruse was right well contented, and therevpon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Howbeit, shortlie after causelesse conceiuing cause of displeasure, this Daudid procured to dissolue this same estate tailée, and therevpon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but also inuaded England, whilest king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this Daudid was not onelie expelled England in the end, but also thinking no place a sufficient defense to his vntruth, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Annandale, Gallowaie, Mars, Teuidale, Twedale, and Ethrike were seized into the king of Englands hands, and new marches set betwéene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Sowtrie hedge. Which when this Daudid went about to recouer againe, his power was discomfited, and himselfe by a few Englishmen taken & brought into England, where he remained prisoner eleuen yeares after his said apprehension.

During this time, king Edward enioied Scotland peaceable, and then at the contemplation and wearie suit of his sorrowfull sister, wife of this Daudid, he was contented once againe to restore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Daudid should paie to king Edward, the summe of one hundred thousand markes starling, and thereto destroie all his holdes and fortresses standing against the English borders, and further assure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordinglie. And for the better assurance of his obeisance also, he afterward deliuered into the hands of king Edward sundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the historie of Daudid, touching his delings. Now let vs sée what was doone by Edward Balioll, wherof our chronicles doo report, that in the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Westminster, and in the fift yeare of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen also, which had title to diuerse lands there, either by themselues, or by their wiues, did the like. Wherevpon the said Balioll and they went into Scotland by sea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000 Englishmen, discomfited 10000 Scots, and slue 1200, and then went fourth to Dunfermeline, where the Scots assembled against them with 40000 men, and in the feast of saint Laurence, at a place called Gastmore (or otherwise Gladmore) were slaine fiue earls, thirtéene barons, a hundred and thrée score knights, two thousand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thousand: and there were slaine on the English part but thirtéene persons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he assembled a great hoast, and came to Berwike vpon Twéed, and laid siege therto. To him also came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to strengthen & aid him against the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & araid.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparrelled their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Halidon hill, beside Berwike, met these two hoasts, and there were discomfited of the Scots fiue and twentie thousand and seauen hundred, whereof were slaine eight earles, a thousand and thrée hundred knights

and gentlemen. This victorie doone, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the castell were yéelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcastle vpon Tine, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, Daud Bruse by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great hoast vnto Neuils crosse: but the archbishop of Yorke, with diuerse temporall men, fought with him; and the said king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Duglas with Morrise earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords slaine, which with Daud did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtith yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots woone the towne of Berwicke, but not the castell. Herevpon the king came thither with a great hoast, and anon the towne was yéelded vp without anie resistance.

Edward Balioll, considering that God did so manie maruellous and gracious things for king Edward, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rokesborough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in presence of all his lords spirituall and temporall, let crowne himselfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and so came ouer into England.

Richard the sonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, sonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the said Iane, the wife of the said king Daud of Scotland was deceased without issue, and being informed how the Scots deuised to their vttermost power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made forthwith war against them, wherein he burnt Edenbrough, spoiled all their cuntry, tooke all their holds, & held continuallie war against them vntill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued these warres begun against them by king Richard, and ceased not vntill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) resigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and deliuered his sonne Iames, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his custodie, wardship and disposition, as of his superiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confessor. All this was doone Anno Dom. 1404, which was within fiue yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this estate ouer them fouretéene yeares.

Henrie the fift of that name, sonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres against the French king, in all which this Iames then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his superiour lord, with a conuenient number of Scots, notwithstanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this Iames their king (hauing not fullie accomplished the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reason and law respited. Finallie the said Iames with diuerse other lords attended vpon the corps of the said Henrie vnto Westminster, as to his dutie apperteined.

Henrie the sixt, the sonne of this Henrie the fift, was next king of England, to whome the seignorie of Scotland & custodie of this Iames by right, law, and reason descended, married the same Iames king of Scots to Iane daughter of Iohn earle of Summerset, at saint Marie ouer Ise in Southwarke, and tooke for the value of this marriage, the summe of one hundred thousand markes starling.

This Iames king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the same king Henrie the sixt, for the kingdome of Scotland at Windsore, in the moneth of Ianuarie.

Since which time, vntill the daies of king Henrie the seuenth, grandfather to our souereigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath béene molested with diuersitie of titles, in which vnmeet time neither law nor reason admit prescription to the prejudice of anie right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war against the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, sufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the same superioritie ouer them.

After whose death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our souereigne lord king Henrie the eight, excéded not the number of seauen and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of Iames their last king which so continued the space of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reason an impediment to himselfe to make homage; so was the same by like reason an impediment to the king of this realme to demand anie, so that the whole time of intermission of our claime in the time of the said king Henrie the eight, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeares. And thus much for this matter.



## CHAP. XXIII.

**The first  
beginner of  
the Picts  
wall.**

Having hitherto discoursed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scottish kingdome: I haue now thought good to adde herevnto the description of two walles that were (in times past) limits vnto both the said regions, and therefore to be touched in this first booke, as generallie appertinent vnto the estate of the whole Iland; and no lesse famous than that which Anastasius Dicorus made afterward from the Euxine vnto the Thracian sea, conteining 420 furlongs in length, and twelue foot in bredth, & distant from Constantinople 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turffe and timber. The author therefore of the first wall was Hadrian the emperour, who (as Ælius Spartianus saith) erected the same of foure score miles in length, twelue foot in heighth, and eight in bredth, to diuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuill sort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans ouer all.

**The finisher  
of the wall.**

After his time Seuerus the emperour comming againe into this Ile (where he had serued before in repression of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongst other things he made another wall (but of stone) betwéene eightie and a hundred miles from the first, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both sides also to the sea, of whome the Britons called it S. Murseueri, or Gwall Seueri, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which later indureth vntill these daies in fresh memorie, by reason of the ruines & square stones there oft found, whose inscriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthie the noting also, how that in this voiage he lost 50000 men in the Scottish side, by one occasion and other, which hinderance so incensed him, that he determined vtterlie to extinguish their memorie from vnder heauen, and had so doone in déed, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince contained two and thirtie miles, whereby the bredth of this Iland there, and length of the wall conteineth onelie so manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But chéeflie for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things saith of Seuerus as followeth: "Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus est) muro per transuersam insulam ducto, vtring; ad finem oceani muniuit," that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chéefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on both sides euen to the verie Ocean.

**The wall  
goeth not  
streict by a  
line, but in  
and out in  
manie  
places.**

**The stuffe of  
the wall.**

That this wall was of stone also, the ruines therof (which haue ministred much matter to such as dwell néere therevnto in their buildings) is triall sufficient. Heereby in like sort it commeth to passe, that where the soile about it is least inhabited, there is most mention of the said wall, which was wrought of squared stone, as vntill this daie maie euidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, these two walles were not the onelie partitions betwéene these two kingdoms, sith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij dooth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus made beyond the same, of turffe, in the time of the said prince, who (for his victories in Britaine) was also called Britannicus, which neuerthesse was often throwne downe by the Scots, and eftsoones repaired againe, vntill it was giuen ouer and relinquished altogether. It runneth (as I take it) also within the wall about an arrow shot from that of stone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certaine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampires made in such wise, that the Scottish aduersarie had much a doo to enter and scale the same in his assaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the same, to make their accesse more easie into the south parts: but as it was eftsoones repaired againe, so the last time of all it was amended by the Romane soldiours, which came ouer verie little before the time of Vortiger, at which season the land was in maner left void of soldiours and munition. Betwixt Thirlwall and the north Tine, are also in the waste grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet standing, whereof the common people doo babble manie things.

**Two other  
wals.**

**A rampire.**

**The course  
of the wall  
from west to  
east.**

Beginning therefore with the course thereof, from the west sea, I find that it runneth from Bolnesse to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewise from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and lesse on the north side, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Caerleill, then through the baronie of Linstocke, and Gillesland, on the north side of the riuier Irding or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbeie of Leuercost. Thence thrée miles about Leuercost, and about the confluence of Arding, and the Pultrose becke (which diuideth Gillesland in Cumberland, from south Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall castell, then to the wall towne, next of all ouer the riuier to Swensheld, Carraw (peradventure Cairuoren tower) to Walwyc, and so ouer south Tine, to Cockelie tower, Portgate, Halton sheles, Winchester, Rutchester, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcastle, where it is thought that saint Nicholas church standeth on the same. Howbeit Leland saith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcastle, and then crooketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Wallesend, three miles from

the mouth of the said riuer, so called because the aforesaid wall did end at the same place. And thus much I read of the Pictish wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the course thereof, the curious bricks about the same néere vnto Caerleill, beside the excellent cornelines and other costlie stones alreadie intailed for seales oftentimes taken vp in those quarters, I passe them ouer as not incident to my purpose.

In like maner I would gladlie also haue set downe the course of Offaes ditch, which was march betwéene the Mercian dominions, and the Welshmen in his time: but for so much as the tractation thereof is not to be réferréd to this place, because it is not a thing generall to the whole Iland, I omit to speake of that also. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who saith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Kirnaburgh hill through Treuelach forrest, by est of Crekith Cauchhill, Montgomerie castell, the New castell and Discoid, and hauing brought it hitherto, either lost it, or sought after it no further: as by the testimonie of another, who writing thereof, saith, that it stretched from the south side by Bristow, along vnder the mounteins of Wales northwards, ouer the riuer of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth also of the Dée, where it falleth into the sea. And so much of such things as concerne the generall estate of the whole Iland, which labour herein I could verie well haue spared, and would, if Quintus had performed the request of Cicero his brother, who promised to send him ouer a sound aduertisement of the condition of Britaine in those daies: as appeareth in the second booke of his familiar epistles, where he saith; "Modò mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c." But sithence that was not performed, and the treatise of Demetrius and other of the same argument are perished, which were of some value, let this trifle (I beseech you) not be reiected, till some other man of better skill shall haue drawne a more absolute péece of workemanship, wherevnto my vnskillfulnesse (I hope) shall prouue no hinderance.

## CHAP. XXIV.

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 séeking thankes of their posteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iust reproch, and in stéed of fame purchased vnto themselues nought else but méere 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 my part I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch speaketh in his oracles (if those bookes were written by him, for some thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8. dooth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left sundrie treatises behind him, conteining woonderfull things collected of our Iland. But sith that in my time they are found to be false, it should be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beléue, that infernall spirits can die and giue vp their ghosts like mortall men? though Saxo séeme to consent vnto him in this behalfe. In speaking also of the out Iles, he saith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie desolate Ilands, whereof some are dedicated to the Gods, some to the noble Heroes. I sailed (saith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie néere hand, onelie to see and view the same, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet such as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holinesse. During the time also that I remained in the same, it was vexed with great storme and tempest, which caused me not a little to doubt of my safe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cause should be of this so great and sudden mutation of the aire? they answered, that either some of the Gods, or at the least of the Heroes were latelie deceased: for as a candle (said they) hurteth none whilst it burneth, but being slenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthie sauour: so these Gods, whilst they liued, were either not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceased, they so moue the heauens and aire, that much mischéefe dooth insue eftsoones 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 sléepe, 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 stufte that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of such writers as we haue too too manie, so among the said rable Geruase of Tilberie is not the least famous, a man as it were euen sold to vtter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Wandleburie hilles, that lie within sight & by south of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped sometime, when they entered into this Iland) and of a spirit that would of custome in a moone shine night (if he were chalenged and called therevnto) run at tilt and turneie in complet armor with anie knight or gentleman whomsoeuer, in that place: and how one Osbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himselfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one esquier, and called for him, who forthwith 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 horsse behind him, which was of huge stature, blacke (as he saith) of colour, with his furniture of the same hue, and wherevpon he seized, giuing him vnto his page, who caried him home, and there kept him till it was néere daie, during which space he was séene of manie. But when the daie light began to shew it selfe somewhat cléere, the beast stamped and snorted, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane season Osbert being verie faint, and waxing wearie (for he was sore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leastwise dissembled to know it) caused his leg-harnesse or stéele bootes to be pulled off, which his fréends saw to be full of bloud spilled in the voiage. But let who so list beléue it, sith it is either a fable deuised, or some diuelish illusion, if anie such thing were doone. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpose here to set downe no more than either I know my selfe to be true, or am crediblie informed to be so, by such godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to speake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to discredit themselues by lieng. In writing therefore of the woonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rarenesse amongst the common sort, are taken for the foure miracles and woonders of the land.

**Foure  
woonders of  
England.**

The first of these is a vehement and strong wind, which issueth out of the 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.

The second is the miraculous standing or rather hanging of certaine stones vpon the plaine of Salisburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to saie the truth, they may well be woondered at, not onelie for the manner of position, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but also for their greatnesse & strange maner of lieng of some of them one vpon another, which séemeth to be with so tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their present ruine. How and when these stones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is most likelie, that they were raised there by the Britons, after the slaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banket, which Hengist and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were also buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be séene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth also, that these were broght from thence, but by what ship on the sea, and cariage by land, I thinke few men can safelie imagine.

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

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

Besides these foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne sea) called Barrie, which hath a rift or clift next the first shore; wherevnto if a man doo laie his eare, he shall heare such noises as are commonlie made in smiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowses, and such like: whereof the superstitious sort doo gather manie toies, as the 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-runneeth 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 thrée kinds of fishes in it, as éeles, trowts, and perches: but herein resteth the woonder, that all those haue but one eie a péce onelie, and the same situate in the right side of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed also by authors: There is a well in the Forrest of Gnaresborow, whereof the said Forrest dooth take the name; which water, beside that it is cold as Stix, in a certaine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, flesh, leaues of trées, and mosse into hard stone, without alteration or changing of shape. The like also is séene 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 continuallie, which is so cold, and thereto of such nature, that what thing soeuer falleth out of those rocks into this pit, or groweth néere 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. Néere vnto the place where Winburne monasterie sometimes stood, also not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie péce, 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 mile from Kingswood, are stones dailie found, perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oisters, which some dreame haue lien there euer since the floud. In the clifts betwéene the Blacke head and Tewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certaine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vsed. Howbeit, because it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I doo not thinke it to be vnmeét to be placed amongst our woonders. Maister Guise had of late, and still hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Glocestershire, where certaine 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, it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. Siluecester towne also is said to containe fourescore acres of land within the walles, whereof some is corne-ground (as Leland saith) and the graine which is growing therein dooth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vanisheth away & becommeth altogither vnprofitable. Is it any woonder (thinke you) to tell of sundrie caues néere to Browham, 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 rehearsall of other also. For we haue manie of the like, as one néere saint Assaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Vendrath Vehan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and sandie ground vnder their féet, and other elsewhere. But sith these things are not strange, I let them alone, and go forward with the rest.

In the parish of Landsarnam in Wales, and in the side of a stonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie seats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge stone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie parish, and of the notable carcasse that is affirmed to lie vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here: yet were it well doone to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to see what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reuerence. There is also a poole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockshire, where (as is said) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanseie, which hath such a propertie, that it will bréed 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. There is also a lin in Wales, which in the one side beareth trowts so red as samons, and in the other, which is the westerlie side, verie white and delicate. I heare also of two welles not far from Landien, which stand verie néere together, and yet are of such diuersitie of nature, that the one beareth sope, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogither of contrarie qualities. Which is not a litle to be mused at, considering (I saie) that they participate of one soile, and rise so nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a stone not farre from saint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or such like thing: and being raised vp, a man may stirre it with his thumbe; but not with his shoulder or force of his whole bodie.

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 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 Seull in Spaine: for although it be six miles from the sea, it ebbeth and floweth twice 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 maruellouslie refreshed. Other welles and water-courses we haue likewise, which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but verie softlie, whereby the people gather some alteration of estate to be at hand. And such a one 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 rehearsall; 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, or the diuels Kettles, as if he should séeth soules of sinfull men and women in them. They adde also, that the spirits haue oft beene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke sauoring altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion also was Cutbert Tunstall late bishop of Durham, a man (notwithstanding the basenesse of his birth, being begotten by one Tunstall vpon a daughter of the house of the Commers, as Leland saith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in those places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other vnctuous matter be set on fire, which being here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so dooth leaue a pit. Indéed the water is now and then warme (as they saie) and beside that it is not cléere: the people suppose them to be an hundred fadam déepe. The biggest of them also hath an issue into the These, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes aliàs Belzis 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 séene at a bridge not farre from master Clereuax house. If it were woorth the noting, I would also make relation of manie wooden crosses found verie often about Halidon, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oswald; and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed sometimes against the British infidels, vpon a superstitious imagination, that those crosses should be their defense and shield against their aduersaries. Beda calleth the place where the said field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Pictish wall, and the famous monasterie of Hagulstad. But more of this elsewhere. Neither will I speak of the little hillets séene 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, as appeareth by such tooms & 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 féet as hit vpon it where it groweth in their féeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouslie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compasse of the parish where I dwell, and doo take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathiolus and the herbarists doo write, albeit that it hath not béene 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 séed, whereof they babble manie woonders, and prate of such effects as may well be performed indéed when the ferne beareth séed, which is commonly Ad calendas Græcas, for before it will not be found. But to procéed. There is a well in Darbieshire called Tideswell (so named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whose water often séemeth to rise and fall, as the sea which is fortie miles from it dooth vsuallie accustome to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it kéepeeth 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 fullie persuaded to beléue. But euen inough of the woonders of our countrie, least I doo seeme by talking longer of them, woonderouslie to ouershoot my selfe, and forget how much dooth rest behind of the description of my countrie. As for those that are to be touched of Scotland, the description of that part shall in some part remember them.

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## CHAP. I.

There are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the first and greatest is subject to the sée of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & also Ireland, which in time past were seuerall, & brought into one by the archbishop of the said sée & assistance of the pope; who in respect of méed, did yéeld vnto the ambitious desires of sundrie archbishops of Canturburie, as I haue elsewhere declared. The second prouince is vnder the sée of Yorke, and of these; either hath hir archbishop resident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters appertaining to the hierarchie and iurisdiction of the church; but also great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealthe: so far fourth as their commissions and seuerall circuits doo extend.

In old time there were thrée archbishops, and so manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerlleon vpon Uske. But as that of London was translated to Canturburie by Augustine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithstanding that the greatest part of his iurisdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotish archbishop) so that of Caerlleon is vtterlie extinguished, and the gouernement of the cuntry vnited to that of Canturburie in spirituall cases: after it was once before remoued to S. Davids in Wales by Dauid successor to Dubritius, and vnclé to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Saxons, where it remained till the time of the Bastard, and for a season after, before it was annexed vnto the sée of Canturburie.

The archbishop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it shall please the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to set it vpon their heads. They beare also the name of their high chapleins continuallie, although not a few of them haue presumed (in time past) to be their equals, and void of subiexion vnto them. That this is true, it may easilie appéere by their owne acts yet kept in record; beside their epistles & answers written or in print; wherein they haue sought not onelie to match but also to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. Our aduersaries will peradventure denie this absolutelie, as they doo manie other things apparant, though not without shamelesse impudencie, or at the leastwise defend it as iust and not swaruing from common equitie; bicause they imagine euerie archbishop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their dooing herein agreeth with the saieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may easilie appéere. Some examples also of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, least they should saie I speake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

Of their practises with meane persons I speake not, neither will I begin at Dunstane the author of all their pride and presumption here in England. But for somuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman against earle Goodwine is a rare historie, and deserueth to be remembered, I will touch it in this place; protesting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore beene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French English, who (of set purpose) haue so defaced earle Goodwine, that were it not for the testimonie of one or two méere Englishmen liuing in those daies, it should be impossible for me (or anie other) at this present to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumstances. Marke therefore what I saie. For the truth is, that such Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confessor, did fall by sundrie means into such fauor with those princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be possessors of the best benefices in the land. Hervpon therefore one Robert, a iolie ambitious préest, gat first to be bishop of London, and after the death of Eadius, to be archbishop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former sée to William his countrieman. Ulfo also a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

These Norman clerkes, and their freends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuse, and despise the English: and so much the more, as they dailie saw themselues to increase in fauour with king Edward, who also called diuerse of them to be of his secret councill, which did not a litle incense the harts of the English against them. A fraie also was made at Douer, betwéene the seruants of earle Goodwine and the French, whose maisters came ouer to see and salute the king: whereof I haue spoken in my Chronologie, which so inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers against the English nobilitie, that each part sought for opportunitie of reuenge, which yer long tooke hold betwéene them. For the said Robert, being called to be archbishop of Canturburie, was no sooner in possession of his sée, than he began to quarrell with earle Goodwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who also was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and so the mischiefe begun. Herevpon therefore the archbishop charged the



earle with the murder of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the sonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruellie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming into the land with fiue and twentie saile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arriued with them giuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & therevnto the vnskilfull yong gentlemen, shewing themselues to like of the rumour that was spred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanor was quicklie brought to Harald, who caused a companie fourthwith of Danes priuilie to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Gilford, where Alfred was slaine, and whence Edward with much difficultie escaped to his ships, and so returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbishop being greatlie soothed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French fréends, (for they had all conspired against the erle) and therevnto the king being desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred such a grudge in his mind against Goodwine, that he banished him and his sons cleane out of the land. He sent also his wife the erles daughter prisoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where she laie almost a yeare before she was released. In the meane season, the rest of the peeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland surnamed Digara or Fortis, Leofrijc earle of Chester, and other went to the king, before the departure of Goodwine, indeuouring to persuade him vnto the reuocation of his sentence; and desiring that his cause might be heard and discussed by order of law. But the king incensed by the archbishop and his Normans would not heare on that side, saieng plainelie, and swearing by saint Iohn the euangelist (for that was his common oth) that earle Goodwine should not haue his peace till he restored his brother Alfred aliue againe vnto his presence. With which answer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Goodwine toward the coast.

Comming also vnto the shore and readie to take shipping, he knéeled downe in presence of his conduct (to wit at Bosenham in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to saile into Flanders vnto Baldwine the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted anie thing against the kings person of England, or his roiall estate, that he might neuer come safe vnto his cousine, nor see his countrie any more, but perish in this voiage. And herewith he went aboard the ship that was prouided for him, and so from the coast into the open sea. But see what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he saw the shore full of armed souldiers, sent after by the archbishop and his fréends to kill him yer he should depart and go out of the countrie: which yet more incensed the harts of the English against them.

Being come also to Flanders, he caused the earle, the French king, and other of his fréends, among whome also the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obtained from him, of which the Normans had no liking, wherevpon the earle and his sonnes changed their minds, obtained aid, and inuaded the land in sundry places. Finallie ioining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke néere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to incounter with them in the field. The king séeing what was doone, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made answer, how the quarrell of Goodwine was the cause of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the spoile of the French: and therevpon they not onelie vittelled them aboundantlie, but also receiued the earle and his chiefe fréends into the citie, where they lodged them at their ease, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Great resort also was made vnto them from all places of the realme, so that the earles armie was woonderfullie increased, and the daie and place chosen wherein the battell should be fought. But when the armies met, the kings side began some to flée to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the rest telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight against their owne countryemen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans also seeing the sequele, fled awaie so fast as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to shift for himselfe (as he best might) whilst they did saue themselues elsewhere.

In the meane season the earles power would haue set vpon the king, either to his slaughter, or apprehension; but he staid them, saieng after this maner: The king is my sonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale so hardlie with his child, neither a subiect with his souereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or doone me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will doo him no violence. And therewithall casting aside his battell ax he ran to the king, that stood altogether amazed, and falling at his féet he craued his peace, accused the archbishop, required that his cause might be heard in open assemblie of his péeres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie should deserue.

The king (after he had paused a pretie while) seeing his old father in law to lie groueling at his féet, and conceiuing with himselfe that his sute was not vnreasonable; seeing also his children, and the rest of the greatest barons of the land to knéele before him, and make the like request: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was past, and freendlie hauing kissed

him and his sonnes vpon the chéekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the quéene, and summoned all his lords vnto a councill.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were presented against the bishop & his Normans; some conteining matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manslaughter, high treason, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of sléepe) was so offended, that vpon consultation had of these things, he banished all the Normans out of the land, onelie thrée or foure excepted, whome he reteined for sundrie necessarie causes, albeit they came neuer more so néere him afterward as to be of his priuie councill.

After this also the earle liued almost two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he sat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our first broile raised by the cleargie, and practise of the archbishop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practised by the prelats of this sée, against their lords and souereignes: but then I should rather write an historie than a description of this Iland.

**Anselme.**

Wherefore I refer you to those reports of Anselme and Becket, sufficientlie penned by other, the which Anselme also making a shew, as if he had bin verie vnwilling to be placed in the sée of Canturburie, gaue this answer to the letters of such his fréends, as did make request vnto him to take the charge vpon him. "Secularia negotia nescio, quia scire nolo, eorum námque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati sacrarum intendo scripturarum, vos dissonantiam facitis, verendúmque est nè aratrum sanctæ ecclesiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id est rex & archiepiscopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, distorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui si quietus essem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus possem fortassis non ingratus esse, sed si me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro disparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c." Which is in English thus: Of secular affaires I haue no skill, bicause I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that rise about them, as one that desireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indeuor to the rule of the scriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared least the plough of holie church, which two strong oxen of equall force, and both like earnest to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbishop) ought to draw, should thereby now swarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old shéepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old shéepe, who if I might be quiet, could peradventure shew my selfe not altogether vngratfull to some, by féeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with wooll: but if you match me with this bull, you shall sée that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c: as foloweth in the processe of his letters. The said Thomas Becket was so proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the second, as to his lord, to his king, and to his sonne, offering him his counsell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like sort haue protested, that they owght nothing to the kings of this land, but their counsell onelie, reseruing all obedience vnto the sée of Rome.

**Thomas  
Becket.**

And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, so the yong cockerels of other sées did imitate his demeanor, as may be séene by this one example also in king Stephans time, worthie to be remembered; vnto whome the bishop of London would not so much as sweare to be true subiect: wherein also he was mainteined by the pope, as appeareth by these letters.

"Eugenius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo filio Stephano illustri regi Anglorū salutē, & apostolicā benedictionē. Ad hæc superna prouidētia in ecclesia pontifices ordinauit, vt Christianus populus ab eis pasqua vitæ reciperet, & tam principes seculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipsis pontificibus tanquam Christi vicarijs reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis siquidem frater noster Robertus London episcopus, tanquam vir sapiens & honestus, & religionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus est, & pro collata à Deo prudentia propensius honorandus. Quia ergò, sicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ suæ salute, ac suæ ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur astringi non potest: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu consulimus, quatenus prædictum fratrem nostrum super hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri & nostra reuerentia, eum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud iuramentum præstare non possit, sufficiat discretioni tuæ, vt simplici & veraci verbo promittat, quòd læsionem tibi vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij."

Thus we sée, that kings were to rule no further than it pleased the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their subjects than stood also with their good will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto quéene Mawd about the same matter, making hir Samsons calfe (the better to bring his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here insuing.

"Solomone attestante, didicimus quòd mulier sapiens ædificat domum; insipientes autem constructam destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam sicut relligiosorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intēdis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatē

tuum in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis inijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London episcopū, pro illius reuerentia, qui cū olim diues esset, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentius diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium nostrum Stephanum, insignem regem Anglorum efficere studeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & cōsilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensius habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate teste) attendimus eum sine salute, & sui ordinis periculo, præfato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, vt vobis sufficiat, veraci & simplici verbo promissionē ab eo suscipere, quòd læsionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ suæ nō inferat. Dat. vt supra."

Is it not strange, that a peeuish order of religion (devised by man) should breake the expresse law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incoraging them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new bishoprike, than they careful to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to kéepe it still maugre his displeasure: & yet not to sweare obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

"Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londinensis ecclesiæ canonicis spiritū consilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorsus est abjicienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iustè desyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quòd Londinensis ecclesia, diu proprio destituta pastore, communi voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium nostrum Robertum, eiusdem ecclesiæ archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum animarum suarum susceperit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia desuper ei attributa, & honestas conuersationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commedabilem reddidit. Inde est quòd fraternitati vestræ mandando consulimus, vt proposito vestro bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo est) & vt ex literis domini papæ cognoscetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huiusmodi, spiritualium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipsius námque industria credimus, quòd antiqua religio, & forma disciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in ecclesia vestra reparari: & si quæ fuerint ipsius contentiones, ex pastoris absentia, Dei gratia cooperante, & eodem præesente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c."

Forsitan  
naturalem.

Hereby you see how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbishop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no lesse vnquietnesse had another of our princes with Iohn of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his souereigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) & beginning thus; "Thomas proditiōnis non expers nostræ regiæ maiestati insidias fabricauit," the pope vnderstood the botom of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should be deprived, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pride staie at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlinesse. For beside the iniurie receiued of their superiors, how was K. Iohn dealt withall by the vile Cistertians at Lincolne in the second of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iust occasion) conceiued some grudge against them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon deniall to paie such summes of moneie as were allotted vnto them, he had caused seizure to be made of such horssees, swine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were maintained in his forrests. They denounced him as fast amongst themselues with bell, booke and candle, to be accursed and excommunicated. Therevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yeeld to their good graces: insomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betweene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the present archbishop of Canturburie, who went oft betweene him and the Cistertian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end, the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapter house, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his trespasses against them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thenceforth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promising moreouer full satisfaction of their damages susteined; and to build an house of their order in whatsoever place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the seauen and twentieth of Nouember, after the Scottish king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene Iohn Stratford and Edward the third, &c:) a man may easilie conceiue how proud the cleargie-men haue beene in former times, as wholie presuming vpon the primassie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of these and the like broiles, not to be found among our common historiographers: howbeit reseruing the same vnto places more conuenient, I will cease to speake of them at this time, and go forward with such other things as my purpose is to speake of. At the

first therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbishops: but as he of Canturburie hath long since obtained the prerogative about Yorke (although I saie not without great trouble, sute, some bloodshed & contention) so the archbishop of Yorke is neuertheless written primate of England, as one contenting himselfe with a peece of a title at the least, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, so this of Yorke dooth the like to the queene, whose perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath beene from time to time, since the determination of this controuersie, as writers doo report. The first also hath vnder his iurisdiction to the number of one and twentie inferiour bishops, the other hath onlie foure, by reason that the churches of Scotland are now remooued from his obedience vnto an archbishop of their owne, whereby the greatnesse and circuit of the iurisdiction of Yorke is not a little diminished. In like sort each of these seauen and twentie sees haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conquest) doo beare the chiefe rule, being men especiallie chosen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlinesse so neere as can be possible. These cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries still remaining vnto them, as heretofore vnder the popish regiment. Howbeit those that are chosen to the same are no idle and vnprofitable persons (as in times past they haue bene when most of these liuings were either furnished with strangers, especiallie out of Italie, boies, or such idiots as had least skill of all in discharging of those functions, wherunto they were called by vertue of these stipends) but such as by preaching and teaching can and doo learnedlie set forth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichrist to the vttermost of their powers.

**Twentie one bishoprikes vnder the see of Canturburie. Onelie foure sees vnder the archbishop of Yorke.**

**Deanes.**

**Canonries.**

These churches are called cathedrall, because the bishops dwell or lie neere vnto the same, as bound to keepe continuall residence within their iurisdiccions, for the better ouersight and gouernance of the same: the word being deriued à cathedra, that is to saie a chaire or seat where he resteth, and for the most part abideth. At the first there was but one church in euerie iurisdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with some oblation or other toward the maintenance of the pastor. For as it was reputed an infamie to passe by anie of them without visitation: so it was a no lesse reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occasion also they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwise they were not capable of such multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word and receive the sacraments.

But as the number of christians increased, so first monasteries, then finallie parish churches were builded in euerie iurisdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpreests; the rest being added since the conquest, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue some ease by building them neere hand. Vnto these deanerie churches also the cleargie in old time of the same deanrie were appointed to repaire at sundrie seasons, there to receiue wholesome ordinances, and to consult vpon the necessarie affaires of the whole iurisdiction; if necessitie so required: and some image hereof is yet to be seene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increased, so the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminish: whereby they now become especiallie in their nether parts rather markets and shops for merchandize, than solemn places of praier, wherunto they were first erected. Moreouer in the said cathedrall churches vpon sundaies and festiual daies, the canons doo make certeine ordinarie sermons by course, wherunto great numbers of all estates doo orderlie resort: and vpon the working daies thrise in the weeke, one of the said canons, or some other in his steed, dooth read and expound some peece of holie scripture, wherunto the people doo verie reuerentlie repaire. The bishops themselues in like sort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and councell, which is one (and a no small) peece of their felicitie (although Richard archbishop of Canturburie thought otherwise, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander, Epistola 44. Petri Blesensis, where he saith; Because the cleargie of his time were somewhat narrowlie looked vnto, "Supra dorsum ecclesiæ fabricant peccatores, &c:") they so applie their minds to the setting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which doo not euerie sundaie or oftener resort to some place or other, within their iurisdiccions, where they expound the scriptures with much grauitie and skill; and yet not without the great misliking and contempt of such as hate the word. Of their manifold translations from one see to another I will saie nothing, which is not now doone for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time past much doubted of, to wit, whether a bishop or pastor might be translated from one see to another; & left vndecided, till prescription by roiall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once doone, is well doone, and to be doone oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.

**Ordinarie sermons.**

**Ordinarie expositions of the scriptures.**

**The bishops preach diligentlie, whose predecessors heretofore haue bene occupied in temporall affairs.**

**Archdeacons.**

They haue vnder them also their archdeacons, some one, diuerse two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the bishops eies: and these (beside their ordinarie courts, which are holden within so manie or more of their seuerall deanries by themselues or their officials once in a moneth at the least) doo keepe yearelie two visitations or synods (as the bishop dooth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth some children, though most care but a little for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquisition and search, as well

**High  
commissioners.**

for the doctrine and behaiour of the ministers, as the orderlie dealing of the parishioners in resorting to their parish churches and conformitie vnto religion. They punish also with great seueritie all such trespassers, either in person or by the pursse (where permutation of penance is thought more gréeuous to the offender) as are presented vnto them: or if the cause be of the more weight, as in cases of heresie, pertinacie, contempt, and such like, they referre them either to the bishop of the diocesse, or his chancellor, or else to sundrie graue persons set in authoritie, by vertue of an high commission directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner doo see the offenders gently reformed, or else seuerlie punished, if necessitie so inforce.

**A prophesie  
or  
conference.**

Beside this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exercise latelie begun, which for the most part is called a prophesie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their studie of holie scriptures. Howbeit, such is the thirstie desire of the people in these daies to heare the word of God, that they also haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themselues among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their presence at the same. Herein also (for the most part) two of the yoonger sort of ministers doo expound ech after other some peece of the scriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courses (wherein they orderlie go through with some one of the euangelists, or of the epistles, as it pleaseth the whole assemblie to choose at the first in euerie of these conferences) and when they haue spent an houre or a little more betweene them, then commeth one of the better learned sort, who being a graduat for the most part, or knowne to be a preacher sufficientlie authorised, & of a sound iudgement, supplieth the roome of a moderator, making first a breefe rehearsall of their discourses, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus commonlie spent at this most profitable méeting. When all is doone, if the first speakers haue shewed anie peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and encouraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be slacke, or not sound in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reprooued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie, after the exercise ended, to iudge of these matters, and consult of the next speakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer speake of course (except some vaine and busie head will now and then intrude themselues with offense) but are onelie hearers; and as it is vsed in some places wéekelie, in other once in foureteene daies, in diuerse monethlie, and elsewhere twice in a yeare, so is it a notable spurre vnto all the ministers, thereby to applie their bookes, which otherwise (as in times past) would giue themselues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in such as should be godlie and zealous stewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull distributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent pastors according to their calling.

But alas! as sathan the author of all mischéefe hath in sundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: so in this he hath stirred vp aduersaries of late vnto this most profitable exercise, who not regarding the commoditie that riseth thereby so well to the hearers as spekers; but either stumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the least wise not liking to here of the reprehension of vice, or peradventure taking a misliking at the slender demeanours of such negligent ministers, as now and then in their courses doo occupie the roomes, haue either by their owne practise, their sinister information, or suggestions made vpon surmises vnto other procured the suppression of these conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and dailie bréeders of no small hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cause belongeth.

**Ministers &  
deacons.**

Our elders or ministers and deacons (for subdeacons and the other inferiour orders, sometime vsed in popish church we haue not) are made according to a certeine forme of consecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the sixth, by the cleargie of England, and soone after confirmed by the thrée estates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the first sort, that is to saie, of such as are called to the ministerie (without respect whether they be married or not) are bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & such as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and these also as all the rest, at the first comming vnto anie spirituall promotion, doo yéeld vnto the prince the entire taxe of that their liuing for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name and title of first fruits.

With vs also it is permitted, that a sufficient man may (by dispensation from the prince) hold two liungs, not distant either from other aboue thirtie miles; whereby it commeth to passe, that as hir maiestie dooth reape some commoditie by the facultie, so the vnition of two in one man dooth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peradventure in manie yeares.

Manie exclame against such faculties, as if there were mo good preachers that want maintenance, than liungs to mainteine them. In déed when a liuing is void, there are

so manie sutors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true and most certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are sufficient, and who not, who are staid men in conuersation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you shall hardlie find one or two, such as they ought to be: and yet none more earnest to make sure, to promise largelie, beare a better shew, or find fault with the state of things than they. Neuertheless, I doo not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiselie handled, are altogither grounded vpon rumours or ambitious minds, if you respect the state of the thing it selfe, and not the necessitie growing through want of able men, to furnish out all the cures in England, which both our vniuersities are neuer able to performe. For if you obserue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford doo yearelie send foorth; and how manie new compositions are made in the court of first fruits, by the deaths of the last incumbents: you shall soone see a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it selfe, foure or fiue of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redressed.

And to saie truth, one most commonlie of these small liuings is of so little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane scholar; much lesse a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, sixteene, seuentéene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the most, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) doo go out of the same. I saie more than before, bicause euerie small trifle, noble mans request, or courtesie craued by the bishop, dooth impose and command a twentieth part, a three score part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our liuings, which hitherto hath not béene vsuallie granted, but by consent of a synod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the poorer sort considered of, which now are equallie burdened.

We paie also the tenths of our liuings to the prince yearelie, according to such valuation of ech of them, as hath béene latelie made: which neuertheless in time past were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at request of king or pope. Herevpon also hangeth a pleasant storie though doone of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie séeing the continuall losses that the king of England susteined in France, vpon some motion of reléefe made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace verie thankefullie receiued. It fortunéd also at the same time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the clergie had doone, came into the conuocation house also in great hast and lesse spéed, where, in a solemne oration he earnestlie required them to be no lesse fauourable to their spirituall father the pope, and mother the sée of Rome, than they had shewed themselues vnto his vassall and inferiour, meaning their souereigne lord in temporall iurisdiction, &c. In deliuering also the cause of his sute, he shewed how gréeuously the pope was disturbed by cutthrotes, varlots, and harlots, which doo now so abound in Rome, that his holinesse is in dailie danger to be made awaie amongst them. To be short when this fine tale was told, one of the companie stood vp and said vnto him; My lord we haue heard your request, and as we thinke, it deserueth litle consideration and lesse eare, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in suppression of such, as he and such as you are doo continuall vphold, it is not vnknownen in this house what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth iust reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue béene made sooner, but now it is too late: neuertheless I beséech you to write vnto his holinesse, with request that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a sinke of mischiefe, and kéepe his court elsewhere in place of better fame. And this he shall be the better able also to performe, if by your liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are most bound, he be encouraged thereto. Manie other words passed to and fro amongst them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was dismissed without anie penie obtained. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement first as deuised by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the prescription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine also our first fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the same, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt also of these two paiments, an especiall office or court is erected, which beareth name of first fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, doo not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after possession taken, there to compound for the paiment of his said fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine statute prouided in that behalfe, against such as doo intrude into the ecclesiasticall function, and refuse to paie the accustomed duties belonging to the same.

They paie likewise subsidies with the temporalitie, but in such sort, that if these paie after foure shillings for land, the cleargie contribute commonlie after six shillings of the pound, so that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himself well acquitted, if all ordinarie paiments being discharged he may reserue thirtéene pounds six shillings eight pence towards his owne sustentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome also are they without the compasse of a subsidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often seene of late yeares, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: so that I saie againe they are seldome without the limit of a subsidie. Herein also they somewhat

find themselves grieved, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themselves, and so they doo through consideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impouerishment cannot but touch also the parson or vicar, vnto whom such libertie is denied, as is dailie to be séene in their accompts and tithings.

Some of them also, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by fréndship get themselves quite out of the booke. But what stand I vpon these things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by some of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie endeour to bring vs also within the compasse of their fifteens or taxes for their owne ease, whereas the taxe of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland soile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden easie enough to be borne vpon so manie shoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whose tenths and subsidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troublesome vnto their aforesaid paiments. Sometimes also we are threatned with a Meliùs inquirendum, as if our liuings were not racked high enough already. But if a man should seeke out where all those church lands were, which in time past did contribute vnto the old summe required or to be made vp, no doubt no small number of the laitie of all states should be contributors also with vs, the prince not defrauded of his expectation and right. We are also charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more néedfull than diuerse other charges imposed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our case groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithstanding our immunitie from temporall seruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I see not likelie to be diminished, as if the church were now become the asse whereon euerie market man is to ride and cast his wallet.

The other paiments due vnto the archbishop and bishop at their seuerall visitations (of which the first is double to the latter) and such also as the archdeacon receiueth at his synods, &c: remaine still as they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers doo commonlie visit the whole realme vnder the forme of an ecclesiasticall inquisition, in which the clergie doo vsuallie paie double fées, as vnto the archbishop. Hereby then, and by those already remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no lesse commodious to the princes coffers than the state of the laitie, if it doo not farre excéed the same, since their paiments are certeine, continuall, and seldome abated, howsoeuer they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, sute, and slanderous speeches of the paiers, or haue their liuings otherwise hardlie valued vnto the vttermost farding, or shrewdlie cancelled by the couetousnesse of the patrones, of whome some doo bestow aduousons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horssekéeppers, in sted of other recompense, for their long and faithfull seruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their most aduantage.

Certes here they resemble the pope verie much, for as he sendeth out his idols, so doo they their parasites, pages, chamberleins, stewards, groomes, & lackies; and yet these be the men that first exclaime of the insufficiencie of the ministers, as hoping thereby in due time to get also their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times past bishopriks went almost after the same maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, so that he which helped a clerke vnto a see, was sure to haue a present or purse fine, if not an annuall pension, besides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing doone in my yoonger daies, whilest quéene Marie bare the swaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the see of Winchester was void for a season, during which time cardinall Poole made seizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the same, pretending authoritie therevnto Sede vacante, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the bishop of Lincolne called White tooke such displeasure, that he stepped in like a mate, with full purpose (as he said) to kéepe that see from ruine. He wrote also to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promising so as he might be Compos voti, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeere after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet desirous to reape a further benefit, first shewed himselfe to stomach his simonically practised verie grieuouslie, considering the dangerousnesse of the time and present estate of the church of England, which hoong as yet in balance readie to yéeld anie waie, sauing fourth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he so terrified the poore bishop, that he was driuen vnto another issue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further summe than stood with his ease to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fleece, a new deuise was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be bishop of Winchester, which at the last he obtained, but in such wise as that the pope and his néerest friends did lose but a little by it. I could if néed were set downe a report of diuerse other the like practises, but this shall suffice in stéed of all the rest, least in reprehending of vice I might shew my selfe to be a teacher of vngodlinesse, or to scatter more vngratious séed in lewd ground already choked with wickednesse.

To proceed therefore with the rest, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names vsuallie giuen vnto such as féed the flocke remaine in like sort as in times past, so

that these words, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet abolished more than the canon law it selfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I haue said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it commeth to passe that the psalter is said ouer once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the curat be adiudged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficientlie instructed in the holie scriptures, and therewithall able to teach, he permitteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so much as our churches and vniuersities haue béene so spoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had such number of able pastours as may suffice for euerie parish to haue one: there are (beside foure sermons appointed by publike order in the yeare) certeine sermons or homilies (devised by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderstanding (which homilies doo comprehend the principall parts of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of iustification by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbaoth daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two lessons, wherof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new, and of these latter that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after noone out of some one of the epistles. After morning praier also we haue the letanie and suffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not devised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although manie curious mindsicke persons vtterlie condemne it as superstitious and sauoring of coniuration and sorcerie.

This being doone, we procéed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receiue the eucharist, if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospell with the Nicene créed (of some in derision called the drie communion) and then procéed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euerie sabaoth daie (if occasion so require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone bestowed. In the after noone likewise we méet againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended we haue commonlie a sermon, or at the leastwise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus doo we spend the sabaoth daie in good and godlie exercises, all doone in our vulgar toong, that each one present may heare and vnderstand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiat churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onelie are soong by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a lowd voice, sauing that in the administration of the communion the quier singeth the answers, the créed, and sundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, I saie, and distinct maner, that each one present may vnderstand what they sing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie consist of manie parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skilfull in that science.

Certes this translation of the seruice of the church into the vulgar toong, hath not a litle offended the pope almost in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obtained, for feare least the consenting thervnto might bréed the ouerthrow (as it would in déed) of all his religion and hierarchie: neuerthesse in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was performed maugre his resistance. Vratisslaus duke of Bohemia, would long since haue doone the like also in his kingdome, but not daring to venter so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his answer inhibitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same.

"Gregorius septimus Vratisslao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quòd secundū Sclauonicā linguā apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquā posse fauere, ex hoc nempe se voluentibus liquet, non immeritò sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, fortè vilesceret, & subiaceret despectui, aut prauè intellecta à mediocribus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem iuuat, quòd quidam viri hoc, quod simplex populus quærit patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt: cum primitiua ecclesia multa dissimulauerit, quæ à sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correctæ sunt: vnde id nè fiat, quod à vestris imprudenter exposcitur, autoritate beatri Petri inhibemus; téque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis resistere præcipimus, &c. Datum Romæ, &c."

I would set downe two or thrée more of the like instruments passed from that see vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themselues, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine as in times past, sauing that all images, shrines, tabernacles, roodlofts, and monuments of idolatrie are remooued, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the stories in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stufte, and by reason of extreame charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogether abolished in most places at once, but



by little and little suffered to decaye, that white glasse may be provided and set vp in their roomes. Finallie, whereas there was wont to be a great partition betwéene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogether needlesse, sith the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot provided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant doo not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall praiers by heart, but also such as can read, doo praie together with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant powre out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and feruent manner. Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fiftéene, called festiuall, and thirtie Profesti, beside the sundaies, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle waks, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathnish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest vtterlie remooued from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

**Apparell.**

The apparell in like sort of our clergie men is comlie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the popish church: before the vniuersities bound their graduats vnto a stable attire, afterward vsurped also euen by the blind sir Johns. For if you peruse well my chronologie insuing, you shall find, that they went either in diuerse colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c: with their shooes piked, their haire crisped, their girdles armed with siluer; their shooes, spurres, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the most part) of silke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and butned with gold: so that to méet a priest in those daies, was to behold a peacocke that spreadeth his taile when he danseth before the henne: which now (I saie) is well reformed. Touching hospitalitie, there was neuer anie greater vsed in England, sith by reason that mariage is permitted to him that will choose that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dressed; their furniture of houshold more conuenient, and better looked vnto; and the poore oftener fed generallie than heretofore they haue béene, when onlie a few bishops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good cheere at Christmasse onelie, or otherwise kept great houses for the interteinment of the rich, which did often see and visit them. It is thought much peraduenture, that some bishops, &c: in our time doo come short of the ancient gluttonie and prodigalitie of their predecessors: but to such as doo consider of the curtailing of their liuings, or excessiue prices whervnto things are growen, and how their course is limited by law, and estate looked into on euery side, the cause of their so dooing is well inough perceiued. This also offendeth manie, that they should after their deaths leaue their substances to their wiues and children: wheras they consider not, that in old time such as had no lemans nor bastards (verie few were there God wot of this sort) did leaue their goods and possessions to their brethren and kinsfolks, whereby (as I can shew by good record) manie houses of gentilitie haue growen and béene erected. If in anie age some one of them did found a college, almehouse, or schoole, if you looke vnto these our times, you shall see no fewer déeds of charitie doone, nor better grounded vpon the right stub of pietie than before. If you saie that their wiues be fond, after the deceasse of their husbands, and bestow themselues not so aduisedlie as their calling requireth, which God knoweth these curious surueiors make small accompt of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehension: I beséech you then to looke into all states of the laitie, & tell me whether some duchesses, countesses, barons, or knights wiues, doo not fullie so often offend in the like as they:

**Hospitalitie.**

for Eue will be Eue though Adam would saie naie. Not a few also find fault with our thred-bare gowns, as if not our patrones but our wiues were causes of our wo. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue beene performed of late in Essex, where a minister taking a benefice (of lesse than twentie pounds in the Quéenes bookes so farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and sixtéene yéerelie of barleie, which he called hawkes meat; and another left the like in farme to his patrone for ten pounds by the yéere, which is well worth fortie at the least, the cause of our thred-bare gownes would easilie appeere, for such patrons doo scrape the wooll from our clokes. Wherefore I may well saie, that such a thred-bare minister is either an ill man, or hath an ill patrone, or both: and when such cookes & cobling shifters shall be remooued and weeded out of the ministerie, I doubt not but our patrones will prooue better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or else the single minded bishops shall sée the liuing bestowed vpon such as doo deserue it. When the Pragmatike sanction tooke place first in France, it was supposed that these enormities should vtterlie haue ceased: but when the elections of bishops came once into the hands of the canons and spirituall men, it grew to be farre worse. For they also within a while waxing couetous, by their owne experience learned aforehand, raised the markets, and sought after new gaines by the gifts of the greatest liuings in that countrie, wherein (as Machiauell writeth) are eightéene archbishoprikes, one hundred fortie and sixe

**Mariage.**

Number of churches in

**Thred-bare gownes from whence they come.**

France.

bishoprikes, 740 abbies, eleuen vniuersities, 1000700 stéeple (if his report be sound.) Some are of the opinion, that if sufficient men in euerie towne might be sent for from the vniuersities, this mischiefe would soone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I consider wherevnto the gifts of felowships in some places are grown: the profit that ariseth at sundrie elections of scholars out of grammar schooles, to the posers, schoolemasters, and preferrers of them to our vniuersities, the gifts of a great number of almshouses builded for the maimed and impotent souldiors, by princes and good men heretofore mooued with a pittifull consideration of the poore distressed: how rewards, pensions, and annuities also doo reigne in other cases, wherby the giuer is brought somtimes into extreame miserie, & that not so much as the roome of a common souldior is not obtained oftentimes, without a What will you giue me? I am brought into such a mistrust of the sequele of this deuise, that I dare pronounce (almost for certeine) that if Homer were now aliue, it should be said to him:

Pretie packing.

"Túque licèt venias musis comitatus Homere,  
Si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras."

More I could saie, and more I would saie of these and other things, were it not that in mine owne iudgement I haue said inough already for the aduertisement of such as be wise. Neuertheless, before I finish this chapter, I will adde a word or two (so brieflie as I can) of the old estate of cathedrall churches, which I haue collected together here and there among the writers, and whereby it shall easilie be seene what they were, and how neere the gouernment of ours doo in these daies approach vnto them, for that there is an irreconcilable ods betwéene them and those of the papists, I hope there is no learned man indéed, but will acknowledge and yéeld vnto it.

Old estate of cathedrall churches.

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue church, that there was in euerie see or iurisdiction one schoole at the least, whereinto such as were catechistes in christian religion did resort. And hereof as we may find great testimonie for Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Hierusalem; so no small notice is left of the like in the inferior sort, if the names of such as taught in them be called to mind, & the histories well read which make report of the same. These schooles were vnder the iurisdiction of the bishops, and from thence did they & the rest of the elders choose out such as were the ripest scholars, and willing to serue in the ministerie, whome they placed also in their cathedrall churches, there not onelie to be further instructed in the knowledge of the word, but also to invre them to the deliuerie of the same vnto the people in sound maner, to minister the sacraments, to visit the sicke and brethren imprisoned, and to performe such other duties as then belonged to their charges. The bishop himselfe and elders of the church were also hearers and examiners of their doctrine, and being in processe of time found meet workmen for the lords haruest, they were forthwith sent abrode (after imposition of hands, and praier generallie made for their good proceeding) to some place or other then destitute of hir pastor, and other taken from the schoole also placed in their roomes. What number of such clerks belonged now and then to some one sée, the chronologie following shall easilie declare: and in like sort what officers, widowes, and other persons were dailie mainteined in those seasons by the offerings and oblations of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the same with the decaies and ablations séene and practised at this present. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the estate of the cathedrall churches in those times, so I wish that the like order of gouernment might once againe be restored vnto the same, which may be doone with ease, sith the schooles are already builded in euerie diocesse, the vniuersities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great inough to receiue so manie as shall come from thence to be instructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is already and more & more to be looked for (beside the plucking and snatching commonlie séene from such houses and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the ministerie, and small consideration of their former paines taken, whereby lesse and lesse hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to insue. Wherefore the greatest part of the more excellent wits choose rather to imploy their studies vnto physike and the lawes, vtterlie giuing ouer the studie of the scriptures, for feare least they should in time not get their bread by the same. By this meanes also the stalles in their quéeres would be better filled, which now (for the most part) are emptie, and prebends should be prebends indéed, there to liue till they were preferred to some ecclesiasticall function, and then other men chosen to succéed them in their roomes, whereas now prebends are but superfluous additaments vnto former excesses, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue said before.) But as I haue good leisure to wish for these things: so it shall be a longer time before it will be brought to passe. Neuertheless, as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, so will I here conclude this my discourse of the estate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our seuerall sées, in such order as they shall come vnto my present remembrance.

## CHAP. II.

Hauing alreadie spoken generally of the state of our church, now will I touch the sées seuerallie, saing so much of ech of them as shall be conuenient for the time, and not onelie out of the ancient, but also the later writers, and somewhat of mine owne experience, beginning first with the sée of Canturburie, as the most notable, whose archbishop is the primat of all this land for ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and most accounted of commonlie, bicause he is néerer to the prince, and readie at euerie call.

**Canturburie.** The iurisdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected first by Augustine the moonke, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you haue respect to hir prouinciall regiment, extendeth it selfe ouer all the south and west parts of this Iland, and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent, and few shires there are wherein the archbishop hath not some peculiars. But if you regard the same onelie that was and is proper vnto his see, from the beginning, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantwarland, the iurisdiction of Rochester including the rest: so that in this one countie the greatest archbishoprike and the least bishoprike of all are linked in together. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, who hath iurisdiction ouer eleauen deanries or a hundred sixtie one parish churches; & in the popish time in sted of the 3093 pounds, eighteene shillings, halfepenie, farthing, which it now paieth vnto hir maiestie, vnder the name of first frutes, there went out of this see to Rome, at euerie alienation 10000 ducates or florens, beside 5000 that the new elect did vsuallie paie for his pall, each ducat being then worth an English crowne or thereabout, as I haue béene informed.

**Rochester.** The sée of Rochester is also included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Augustine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolrijc ouer the west-Saxons. The bishop of this sée hath one archdeacon, vnder whose gouernment in causes ecclesiasticall are thrée deanries, or 132 parish churches: so that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 parish churches in Kent, ouer which the said two archdeacons haue especiall cure & charge. He was woont to paie also vnto the court of Rome at his admission to that see 1300 ducats or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, considering the smalnesse of circuit belonging to his sée. Howbeit, in my time it is so farre from ease by diminution, that it is raised to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we resoluethem into our pounds, 358 pounds, thrée shillings, six pence, halfepennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more preciselie made than anie bishop of that sée dooth take any great delight in. He was crosse-bearer in times past vnto the archbishop of Canturburie. And there are and haue béene few sées in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their bishops for the most part from this see: for as it is of it selfe but a small thing in déed, so it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer possessed it, Thomas Kempe had the best lucke, who being but a poore mans sonne of Wie (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew first to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this sée, he was translated from thence to Chichester, thirddie to London, next of all to Yorke, and finallie after seauen and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became also cardinall, deacon, and then preest in the court of Rome, according to this verse, "Bis primas, ter præses, bis cardine functus." Certes I note this man, bicause he bare some fauour to the furtherance of the gospell, and to that end he either builded or repaired the pulpit in Paules churchyard, and tooke order for the continuall maintenance of a sermon there vpon the sabaoth, which dooth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the soundest doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for such strangers to resort vnto as haue no habitation in anie parish within the citie where it standeth.

The sée of London was erected at the first by Lucius, who made it of an archefflamine and temple of Iupiter an archbishops sée, and temple vnto the liuing God, and so it continued, vntill Augustine translated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbishops of London are these; Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Iltutus restitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Fastidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodinus slaine by the Saxons, and Theonus Iunior. But for their iust order of succession as yet I am not resolued, neuerthelessse the first bishop there was ordeined by Augustine the moonke, in the yeare of Christ 604, in the time of Ceolrijc, after he had remooued his see further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what secret occasion, if not the spéedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readinesse to flee out of the land, if any trouble should betide him. For iurisdiction it included Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herefordshire, which is neither more nor lesse in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the east Angles, before it was vnited to the west Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this sée, was first begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indic. 1. 598 of Inuber as I find, whilst he held that part of the said kingdome vnder his gouernement. Afterward when the Danes had sundrie times defaced it, it was repaired and made vp with hard stone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Mawrice bishop of that sée, and sometimes chapleine to the bastard Henrie the first, allowing him stone and stufte from Bainards castell

**London.**

néere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his works. Howbeit the mould of the quire was not statelie inough in the eies of some of his successors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time also the bodies of diuerse kings and bishops were taken vp and bestowed in the walles, to the end their memories should be of longer continuance. The iurisdiction of this sée also vnder the bishop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, who haue amongst them to the number of 363 parish churches, or thereabouts, beside the peculiars belonging to the archbishop and chapiter of that house, and at euerie alienation the bishop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight shillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerse suppose to be more, than (as it now standeth) the bishop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie, of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the bishop hath fiue eies) I speake not, for although it be vnder the bishop of London for visitations and synods, yet is it otherwise reputed as member of the sée of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath also fiue and twentie parishes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the rest in Herefordshire.

**Chichester.** The first beginning of the sée of Chichester was in the Ile of Seales or Seolseie, and from thence translated to Chichester, in the time of William the bastard, and generall remoouing of sées from small villages vnto the greater townes. It containeth Sussex onelie vnder hir iurisdiction, wherein are sixtéene deaneries, and 551 parish churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the sée of Rome 333 ducats: and after Edbert the first bishop, one Cella succeeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yéere as now it is) was void by many yeares. It was erected in Seoleseie also 711, by the décrée of a synod holden in Sussex, which borrowed it from the iurisdiction of Winchester, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the bishops that haue béene in this sée, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of anie one that hath béene of more estimation than William Read, sometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which sometime I did possesse; his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie instruments of astronomie reserued in that house (a college erected sometime by Walter Merton bishop of Rochester, and lord chancellor of England) he builded also the castell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Scorie or Storie his successor did the new crosse in the market place of Chichester.

**Winchester.** The bishop of Winchester was sometime called bishop of the west Saxons, and of Dorchester, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his successors, by Kinigils and Oswald of the Northumbers, in whose time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time it hath iurisdiction onelie ouer Hamshire, Surrie, Iardeseie, Gardeseie, and the Wight, containing eight deaneries, two hundred seuentie and six parish churches, and beside all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, deuised by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or florens, but now his first fruits are 2491 pounds nine shillings eight pence halfe penie. Canturburie was said to be the higher racke, but Winchester hath borne the name to be the better mangier. There are also which make Lucius to be the first founder of an house of praier in Winchester, as Kinigils did build the second, and Kinwaldus his sonne the third; but you shall sée the truth herof in the chronologie insuing. And herevnto if the old catalog of the bishops of this sée be well considered of, and the acts of the greatest part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our histories, you shall find the most egregious hypocrites, the stoutest warriours, the cruellest tyrants, the richest monimoongers, and politike counsellors in temporall affaires to haue, I wote not by what secret working of the diuine prouidence, beene placed here in Winchester, since the foundation of that sée, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius sent hither out of Italie) and first planted at Dorchester, in the time of Kinigils, then translated to Winchester, where it dooth yet continue.

**Salisbury.** Salisbury was made the chéefe sée of Shirburne by bishop Harman (predecessor to Osmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it hath now Barkeshire, Wilshire, and Dorsetshire vnder hir iurisdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Winchester was diuided in two, so that onelie Hamshire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorset, Barkeshire, Summerset, Deuon & Cornewill assigned vnto Shirburne till other order was taken. Bishop Adeline did first sit in that bishoprike (704 as I said) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the said diuision. And as manie lerned bishops did succéed him in that roome, before and after it was remooued to Sarum; so there was neuer a more noble ornament to that sée than bishop Iuell, of whose great learning and iudgement the world it selfe beareth witnesse, notwithstanding that the papists prefer S. Osmond (as they call him) because he builded the minster there, and made the portesse called Ordinale ecclesiastici officij, which old préests were woont to vse. The bishops also of this sée were sometimes called bishops of Sunning, of their old mansion house neere vnto Reading (as it should seeme) and among those that liued before the said Iuell, one Roger builded the castell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the first, taken in those daies for the strongest hold in England, as vnto whose gate there were regals and

gripes for six or seven port cullises. Finally this see paid unto Rome 4000 florens, but unto his majesty in my time 1367 pounds twelve shillings eight pence, as I did find of late.

**Excester.**

Excester hath, Deuonshire and Cornewall, sometime two severall bishopricks, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Excester in the time of the Bastard or soone after. It began vpon this occasion, Anno Gratiae 905, in a prouinciall councill holden by the elder Edward & Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie, among the Gewises, wherein it was found, that the see of Winchester had not onelie bene without his pastor by the space of seven yeeres, but also that his iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into five parts; the latter three being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing his see then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Kirton, or Cridioc. And the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barkshires for his part, to gouerne and looke vnto according to his charge. Finally, these two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited, the valuation thereof was taxed by the see of Rome at six thousand ducats or florens, which were truly paid at euery alienation; but verie hardlie (as I gesse) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermost, I find that it is litle worth aboute five hundred pounds by the yeere, because his tenths are but fiftie.

**Bath.**

Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, before Iohn the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summersetshire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie florens: but in his majesties books I find it five hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one or shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that see. Of the erection of this bishoprike, mentioned in the discourse of Excester, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large maner, which I will also remember, onelie because it pleaseth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This bishoprike (saith he) was erected 905, in a councill holden among the Gewises, whereat king Edward of the west-Saxons, and Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had bene seven yeeres without anie pastorall cure. And therefore in this councill it was agreed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shireburne) there should be five ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this meanes Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then void. Shireburne also sustained the subdiuision; so that Werstane was made bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose see was at Kirton), Herstan of Cornwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Berkshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you see what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iurisdiccions.

**The  
bishoprike  
of Shirburne  
diuided into  
three.**

**Worcester.**

Worcester sometime called Episcopatus Wicciorum (that is, the bishoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwikeshores. And before the bishoprike of Glocester was taken out of the same, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at euery change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seven pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance doo deceiue me.) This see was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Boselus was the first bishop there; after whome succeeded Ostfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there gat a monasterie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this see was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the same (as I haue bene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and should haue bene archbishop of Canturburie in the roome of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing least he would haue shewed himselfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore, least he should seeme altogether to reiect the said Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end the bishoprike of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, Martij 31, being thursdaie (as appeereth by the register of that house) after long plee holden for the aforesaid see of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monie did oftenest preuaile. This is also notable of that see, that five Italians succeeded ech other in the same, by the popes prouision; as Egidius, Syluester, Egidius his nephue (for nephues might say in those daies; Father shall I call you vncler? And vnclers also; Son I must call thee nephue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugutij, men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a rainie daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finally into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their

neighbours.

**Glocester.**

Glocester hath Glocestershire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, bicause it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the vsurped authoritie of the pope, except in quéene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it woorth yeerelie 315 pounds, seauen shillings thrée pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.

Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it paieth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this sée there was a bishop sometime called Iohn Bruton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A woonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Neuerthelesse his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnlie remembred, than anie good sermon that euer he made, which function peradventure he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

**Hereford.**

**Lichfield.**

Lichfield, wherevnto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see, hath Staffordshire, Darbishire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwikeshire, that is void of subiection to the sée of Worcestershire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which laie on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Kellac first, then Tunher an Englishman succéded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the bastard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this sée translated his chaire to Chester, and there held it for a season, whereby it came to passe that the bishops of Lichfield were for a while called bishops of Chester. But Robert his successor not likeing of this president, remooued his chaire from Chester to Couentrie, and there held it whilest he liued, whereby the originall diuision of the bishoprike of Lichfield into Lichfield, Chester, and Couentrie, dooth easilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be vnited, and Chester remaineth a bishoprike by it selfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as some old bookes haue) 3000, a good round summe, but not without a iust punishment, as one saith, sith that anno 765, Edulfe bishop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbishop of Canturburie of his pall, & so did in déed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the same vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time also of bishop Langton, the prebends of this see laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars also had an house, of which this honest bishop misliked not a little for sundrie causes; wherefore he began their close, and bestowed so much in building the same, and pauing the stréets, that his hungrie kinsmen did not a little grudge at his expenses, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the freends of most bishops gaped earnestlie in those daies. King Iohn was the greatest benefactor vnto this sée, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, Quasi mortuorum campus, bicause of the great slaughter of christians made there (as some write) vnder Dioclesian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fiue shillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a summe verie narrowlie cast by that auditor which tooke it first in hand.

Oxford hath Oxfordshire onelie, a verie yong iurisdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of quéene Marie, one Goldwell was bishop, who (as I remember) was a Iesuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuersant (as the constant fame went) in the blacke art, than skilfull in the scriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongst the Romane monarchs. It is said that obseruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that sée: but I haue heard since that he wist well enough what became of those commodities, for by one meane and other he found the swéetnesse of 354 pounds sixteene shillings thrée pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was passing skilfull, as the fame then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Oxford.

**Elie.**

Elie hath Cambridgshire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the first, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Heruie also was made bishop there, as I haue found in a register, belonging sometime to that house being translated from Bangor. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the registers there do testifie at large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds sixtéene shillings thrée pence halfe penie farthing, whose disme ioined to those of all the bishopriks in England, doo yéeld yearelie to hir maiesties coffers 23370 pounds sixtéene shillings thrée pence halfe penie farthing: whereby also the huge sums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome dooth in some measure appéere. Ethelwold afterward bishop of Winchester builded the first monasterie of Elie vpon

the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the same house, whereof he himselfe was abbat, was yer long destroyed by enimies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforesaid bishoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldnesse he expelled the secular préests, and stored with moonkes prouided from Abandune néere Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunstane then metropolitane of England. There was sometime a greuous contention betwéene Thomas Lild bishop of this see, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, because the matter is so parciallie penned by some of the brethren of that house, in fauour of the bishop; & for that I was also abused with the same in the entrance thereof at the first into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on so farre, that what for loue, and somewhat else, of a canon of Lichfield he was chosen bishop of that see. Herevpon the pope vnderstanding what he was by his Nuncio here in England, staied his consecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane season committed his examination to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester, who felt and dealt so fauourable with him in golden reasoning, that his worthnesse was commended to the popes holinesse, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himselfe apposed him, and after secret conference vtterlie disableth his election, till he had prooued by substantiall argument and of great weight before him also, that he was not so lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reasoning so well pleased his holinesse, that Ex mera plenitudine potestatis, he was made capable of the benefice and so returneth into England; when he came home, this bishop being in the kings presence told him how he had doone he wist not what in preferring so vnméet a man vnto so high a calling. With which speach the king was so offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his presence. In like sort the ladie Wake then duchesse of Lancaster, standing by, and hearing the king hir cousine to gather vp the bishop so roundlie, and thereto an old grudge against him for some other matter, dooth presentlie picke a quarrell against him about certeine lands then in his possession, which he defended & in the end obtained against hir by plée and course of law: yer long also \*afore hapned in a part of hir house, for which she accused the bishop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was priuie vnto the fact of his men in the said fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

\* sic. qu. a  
fire

Neuerthesse, being sore griued, that she had (as he said) wrested out such a verdict against him, and therein packed vp a quest at hir owne choise: he taketh his horsse, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his speech was so blockish, & termes so euill fauoredlie (though maliciouslie) placed, that the king tooke yet more offense with him than before; insomuch that he led him with him into the parlement house, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accused him of no small misdemeanor toward his person by his rude and threatening speeches. But the bishop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he still auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witnesse: wherevpon he is banished from the kings presence during his naturall life by verdict of that house. In the meane time the duchesse hearing what was doone, she beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betweene their seruants one of hir men was slaine, for which he was called before the magistrat, as chiefe accessarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the sequele of his third cause by his successe had in the two first, hideth himselfe after he had sold all his moouables, and committed the monie vnto his trustie friends. And being found giltie by the inquest, the king seizeth vpon his possessions, and calleth vp the bishop to answer vnto the trespasse. To be short, vpon safe-conduct the bishop commeth to the kings presence, where he denieth that he was accessarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and therevpon craueth to be tried by his péeres. But this petition was in vaine: for sentence passeth against him also by the kings owne mouth. Wherevpon he craueth helpe of the archbishop of Canturburie and priuileges of the church, hoping by such meanes to be solemnlie rescued. But they fearing the kings displeasure, who bare small fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vse anie such meanes; but rather willed him to submit himselfe vnto the kings mercie which he refused, standing vpon his innocencie from the first vnto the last. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman should so preuaile against him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his case might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iustice (saith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the perusall of these his letters also, his accusers were called thither. But for so much as they appéered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them also as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and doong-hilles, "Vnde timor & turba (saith my note) in Anglia." For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all processes, billes, and whatsoever instruments should come from Rome: such also as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either dismembred of some ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage so incensed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater cursses, except he did the sooner staie the furie of the lady, reconcile himself vnto the bishop, and finallie, making him amends for all

his losses susteined in these broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuerthelesse, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betwéene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himselve did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the bishop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue somewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington dooth deliuer it, who also hath the same in manner as I deliuer it.

**Norwich.** The see of Norwich called in old time Episcopatus Donnicensis, Dononiæ, or Eastanglorum, was erected at Felstow or Felixstow, where Felix of Burgundie (sometime schoolemaster to Sigebert of the east-Angles, by whose persuasion also the said Sigebert erected the vniuersitie at Cambridge) being made bishop of the east-Angles first placed his sée, afterward it was remooued from thence to Donwich, & thence to Helmham, Anno 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Bastard, to Norwich. For iurisdiction it conteineth in our daies Norffolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the first it included Cambridgeshire also, and so much as laie within the kingdome of the east-Angles. It began about the yéere 632, vnder Cerpenwald king of the east-Saxons, who bestowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius also confirmed, and after which he held it by the space of seauenteene yéeres. It paid sometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time hir maiestie hath 899 pounds, 8 shillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the same iurisdiction also there were once 1563 parish churches, and 88 religious houses: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of these I know one conuerted into a barne, whilst the people heare seruice further off vpon a greene: their bell also when I heard a sermon there preached in the gréene, hanged in an oke for want of a stéeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone. There is neuerthelesse a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Ashlie towne that should come to the same in such wise, if they did repaire thither as they ought.

**Peterborow.** Peterborow, sometimes a notable monasterie, hath Northampton and Rutland shires vnder hir iurisdiction, a diocesse erected also by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid first fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) wherof I doubt, because it was not recorded in his ancient register of tenths and fruits, although peradventure the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpose; it yéeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue seene and had an ancient terrier of the lands of this monasterie, which agréeeth verie well with the historie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that house. In the charter also of donation annexed to the same, I saw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, signed with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Sussex, Sebbie of Essex, with the additions of their names: the rest of the witnesses also insued in this order:

Ethelred brother to Wulfhere,  
Kindburg and Kindswith sisters to Wulfhere,  
Deusdedit archbishop,  
Ithamar bishop of Rochester,  
Wina bishop of London,  
Iarnman bishop of Mearc,  
Wilfride and Eoppa préests,  
Saxulfe the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all these, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the instrument at the sute of Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fiue and twentie bishops, wherein also these churches were appropriated to the said monasterie, to wit, Breeding, Reping, Cedenac, Swinesheued, Lusgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident testimonie how long the practise of appropriation of benefices hath béene vsed to the hinderance of the gospell, and maintenance of idle moonks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocrisie.

**Bristow.** Bristow hath Dorsetshire sometime belonging to Salisburie, a sée also latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who tooke no small care for the church of Christ, and therefore eased a number of ancient sées of some part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and bestowed those portions deducted, vpon such other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and féeding of the flocke: the value thereof is thrée hundred foure score and thrée pounds, eight shillings, and foure pence (as I haue béene informed.)

**Lincolne.** Lincolne of all other of late times was the greatest; and albeit that out of it were taken the sees of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it still reteineth Lincolne, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham shires, and the rest of Hertford; so that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope fiue thousand ducats (as appeereth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reason of hir diminution it yéeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight shillings, seauen pence farthing. It began since the conquest, about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remooued his sée from Dorchester to Lincolne (not without licence well paid for



vnto the king.) And thus much of the bishopriks which lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that I procéed with Wales.

- Landaffe.** Landaffe, or the church of Taw hath ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor shires. And although it paid seuen hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prelat; yet is it scarselie worth one hundred fiftie and fiue pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore bishoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long since by the lord president in open court made answer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the séed time and the frée planting of the gospell, the meate of the labourer shall not be diminished and withdrawen.
- S. Dauids.** S. Dauids hath Penbroke and Caermardine shires, whose liuerie or first fruits to the sée of Rome was one thousand and fiue hundred ducats, at the hardest (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie sufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and seauen pounds, one shilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and so it paieth vnto hir maiesties coffers; but in time past I thinke it was farre better. The present bishop misliketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedrall church; and therefore he would gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what suertie he would put in to sée it well performed: of the rest I speake not.
- Bangor.** Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernaruon, Angleseie, and Merioneth shires vnder hir iurisdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the bishoprikes in England it is now the least for reuenues, and not woorth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and sixteene pence to hir maiesties coffers at euerie alienation (as appéereth by the tenths, which amount to much lesse than those of some good benefice) for it yeeldeth not yéerelie aboue thirtéene pounds, thrée shillings, and seauen pence halfe penie, as by that court is manifest.
- S. Asaphes.** S. Asaphes hath Prestholme and part of Denbigh and Flintshires vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, which being laid together doo amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in respect of circuit the least that is to be found in Wales, neuerthelesse it paid to Rome 470 ducates at euerie alienation. In my time the first fruits of this bishoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen shillings six pence; wherby it séemeth to be somewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor last remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintshire in the compasse of this iurisdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of siluer yearelie to the best harper in Wales, but did anie bishop thinke you deserue that in the popish time? Howell or Aphowell in English is all one (as I haue heard) and signifie so much as Hugo or Hugh. Hitherto of the prouince of Canturburie, for so much therof as now lieth within the compasse of this lland. Now it resteth that I procéed with the curtailed archbishoprike of Yorke, I saie curtailed because all Scotland is cut from his iurisdiction and obedience.
- Yorke.** The see of Yorke was restored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the coming of the Saxons laie desolate and neglected, howbeit at the said time Iustus archbishop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be first bishop there, in the time of Gadwijn king of Northumberland. This Paulinus sate six yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whose expulsion that seat was void long time, wherby Lindesfarne grew into credit, and so remained vntill the daies of Oswie of Northumberland, who sent Wilfred the priest ouer into France, there to be consecrated archbishop of Yorke: but whilest he taried ouer long in those parts, Oswie impatient of delaie preferred Ceadda or Chad to that roome, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recouered his roome, and held it as he might, vntill it was seuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulstade, or Lindesfarne, where Eata was placed, at which time also Egfride was made bishop of Lincolne or Lindsie in that part of Mercia which he had gotten from Woolfhere. Of it selfe it hath now iurisdiction ouer Yorkeshire, Notinghamshire (whose shire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the first surnamed the elder before the conquest) and the rest of Lancastershire onelie not subiect to the sée of Chester; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his see 1000 ducates, beside 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well spare of late, considering the curtailling & diminution of his sée, thorough the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yéeldeth 1609 pounds ninetéene shillings two pence to hir maiestie, whom God long preserue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.
- Chester.** Chester vpon Dee, otherwise called Westchester, hath vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, Chestershire, Darbishire, the most part of Lancastershire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint and Denbigh shires in Wales, was made a bishoprike by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Iulij 16, and so hath continued since that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beside od twentie pence (a streit reckoning) as the record declareth.
- Durham.** Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales onelie vnder hir iurisdiction, and hereof the bishops haue sometimes béene earles palantines & ruled the rost vnder the name of the bishoprike and succession of S.

Cuthbert. It was a sée (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maiesties coffers by 221 pounds eighteene shillings ten pence farthing, and yet of lesse countenance than hir prouinciall, neuertheles the sunneshine thereof (as I heare) is now somewhat eclipsed and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increase in hir estate. I heare also that some other fitches haue forgone the like collops, but let such matters be scanned by men of more discretion. Capgraue saith how that the first bishop of this sée was called bishop of Lindseie (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda laie in Liechfield of the Mercians in a mansion house néere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the West-saxons bestowed all the land betwéene the These & the Tine now called the bishoprike vpon S. Cuthbert, beside whatsoever belonged to the see of Hagulstade. Edgar of Scotland also in the time of the Bastard gaue Coldingham and Berwike withall their appurtenances to that house; but whether these donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a sight of them, from whome I had this ground. But whatsoever this bishoprike be now, in externall & outward apparence, sure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducates at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expresseth. Aidan a Scot or Irishman was the first bishop of this sée, who held himselfe (as did manie of his successors) at Colchester and in Lindesfarne Ile, till one came that remooued it to Durham. And now iudge you whether the allegation of Capgraue be of anie accompt or not.

**Caerleill.**

Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and hereof one Ethelwoolfe confessor to Osmond bishop of Sarum was made the first bishop, hauing Cumberland & Westmerland assigned to his share; of the deaneries and number of parish churches contained in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Howbeit hereof I am sure, that notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds foureteene shillings eleuen pence halfe penie, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime euen before the pope himselfe, supposing no lesse than to haue gained by his tale, and so peradventure should haue doone, if his platforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the practises of flatteries, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speach was vttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and eftsoones repared by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cairdoill. For in an ancient booke which I haue séene, and yet haue, intituled, Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ, octo capitulorum, episcopatus Cardocensis. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue shillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in those daies, doo euidentlie declare, what store of coine was transported out of the land vnto the papall vses, in that behalfe onelie.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in those daies, for such commodities were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifullie gat he by his perquisites, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, seales, préests, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he séeke much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old bookes of record, which I also haue séene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole sum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion poore saint Peter did neuer heare, of so much as one graie grote. Marke therefore I praie you whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his tenths ouer all Europe, and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the best paire of bellowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot seeth, beside all other commodities.

Beside all these, we haue another bishoprike yet in England almost slipped out of my remembrance, because it is verie obscure, for that the bishop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance sufficientlie, and that is the see of Mona or Man, sometime named Episcopatus Sodorensis, whereof one Wimundus was ordeined the first bishop, and Iohn the second, in the troublesome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie resteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate such a one from time to time therto as to them dooth séeme conuenient. Howbeit if that sée did know and might reape hir owne commodities, and discern them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter) I doubt not but the state of hir bishop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later sée after this maner vnto mind, I suppose that I haue sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state of our bishoprike, and maner how the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and counties of this realme. Whose bishops as they haue béene heretofore of lesse learning, and yet of greater port & dooings in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in

**Man.**

anie countrie of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue, commended somewhat by fréendship, doo bring them to this honour.

I might here haue spoken more at large of diuerse other bishopriks, sometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerltheon tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the moonke (as Malmesburie saith) where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward translated to S. Dauids, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leircester called Legerensis, whose fourth bishop (Vnwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirddie of Ramsbirie or Wiltun, and of Glocester (of which you shall read in Matth. Westm. 489) where the bishope was called Eldad: also of Hagulstade, one of the members whereinto the see of Yorke was diuided after the expulsion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his see into two parts, making Bosa ouer the Deiranes that held his sée at Hagulstade, or Lindfarne: and Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who sate at Yorke: and thereto placing Edhedus ouer Lindseie (as is afore noted) whose successors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithstanding that one Sexulfus was ouer Lindseie before Edhedus, who was bishop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was banished from Lindseie, and came into those quarters to séeke his refuge and succour.

Gloucester's  
verie  
ancient  
bishoprike.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Casam, an house with the countrie wherein it stood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; also of the erection of the late sée at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one so the other is ceased, and the lands of this later either so diuided or exchanged for worse tenures, that except a man should sée it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is bestowed, but a few men would beléeue what is become of the same. I might likewise and with like ease also haue added the successors of the bishops of euerie sée to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatise to an vnprofitable length. Neuerthelesse I will remember the fame of London my natiue citie, after I haue added one word more of the house called Ad Candidam Casam, in English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white stone wherwith it was builded, and was séene far off as standing vpon an hill to such as did behold it.

THE NAMES AND SUCCESSIONS OF SO MANIE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF  
LONDON,  
AS ARE EXTANT, AND TO BE HAD, FROM THE FAITH FIRST RECEIUED.

*Archbishops.*

Theon.  
Eluanus.  
Cadocus.  
Ouinus.  
Conanus.  
Palladius.  
Stephanus.  
Iltutus.  
Restitutus, who liued 350 of grace.  
Tadwinus aliàs Theodwinus, some  
doo write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.  
Tidredus aliàs Theodred.  
Hilarius.  
Fastidius liued Anno Dom. 430.  
Vodinus, slaine by the Saxons.  
Theonus.

*The see void manie yeares.*

Augustine the moonke, sent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remooued his sée to Canturburie, to the intent he might the sooner flée, if persecution should be raised by the infidels, or heare from, or send more spéedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

*Bishops.*

Melitus.

*The see void for a season.*

Wina.  
Erkenwaldus.

Waldherus.  
 Ingaldus.  
 Egulphus.  
 Wigotus.  
 Eadbricus.  
 Edgarus.  
 Kiniwalchus.  
 Eadbaldus.  
 Eadbertus.  
 Oswinus.  
 Ethelnothus.  
 Cedbertus.  
 Cernulphus.  
 Suiduiphus  
 Eadstanus.  
 Wulffinus.  
 Ethelwaldus.  
 Elstanus.  
 Brithelmus.  
 Dunstanus.  
 Tidricus.  
 Alwijnus.  
 Elswoldus.  
 Robertus a Norman.  
 Wilhelmus a Norman.  
 Hugo a Norman.

I read also of a bishop of London called Elsward, or Ailward, who was abbat of Eouesham, and bishop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramseie, howbeit in what order of succession he liued I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboute remembred, but in this order doo I find them.

*The see void twelue yeares.*

- 1 Mauricius.
- 2 Richardus Beaumis.
- 3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a notable man  
for thrée  
things, auarice, riches, and learning.
- 4 Robertus de Sigillo.
- 5 Richardus Beaumis.
- 6 Gilbertus Folioth.
- 7 Richardus.
- 8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.
- 9 Eustathius Falconberg.
- 10 Rogerus Niger.
- 11 Fulco Bascet.
- 12 Henricus Wingham.
- Richardus Talbot electus.
- 15 Richard. Grauesend.
- 16 Radulfus Gandacensis.
- 17 Gilbertus Segraue.
- 18 Richardus de Newport.
- 19 Stephanus Grauesend.
- 20 Richard. Bintworth.
- 21 Radulfus Baldoc who made the tables  
hanging in the vesterie of Paules.
- 22 Michael.
- 23 Simon.
- 24 Robertus.
- 25 Thomas.
- 26 Richardus.
- 27 Thomas Sauagius.
- 28 Wilhelmus.
- 29 Wilhelm. Warham.
- 30 Wihelmus Barnes.
- 31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
- 32 Iohannes Stokesleie.
- 33 Richardus fitz Iames.
- 34 Edmundus Boner, remooued,  
imprisoned.
- 35 Nicholas Ridleie remooued and  
burned.
- Edm. Boner, restored, remooued, &  
imprisoned.
- 36 Edmundus Grindall.

37 Edwinus Sandes.  
38 Iohannes Elmer.

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments that haue béene in that seat.

*Deanes.*

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes contained in the whole psalter, and appointed the same dailie to be read amongst the prebendaries.  
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their librarie.  
3 Alardus Bucham.  
4 Robertus Watford.  
5 Martinus Patteshull.  
6 Hugo de Marinis.  
7 Radulfus Langfort.  
8 Galfridus de Berie.  
9 Wilhelmus Stāman.  
10 Henricus Cornell.  
11 Walterus de Salerne.  
12 Robertus Barton.  
13 Petrus de Newport.  
14 Richardus Talbot.  
15 Galfredus de Fering.  
16 Iohannes Chishull.  
17 Herueus de Boreham.  
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.  
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.  
20 Wilhelmus de Montfort.  
21 Radulfus de Baldoc postea episcopus.  
22 Alanus de Cantilup postea cardinalis.  
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.  
Richardus de Newport electus.  
23 Magister Vitalis.  
24 Iohannes Euerisdon.  
25 Wilhelmus Brewer.  
26 Richardus Kilmington.  
27 Thomas Trullocke.  
28 Iohannes Appulbie.  
29 Thomas Euer.  
30 Thomas Stow.  
31 Thomas More.  
32 Reginaldus Kenton.  
33 Thomas Lisieux aliàs Leseux.  
34 Leonardus de Bath.  
35 Wilhelmus Saie.  
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.  
37 Thom. Winterburne.  
38 Wilhelmus Wolseie.  
39 Robert Sherebroke.  
40 Iohānes Collet, founder of Paules schoole.  
Richardus Paceus.  
Richardus Sampson.  
Iohannes Incent.  
Wilhelmus Maius resignauit.  
Iohannes Fakenham aliàs Howman resignauit.  
Henricus Colus, remooued, imprisoned.  
Wilhelmus Maius, restored.  
Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and deanes of that honorable sée. I call it honorable, because it hath had a succession for the most part of learned and wise men, albeit that otherwise it be the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie for

that it is néere vnto checke, but also the prelats thereof are much troubled with sutors, and no lesse subiect to the reproches of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reprooue and carpe at. I would haue doone so much for euerie see in England, if I had not had consideration of the greatnesse of the volume, and small benefit rising by the same, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuerthelesse I haue reserued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.

## CHAP. III.

**Manie  
vniuersities  
sontime in  
England.**

There haue béene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Iland, and those euen in my daies not altogether forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Pelagius the monke. The second at Carlheon vpon Vske, neere to the place where the riuer dooth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Eridon or Criclade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorised, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Oxford in time of ciuill dissention vnto the said townes, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betwéene the chancellor for the scholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall sée more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are thrée noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vse of the toongs, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, physicke, and theologie, are dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onelie read and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are not onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard fréestone or bricke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through the excéeding liberalitie of kings, quéenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large liuings and great reuenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be séene in anie other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such conuenient numbers of poore mens sonnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

**Thrée  
vniuersities  
in England.**

**When the  
vniuersities  
were builded  
in England.  
vncerteine.**

When these two schooles should be first builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuertheless, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that Iohn of Beuerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not so called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant of the finisher of the worke, or at the leastwise of the riuer that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saxons Grantcester. An other sort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Granta, &c: but whie then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium, or Cantodunum, according to the same? All this is said onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who comming from the Brigants, or out of Biscaie, called the said towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it béene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come first into Ireland, and from thense ouer into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that it hath béene often seene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer also into Scithia, and contrariwise: coasting still through Yorkeshire, which of them also was called Brigantium, as by good testimonie appeareth.

**Oxford fiftie  
miles from  
London.**

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, being inuironed in maner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and vallies beneath, whose courses would bréed no small commoditie to that citie and countrie about, if such impediments were remooued as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the cariage which might be made thither also from London.

**Cambridge  
six and  
fortie miles  
from  
London.**

That of Cambridge is distant from London about fortie and six miles north and by east, and standeth verie well, sauing that it is somewhat néere vnto the fens, whereby the wholesomenesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of prouision, but especially of freshwater fish and wildfoule, by reason of the riuer that passeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Elie, which is so néere at hand. Onlie wood is the chéefe want to such as studie there, wherefore this kind of prouision is brought them either from Essex, and other places thereabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with gall (a bastard kind of Mirtus as I take it) and seacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath not such store of medow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced in like sort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in verie great abundance.

**Longitude &  
latitude of**

Oxford is supposed to containe in longitude eightéene degrees and eight and twentie

both.

minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrés and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and therevnto fiftie and two degrés and fifteene minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation is easie to be found.

Cambridge  
burned not  
long since.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workmanship and priuat commodities, are much more statelie, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and therevnto the stréets of the towne for the most part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike regiment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship, excéedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is and hath béene the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diuerse that are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine, that whatsoever the difference be in building of the towne stréets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroching vpon their liberties, and kéepe them bare by extreame sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, because that goods euill gotten doo seldome long indure.

Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech were accordinglie repaired: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and situation of ground, sith Oxford castell standeth low and is not so apparant to our sight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they saie) by Gurguintus, sometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oilie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman giuen to no lesse superstition than credulitie, began also the abbeie of Oseneie neere vnto the same, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will héere remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how readie the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, néere vnto the aforesaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off, or else hir selfe at home againe, and this happened diuerse times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherefore these pies did so molest & vexee hir. Oh madam (saith he) the wiliest pie of all, these are no pies but soules in purgatorie that craue reléefe. And is it so in déed quoth she? Now De pardieux, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will doo what I can to bring these soules to rest. Herevpon she consulted, craued, wept, and became so importunate with hir husband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that synagog 1120, which afterward proued to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the same, in the habit of a vowesse, and yet to be séene, except the weather haue worne out the memoriall. But to procéed with my purpose.

In each of these vniuersities also is likewise a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Iulie, the scholers are holden, and in which such as haue béene called to anie degré in the yeare precedent, doo there receiue the accomplishment of the same, in solemne and sumptuous maner. In Oxford this solemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vse the French word Commensement; and such resort is made yearelie vnto the same from all parts of the land, by the fréends of those which doo procéed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge those gests. When and by whome the churches aforesaid were builded, I haue elsewhere made relation. That of Oxford also was repaired in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the seuenth, when doctor Fitz Iames a great helper in that worke was warden of Merton college, but yer long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the church and stéeples, which since that time haue neuer béene repaired. There were sometime foure and twentie parish churches in the towne and suburbes, but now there are scarselie sixtéene. There haue béene also 1200 burgesses, of which 400 dwelled in the suburbes, and so manie students were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compasse about the towne, for their prouision of vittels.

The common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie schoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workmanship, commeth next the moold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the seauenth did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone thrée more notable piles within the compasse of Europe.

In all other things there is so great equalitie betwéene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagin how to set downe any greater; so that they séeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in fréendlie consent and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so déere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledge



were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupill; or my power so great, that I might woorthilie requite them both for those manifold kindnesses that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue these things, and procéed with other more conuenient for my purpose. The manner to liue in these vniuersities, is not as in some other of forren countries we see dailie to happen, where the students are enforced for want of such houses, to dwell in common innes, and tauerns, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we liue in such exact order, and vnder so precise rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man Erasmus of Roterodame being here among vs 50 yeres passed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of students in these two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient moonks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be such as not onlie came néere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monastical institutiōs that euer were deuised.

In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houses, and other by the purueiances and helpe of their rich fréends; whereby in some one college you shall haue two hundred scholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerse a hundred and fortie, and in the rest lesse numbers; as the capacitie of the said houses is able to receiue: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about thrée thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late surueie it manifestlie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the first, onelie for poore mens sons, whose parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the least benefit of them, by reason the rich doo so inbroch vpon them. And so farre hath this inconuenience spread it selfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowship (though he be neuer so good a scholar & woorthie of that roome.) Such packing also is vsed at elections, that not he which best deserueth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the woorst scholer, is alwaies surest to spéed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends haue beene in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, doo intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or estatutes deuised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too too euident: and their attempt would soone take place, if their superiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors. In some grammar schooles likewise, which send scholers to these vniuersities, it is lamentable to see what briberie is vsed; for yer the scholer can be preferred, such bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort receiued (who in time past thought it dishonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their studie the end of their purposes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beside this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sonnes, they oft bring the vniuersities into much slander. For standing vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, excéeding in apparell, and hanting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuse when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which gréueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the rest.

**Readers in priuat houses.**

Euerie one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the toongs and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelue termes) to shew themselues abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were "In aream") there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their comming thither.

**Publike readers mainteined by the prince.**

Moreouer, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fiue professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physicke, the Hebrue, and the Gréeke toongs. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadriuals, although the latter (I meane arithmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectiues are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselues doo allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incoraged to be diligent in their functions.

**Studie of the quadriuals and perspectiues neglected.**

These professors in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schoole exercises, which are dailie vsed in common schooles seuerallie assigned to ech of them, and such of their hearers, as by their skill shewed in the said disputations, are thought to haue attained to anie conuenient ripenesse of knowledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted solemnlie to take their deserued degrees of schoole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

**Sophisters.**

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they haue

**Masters of art.**

learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obtained thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematical, they ascend higher vnto the estate of batchelers of art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the toongs, they rise at the last (to wit, after other thrée or foure yéeres) to be called masters of art, ech of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he professe but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to choose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or, physike; so that being once masters of art, the next degré if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, after they haue necessarilie proceeded masters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open schooles, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward replie wise against some other man vpon a like number, and on two seuerall daies in the same place: which being doone with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batcheler of diuinitie, but not before he hath beene master of art by the space of seauen yéeres, according to their statutes.

**Batcheler of diuinitie.**

**Doctor.**

The next and last degré of all is the doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. I haue read that Iohn of Beuerleie was the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so strictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, sith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitiue church as kept schooles of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptisme, or anie office in the church.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degré receiued, is commonlie eighteene or peraduenture twentie yéeres, in which time if a student hath not obtained sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarieng longer to come by anie more. For after this time & 40 yéeres of age, the most part of students doo commonlie giue ouer their woonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet dooing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, aswell in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice in sted of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and vpriht life, as bishop Fox sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit.

**This Fox builded Corpus Christi college in Oxford.**

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the lawe, or physike (of which this giueth wealth, the other honor) so soone as he commeth to the vniuersitie, if his knowledge in the toongs and ripenesse of iudgement serue therefore: which if he doo, then his first degré is bachelor of law, or physicke, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, doo for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finallie, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea doo in their owne or else where. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whence verie few without speciall grace doo returne good men, whatsoever they pretend of conference or practise, chiefelie the physicians who vnder pretense of séeking of forreine simples doo oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknownen than practised, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be séene without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, bicause of the licentious and corrupt behaiour of the people.

**So much also may be inferred of lawiers.**

There is moreouer in euerie house a maister or prouost, who hath vnder him a president, & certeine censors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behavior and maners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the vsual names of gouernours in Cambridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houses are now and then called presidents in respect of such bishops as are their visitors & founders. In ech of these also they haue one or moe thresurers whom they call Bursarios or Bursers beside other officers, whose charge is to see vnto the welfare and maintenance of these houses. Ouer each vniuersitie also there is a seuerall chancelor, whose offices are perpetuall, howbeit their substitutes, whom we call vicechancelors, are changed euerie yeare, as are also the proctors, taskers, maisters of the streates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and estate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuersities in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they haue vouchsafed rather of their fauour than my desert to yéeld and bestow vpon me, and vnto whose students I wish one thing, the execution whereof cannot be preiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am resolutelie persuaded, and the case now standeth in these our daies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did signifie the vacation therof to the bishop, and the bishop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuersities, with request that the vicechancellor with his assistents might prouide some such able man to succeed in the place, as should by their iudgement be méet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then should the church be prouided of good pastors, by whome God should be glorified, the vniuersities better stored, the simoniacall practises of a number of patrons vtterlie abolished and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie estate.

**London.** To these two also we may in like sort ad the third, which is at London (seruing onelie for such as studie the lawes of the realme) where there are sundrie famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Ins of the court, the rest of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of such as applie their minds to our common lawes. Out of these also come manie scholers of great fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore béene brought vp in one of the aforesaid vniuersities, and prooue such commonlie as in processe of time, rise vp (onelie through their profound skill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue also degrés of learning among themselues, and rules of discipline, vnder which they liue most ciuillie in their houses, albeit that the yoonger sort of them abroad in the streats are scarce able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was woont also greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betweene the students and the burgesses: but as it is well left in these two places, so in forreine counteies it cannot yet be suppressed. Besides these vniuersities, also there are great number of Grammer schooles through out the realme, and those verie liberallie indued, for the better reliefe of poore scholers, so that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quéenes dominion, that haue not one Gramar schoole at the least, with a sufficient liuing for a maister and vsher appointed to the same.

**Windsor, Winchester, Eaton, Westminster.** There are in like maner diuerse collegiat churches as Windsor, Wincester, Eaton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father master Nowell now deane of Paules) and in those a great number of poore scholers dailie mainteened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue béene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Gréeke toongs, and rules of versifieng (the triall whereof is made by certeine apposers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are sent to certeine especiall houses in each vniuersitie, where they are receiued \* the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to shew their faces in the schooles, as I haue said already. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuersities, and likewise of colleges in the same, whose names I will also set downe here, with those of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer perish from among the wise and learned.

\* and?

#### OF THE COLLEGES IN CAMBRIDGE WITH THEIR FOUNDERS.

<i>Yeares of the foundations.</i>	<i>Colleges.</i>	<i>Founders.</i>
1546	1 Trinitie college.	King Henrie 8.
1441	2 The kings college.	K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3 S. Iohns.	L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4 Christes college.	K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforesaid.
1446	5 The queenes college.	Ladie Margaret wife to king Henrie 6.
1496	6 Iesus college.	Iohn Alcocke bishop of Elie.
1342	7 Bennet college.	The brethren of a popish guild called <i>Corporis Christi</i> .
1343	8 Pembroke hall.	by Maria de Valentia, countesse of Pembroke.
1256	9 Peter college.	Hugh Balsham bishop of Elie.
1348	10 Gundeuill and Caius college.	Edmund Gundeuill parson of Terrington, and Iohn Caius doctor of physicke.
1557		
1354	11 Trinitie hall.	William Bateman bishop of Norwich.
1326	12 Clare hall.	Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.
1459	13 Catharine hall.	Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie.

1519	14 Magdalen college.	Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie.
1585	15 Emanuell college.	Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.

OF COLLEGES IN OXFORD.

<i>Yeares</i>	<i>Colleges.</i>	<i>Founders.</i>	
1539	1 Christes church.	King Henrie 8.	
1459	2 Magdalen college.	William Wainflet first fellow of Merton college, then scholer at Winchester, and afterward bishop there.	<b>He founded also a good part of Eaton college, and a frée schole at Wainflet where he was borne.</b>
1375	3 New college.	William Wickham bishop of Winchester.	
1276	4 Merton college.	Walter Merton bishop of Rochester.	
1437	5 All soules college.	Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie.	
1516	6 Corpus Christi college.	Richard Fox bishop of Winchester	
1430	7 Lincolne college.	Richard Fleming bishop of Lincolne.	
1323	8 Auriell college.	Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.	
1340	9 The queenes college.	R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, by wife to Edward 3.	
1263	10 Balioll college.	Iohn Balioll king of Scotland.	
1557	11 S. Iohns.	Sir Thomas White knight.	
1556	12 Trinitie college.	Sir Thomas Pope knight.	
1316	13 Excester college.	Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.	
1513	14 Brasen nose.	William Smith bishop of Lincolne.	
873	15 Vniuersitie college.	William archdeacon of Duresme.	
	16 Glocester college.	Iohn Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene moonks.	
	17 S. Marie college.		
	18 Iesus college now in hand.	Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law.	

There are also in Oxford certeine hostels or hals, which may rightwell be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them, than is to be seen in the other. In mine opinion the liuers in these are verie like to those that are of Ins in the chancerie, their names also are these so farre as I now remember.

Brodegates.	S. Marie hall.
Hart hall.	White hall.
Magdalen hall.	New In.
Alburne hall.	Edmond hall.
Postminster hall.	

The students also that remaine in them, are called hostelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to passe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie being brought vp in such an house at Cambridge, was of the ignorant sort of Londoners called an hosteler, supposing that he had serued with some inholder in the stable, and therefore in despite diuerse hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the gossell, whereas in déed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient house & in the end a faithfull witnessse of Iesus Christ, in whose quarrell he refused not to shed his bloud and yéeld vp his life vnto the furie of his aduersaries.

Besides these there is mention and record of diuerse other hals or hostels, that haue béene there in times past, as Beefe hall, Mutton hall, &c: whose ruines yet appéere: so that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the shew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentiful in Oxford to be séene, it should be an easie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuersitie. Therin are also manie dwelling houses of stone yet standing, that haue béene hals for students of verie antike workemanship, beside the old wals of sundrie other, whose plots haue béene conuerted into gardens, since colleges were erected.

**Erection of colleges in Oxford the overthrow of hals.**

*In London also the houses of students at the Common law are these.*

Sergeants In.	Furniuals In.
Graies In.	Cliffords In.
The Temple.	Clements In.
Lincolnes In.	Lions In.

Dauids In.  
Staple In.

Barnards In.  
New In.

And thus much in generall of our noble vniuersities, whose lands some gréedie gripers doo gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to haue preuailed in their purposes. But who are those that haue attempted this sute, other than such as either hate learning, pietie, and wisdom; or else haue spent all their owne, and know not otherwise than by incroching vpon other men how to mainteine themselues? When such a motion was made by some vnto king Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this maner; Ah sirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands haue fleshed you and set your téeth on edge, to aske also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries, you haue a desire also to ouerthrow all goodnesse by subuersion of colleges. I tell you sirs that I iudge no land in England better bestowed than that which is giuen to our vniuersities, for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your selues with that you haue already, or else seeke honest meanes whereby to increase your liuelods, for I loue not learning so ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one house by a pennie, whereby it may be vpholden. In king Edwards daies likewise the same was once againe attempted [as I haue heard] but in vaine, for saith the duke of Summerset among other speeches tending to that end, who also made answer therevnto in the kings presence by his assignation; If lerning decaie, which of wild men maketh ciuill, of blockish and rash persons wise and godlie counsellors, of obstinat rebels obedient subiects, and of euill men good and godlie christians; what shall we looke for else but barbarisme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it shall be hard to saie, whose staffe shall stand next the doore, for then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie shall be assailed, by such as liue to spend all, and thinke that what so euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath sweat and laboured for it. In quéene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie such course to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gracious quéene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a sort in talke the third time, but without successe as mooued also out of season, and so I hope it shall continue for euer. For what comfort should it be for anie good man to see his countrie brought into the estate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes against learning, and would not suffer anie skilfull man to come into their councill house, by meanes whereof those people became sauage, tyrants, and mercilesse helhounds, till they restored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.

Now abbeies  
be gone, our  
dingthrifths  
prie after  
church and  
college  
possessions.

## CHAP. IV.

In reding of ancient writers, as Cæsar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of sundrie regions to haue béene sometime in this Iland, as the Nouantæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Cerones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali or Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes Parisi, Ordouici aliàs Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritani, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangj, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Icenj, Tegenes, Casij, Cænimagi, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Kentishmen, and such like. But sith the seuerall places where most of them laie, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of these daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my iudgement vpon such doubtfull cases, least that in so dooing I should but increase coniectures, and leading peradventure the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with such as are of lesse value, and things nothing so likelie to be true, as those which other men haue remembred and set downe before me. Neither will I speake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whose number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Augustane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.

Alfred brought England into shires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the first Saxons by families.

It shall suffice therefore to begin with such a ground as from whence some better certeintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the estate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who first diuided England into shires, which before his daies, and since the comming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the same in their time, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records doo witness.

Shire and share all one.

Into how manie shires the said Alfred did first make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out; howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I suppose that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, sith we find by no good author, that aboue fiftene haue beene added by anie of his successours, since the time of his decease. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into shires, or shares, he diuided againe the same into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maister Lambert following their authorities, hath also giuen out, saieng almost after this maner in his description of Kent; "The Danes (saith he) both before, & in the time of king Alfred, had flocked by the sea coasts of this Iland in great numbers, sometimes wasting and spoiling with sword and fire, wheresoeuer they might arriue, and somtime taking great booties with them to their ships, without dooing anie further hurt or damage to the countrie. This inconuenience continuig for manie yéeres together, caused our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occasion and hardinesse to euill disposed persons, to fall to the like pillage, as practising to follow the Danes in these their thefts and robberies. And the better to cloake their mischeefe withall, they feigned themselues to be Danish pirats, and would sometime come a land in one port, and sometime in another, driuing dailie great spoiles (as the Danes had doone) vnto their ships before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had maruellouslie trauelled in repelling the barbarous Danes) espieng this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politike prince, to root out the noisome subiect, than to hold out the forren aduersarie: by the aduise of his nobilitie, and the example of Moses (who followed the counsell of Iethro his father in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme into certeine parts or sections, which (of the Saxon word Schyran, signifieng to cut) he termed shires, or as we yet speake, shares, or portions, of which some one hath fortie miles in length (as Essex) and almost so manie broad, Hereford foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Warwike six and thirtie in length, &c: and some of them also conteine ten, twelue, thirteene, sixtéene, twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or lesse, as some hundreds doo sixteene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or sixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred able men to serue him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the same. These shires also he brake into lesser parts, whereof some were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which is to assemble together; other hundreds, for that they enioied iurisdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, bicause there were in each of them to the number of ten persons, whereof euerie one from time to time was suertie for others good abearing. He prouided also that euerie man should procure himselfe to be receiued into some tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of so small and base a credit, that no man would become pledge or suertie for him, he should forthwith be committed to prison, least otherwise he might happen to doo more harme abroad. Hitherto master Lambert." By whose words we may gather verie much of the state of this Iland in the time of Alfred, whose institution continued after a sort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in such wise (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare names of some officers (except peradventure in Kent) so that in these daies it is hard to set downe anie great

Englishmen noisome to their owne countrie.

Earle and alderman.

certeintie of things as they stood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred and touched at this present.

**What a lath is.**

Some as it were roming or rousing at the name Lath, doo saie that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old English a lath, as they coniecture. From which spéech in like sort some deriue the word Laistow, as if it should be trulie written Lath stow, a place wherein to laie vp or laie on things, of whatsoeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot absolutelie be satisfied, although peraduenture some likelihood in their iudgements may séeme to be therein. Other vpon some further consideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or shire conteining an appointed number of townes, whose inhabitants alwaies assembled to know and vnderstand of matters touching their portions, in to some one appointed place or other within their limits, especially whilest the causes were such as required not the aid or assistance of the whole countie. Of these lathes also (as they saie) some shires had more, some lesse, as they were of greatnesse. (And M. Lambert séemeth to be of the opinion, that the leets of our time wherein these pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word Free burgh) doo yeeld some shadow of that politike institution of Alfred. But sith my skill is so small in these cases that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not set downe anie thing more than I read, least I should roue at randon in our obscure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke shall be of hundreds.

**Léetes.**

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in some, and by this diuision not a name appertinent to a set number of townes (for then all hundreds should be of equall quantitie) but a limited iurisdiction, within the compasse whereof were an hundred persons called pledges (as I said) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behaiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewise of euerie denarie or tithing was in those daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in most places a borsholder or burghholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a burgh or burrow, although that in the West countrie he be still called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the said Alfred caused ech man of frée condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwaies haue such as should sweare or saie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honest behaiour and ciuill conuersation if it should happen at anie time, that his credit should come in question. In like sort I gather out of Leland and other, that if anie small matter did fall out worthie to be discussed, the tithing man or borsholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high constable of which euerie hundred hath one at the least) should decide the same in their léetes, whereas the great causes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greatest of all to the shire daies, where the earles or aldermen did set themselues, & make finall ends of the same, according vnto iustice. For this purpose likewise in euerie hundred were twelue men chosen of good age and wisdom, and those sworne to giue their sentences without respect of person, and in this maner (as they gather) were things handeled in those daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in vse, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the signification of the same declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the soldiers which were to serue in that hundred did méet, fetch their weapons, & go together from thence to the field, or place of seruice by an ordinarie custome, then generallie knowen amongst them. It is supposed also that the word Rape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and snatching, bicause the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or sundrie daies & made quicke dispatch of their lords haruest at once and in great hast. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncerteine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it shall suffice to haue touched them in this maner.

**Denarie or tithing.**

**Burrow.**

**Twelue men.**

**Hundred or wapentake.**

**Tithing man in Latine Decurio Borsholder.**

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie shires, and likewise thirtéene in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welshmen equall in all respects vnto the English, and brought to passe that both nations should indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times past were ordred by diuerse, and those far discrepant and disagreeing one from another: as by the seuerall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the shires in England are these, whereof the first ten lie betwéene the British sea and the Thames, as Polydor also dooth set them downe.

**Fortie shires in England, thirtéene in Wales.**

Kent.  
Sussex.  
Surreie.  
Hampshire.  
Barkeshire.  
Wilshire.  
Dorsetshire.  
Summerset.  
Deuon.  
Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the northside of the Thames, and betwéene the same and the riuér Trent, which passeth through the middest of England (as Polydor saith) sixtéene other shires, whereof six lie toward the east, the rest toward the west, more into the middest of the countrie.

Essex, sometime all forrest saue one hundred.  
Middlesex.  
Hartfordshire.  
Suffolke.  
Norffolke.  
Cambridgeshire in which are 12 hundreds.  
Bedford.  
Huntingdon wherin are foure hundreds.  
Buckingham.  
Oxford.  
Northampton.  
Rutland.  
Leircestershire.  
Notinghamshire.  
Warwike.  
Lincolne.

We haue six also that haue their place westward towards Wales, whose names insue.

Glocester.  
Hereford.  
Worcester.  
Shropshire.  
Stafford.  
Chestershire.

And these are the thirtie two shires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyond the same riuér we haue in like sort other eight, as

Darbie.  
Yorke.  
Lancaster.  
Cumberland.  
Westmerland.  
Richemond, wherein are fiue wapentaxes, & when it is accompted as parcell of Yorkeshire (out of which it is taken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding.  
Durham.  
Northumberland.

So that in the portion sometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie shires. In Wales furthermore are thirtéene, whereof seuen are in Southwales:

Cardigan, or Cereticon.  
Penmoroque, or Penbrooke.  
Caermardine, wherein are 9 hundreds or commots.  
Glamorgan.  
Monmouth.  
Breckenocke.  
Radnor.

In Northwales likewise are six, that is to saie

Angleseie.  
Carnaruon.  
Merioneth.  
Denbigh.  
Flint.  
Montgomerie.

Which being added to those of England yéeld fiftie and thrée shires or counties, so that vnder the quéenes Maiestie are so manie counties, whereby it is easilie discerned, that hir power farre excéedeth that of Offa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had so much of Britaine vnder his subiection as afterward contained thirtie nine shires, when the diuision was made, whereof I spake before.

**Od parcels  
of shires.**

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuision of shires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid together in one parcell, whereof I haue great maruell. But sith the occasiō hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or some like occasion, it is better briefelie to set downe how some of these parts lie than to spend the time in séeking a iust cause of this their od diuision. First therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamshire betweene Amondesham, and Beconsfield, there is a peece of



Hartfordshire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie most. In Barkeshire also betwéene Ruscombe and Okingham is a péece of Wilshire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one side lieth on the Loden riuier. In the borders of Northamptonshire directlie ouer against Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamshire, I find a parcell of Oxfordshire not passing two miles in compasse.

With Oxfordshire diuerse doo participate, in so much that a péece of Glocestershire, lieth halfe in Warwickshire & halfe in Oxfordshire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is there, of Glocestershire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford countie: & a péece of Worcestershire, directlie betwéene it & Glocestershire. Gloucester hath the third péece vpon the north side of the Winrush neere Falbrocke, as Barkeshire hath one parcell also vpon the selfe side of the same water, in the verie edge of Glocestershire: likewise an other in Oxfordshire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer against Lach lade, which which is parted from the main countie of Barkeshire, by a little strake of Oxfordshire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wilshire were to be seene in Barkeshire vpon the Loden, and the riuier that falleth into it: whereof and the like sith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this brieue admonition. For although I haue not presentlie gone thorough with them all, yet these may suffice to giue notice of this thing, wherof most readers (as I persuade my selfe) are ignorant.

**Lieutenants.** But to procéed with our purpose. Ouer ech of these shires in time of necessitie is a seuerall lieutenant chosen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almost regall authoritie ouer the same for the time being in manie cases which doo concerne his office: otherwise it is gouerned by a shiriffe (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whose office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the exchequer, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called Quæstor comitatus or Prouinciæ. This officer is resident and dwelling somewhere within the same countie, and called also a viscount, Quasi vicarius comitis or Procomes, in respect of the earle (or as they called him in time past the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be seldome séene in England, that the earle hath anie great store of possessions, or oughts to doo in the shire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his personall resiance, if he happen to dwell and be resident in the same.

**Shiriffes.** In the election also of these magistrates, diuerse able persons aswell for wealth as wisdom are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choise, whose names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith pricketh some such one of them, as he pleaseth to assigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who herevpon is shiriffe of that shire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be chosen. The shiriffe also hath his vnder shiriffe that ruleth & holdeth the shire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon sufficient caution vnto the high shiriffe for his true execution of iustice, preservation from impeachment, and yéelding of accompt when he shall be therevnto called. There are likewise vnder him certeine **Bailiffes.** whose office is to serue and returne such writs and processes as are directed vnto them from the high shiriffe: to make seisure of the goods and cattels, and arrest the bodies of such as doo offend, presenting either their persons vnto him, or at the leastwise taking sufficient bond, or other assurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the shiriffe by order of law ought to present them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred also are one or more **High constables.** according to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writs and injunctions from the high shiriffe vnder his seale, or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the prouision of vittels or for other causes, or priuat purueiance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, doo forthwith charge the **Petrie constables.** of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the same.

**Motelagh.** In each countie likewise are sundrie law daies holden at their appointed seasons, of which some retaine the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, of the word motes and law. They haue also an other called the shiriffes turne, which they hold twice in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelie on the first of Maie, vntill the first of euerie moneth) and in these two latter such small matters as oft arise amongst the inferior sort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallie their quarter sessions, wherein they are assisted by the iustices and gentlemen of the countie, & twice in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie seuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iustices there resiant associat them) & minister the lawes of the realme, with great solemnitie & iustice. Howbeit in dooing of these things, they reteine still the old order of the land in vse before the conquest. For they commit the full examination of all causes there to be heard, to the consideration of twelue sober, graue, and wise men, chosen out of the same countie; and foure of them of necessitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth (which number they call an inquest) & of these inquests there are more or lesse impaneled at euerie assise, as the number of cases there to be handled dooth craue and require, albeit that some one inquest hath often diuerse matters to consider of. And when they haue (to their vttermost power) consulted and debated of

**Shiriffes turne.**

**Inquests.**

**Gaile deliuerie or great assises.**

such things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iustice, with their verdict in writing, according wherevnto the iudge dooth pronounce his sentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what soeuer is brought before him. It is also verie often séene, that such as are nominated to be of these inquests, doo after their charge receiued seldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agréed upon their verdict, and yeelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof sometimes it commeth to passe that diuerse of the inquest haue béene welneere famished, or at least taken such a sicknesse thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practise, when the one side feareth the sequele, and therefore conueieth some one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yéeld vnto the rest, but of set purpose put them to this trouble.

Atteinct.

Certes it is a common practise (if the vnder shiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or stronger side to procure and packe such a quest, as he himselfe shall like of, whereby he is sure of the issue before the charge be giuen: and beside this if the matter doo iustlie procéed against him, it is a world to see now and then how the honest yeomen that haue Bona fide discharged their consciences shall be sued of an atteinct, & bound to appéere at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they shall be caried from place to place, countie to countie, yea and sometime in carts, which hath and dooth cause a great number of them to absteine from the assises, & yeeld to paie their issues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus disturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes also they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, whervpon poore men, not hauing in their purses wherewith to beare their costes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reason nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of seruice at anie time halfe so painefull as at this present: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and attorneies hath so exceedingly increased, that some shifts must néeds be found and matters sought out, whereby they may be set on worke) a man should not haue heard at one assise of more than two or thrée Nisi priùs, but verie seldome of an atteinct, wheras now an hundred & more of the first and one or two of the later are verie often perceiued, and some of them for a cause arising of sixpence or tweluepence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue béene in time past, and readier to reuenge their quarels of small importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpose, from whence I haue now digressed.

Iustices of  
peax &  
quorum.

Beside these officers afore mentioned, there are sundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whose dutie is to inquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attach & present the plées of the crowne, to make inquire of treasure found, &c. There are diuerse also of the best learned of the law, beside sundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not suffice (and whose reuenues doo amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by especiall commission from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir subiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of these the least skilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwise called of Oier and Determiner, so that the first haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine such matters as are brought vnto their presence. These also doo direct their warrants to the kéeppers of the gales within their limitations, for the safe kéeping of such offenders as they shall iudge worthe to commit vnto their custodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great assises, to the end their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countie, & these officers were first deuised about the eightéene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue béene informed.

Quarter  
sessions.

They méeting also & together with the shiriffes, doo hold their aforesaid sessions at fourie times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter sessions, and herein they inquire of sundrie trespasses, and the common annoiances of the kings liege people, and diuerse other things, determining vpon them as iustice dooth require. There are also a third kind of sessions holden by the high constables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie sessions, wherein the weights and measures are perused by the clarke of the market for the countie, who sitteth with them. At these méetings also vittellers, and in like sort seruants, labourers, roges and runnagates, are often reformed for their excesses, although the burning of vagabounds through their eare be referred to the quarter sessions or higher courts of assise, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not since their second apprehension applied themselues to labour, or else to be set perpetuallie to worke in an house erected in euerie shire for that purpose, of which punishment they stand in greatest feare.

Petie sessions.

I might here deliuer a discourse of sundrie rare customes and courts, surnamed barons, yet maintained and holden in England: but forsomuch as some of the first are bestlie, and therefore by the lords of the soiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the most part deuised in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in méere contempt and slauish abuse of their tenants, vnder pretense of some punishment due for their excesses, I passe ouer to bring them vnto light, as also the remembrance of sundrie courts baron likewise holden in strange maner; yet none more absurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therefore may well be called a lawlesse court, as most are that were deuised vpon

such occasions. This court is kept vpon wednesdaie insuing after Michaelmasse daie after midnight, so that it is begun and ended before the rising of the sunne. When the tenants also are altogether in an alehouse, the steward secretlie stealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where sitting on a mole-hill he calleth them with a verie soft voice, writing their appéerance vpon a péce of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is inclosed in the lanterne: so soone as the tenants also doo misse the steward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there answer all at once, Here here, wherby they escape their ameracements: which they should not doo if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had missed him in the alehouse. And this is the verie forme of the court deuised at the first (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie against their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their disobedience shewed. I could beside this speake also of some other, but sith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatise, I thinke it sufficient for me to haue said so much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to set downe generallie of the said counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in so perfect order as the cause requireth, bicause that of all the rest there is nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to saie truth) smallie concerneth my calling. What else is to be added after the seuerall shires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuision of the land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reserue vnto that excellent treatise of my fréend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whose worke written in Latine shall in short time (I hope) be published, to the no small benefit of such as will read and peruse the same.

## CHAP. V.

We in England diuide our people commonlie into foure sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, which are artificers, or laborers. Of gentlemen the first and chéeffe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons: and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common vsage of spéech is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, esquiers, and last of all they that are simplie called gentlemen; so that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, wherof in this chapter I will make particular rehearsall.

- Prince.** The title of prince dooth peculiarlie belong with vs to the kings eldest sonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldest sonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie Monsieur. So that the prince is so termed of the Latine word Princeps, sith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king. The kings yoonger sonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher estate, as to be either viscounts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie assigned to the king and prince, and now also by custome conueied to dukes, archbishops, and (as some saie) to marquesses and their wiues.
- Duke.** The title of duke commeth also of the Latine word Dux, à ducendo, because of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times past a name of office due to the emperour, consull, or chéeffe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honor, although perished in England, whose ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time past, or as there be now earles, I doo not thinke but that they would flourish and prosper well enough.
- Marquesse.** In old time he onelie was called marquesse, Qui habuit terram limitaneam, a marching prouince vpon the enimies countries, and thereby bound to kéepe and defend the frontiers. But that also is changed in common vse, and reputed for a name of great honor next vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and sometimes small cities, as the prince is pleased to bestow it.
- Earle.** The name of earle likewise was among the Romans a name of office, who had Comites sacri palatij, comites ærarij, comites stabuli, comites patrimonij, largitionum, scholarum, commerciorum, and such like. But at the first they were called Comites, which were ioined in commission with the proconsull, legate, or iudges for counsell and aids sake in each of those seuerall charges. As Cicero epistola ad Quintum fratrem remembreth, where he saith; "Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores, negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa respublica duntaxat finibus his præstabis, quos ante præscripsi, &c." After this I read also that euerie president in his charge was called Comes, but our English Saxons vsed the word Hertoch and earle for Comes, and indifferentlie as I gesse, sith the name of duke was not in vse before the conquest. Coropius saith, that Comes and Graue is all one, to wit the viscont, called either Procomes, or Vicecomes: and in time past gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie such seruice or office, it is also become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degré before the baron. His reléeffe also by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight fiue at the most for euerie fée.
- Viscont.**
- Baron.** The baron, whose degré answered to the dignitie of a senator in Rome, is such a frée lord as hath a lordship or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerse knights or fréeholders holding of him, who with him did serue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in Baronia, that is, for performance of such seruice. These Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth Barones, quasi robur belli. The word Baro indéed is older than that it may easilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldest histories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written since the conquest, we read of barons, and those are at this daie called among the Germans Liberi vel Ingenui, or Freiherhs in the Germane toong as some men doo coniecture, or (as one saith) the citizens and burgesses of good townes and cities were called Barones. Neuerthesse by diligent inquisition it is imagined, if not absolutelie found, that the word Baro and Filius in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; so that the kings children are properlie called Barones, from whome also it was first translated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greatest honour indifferentlie. That Baro and Filius signifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be séene, although with some corruption: for to this daie, euen the common sort doo call their male children barnes here in England, especiallie in the north countrie, where that word is yett accustomed in vse. And it is also growne into a prouerbe in the south, when anie man susteineth a great hinderance, to saie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrue toong (as some affirme) it signifieth Filij solis, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but Filij or serui regum? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from hensefoorth the originall of the word Baro shall not be anie more to seeke: and the first time that euer I red thereof in anie English historie, is in the

reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a councell holden at Cirnecester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else-where remembred. Howbeit the word Baro dooth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the chéeffe or high tribune of the exchequer is of custome called lord chéeffe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts next vnto the lord treasurer, as they are vnder him are called Tribuni ærarij, & rationales. Hervnto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not seldome and in like sort with sundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they doo execute the same, and no longer.

**Bishops.**

Vnto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the same roome in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whose countenances in time past were much more glorious than at this present it is, bicause those lustie prelats sought after earthlie estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the lost shéepe of Christ, of which they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leisure to attend vpon the same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remaineth no lesse reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they estéemed with high and low. They reteine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little impugned by such as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the eldership is equallie distributed betweene the bishop and the minister, yet for ciuill gouernements sake, the first haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the rest maie thereby be with more ease retained within a limited compasse of vniformitie, than otherwise they would be, if ech one were suffered to walke in his owne course. This also is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their estate, crieng to haue the word lord abolished, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the present condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to saie trulie, few of them doo agréee vpon forme of discipline and gouernement of the church succedent: wherein they resemble the Capuans, of whome Liuie dooth speake in the slaughter of their senat. Neither is it possible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one towne or citie, or to stirre vp such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, sith our corruption is such that it will neuer yéeld to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath deuised. But whither am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates doo daily decaie, & suffer some diminution? Herein neuerthesse their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared bicause of their authoritie and seuerer gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie for their painefull diligence dailie shewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of some hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the loose ends of their best commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guise, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall liuing, what part thereof he will first forgo and part with to their vse. Finallie, how it standeth with the rest of the clergie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor greatlie care to know. Neuerthesse with what degrés of honour and worship they haue béene matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others doo expresse; and this also found beside their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie also appeare in the great charter, and sundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious comparisons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie shroonke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to mainteine such pompous vanitie, they doo thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their sées (so long as they shall be able) from the hands of such as indeuour for their owne preferrement to fléece and diminish the same. This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in deed so skilfull in the two principall toongs, that it is accounted a maime in anie one of them, not to be exactlie seene in the Greeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vtterlie ignorant or nothing conuersant in them. As for the Latine toong it is not wanting in anie of the ministerie, especiallie in such as haue béene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vnserued, bicause they had none at all. And to saie truth, our aduersaries were the onelie causers hereof. For whilest they made no further accompt of their priesthood, than to construe, sing, read their seruice and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon examination had, few made in quéene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to doo anie more, and verie hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serue at all.

1. Sam<sup>b</sup> 15.  
1. Reg.<sup>3</sup> 7.

De Asia, cap. 12.

**No Gréeke,  
no grace.**

**Bene con,  
bene can,  
bene le.**

**Duke,  
marquesse,  
earle,**

Dukes, marquesses, earles, viscounts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their

**viscont.** parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a viscont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good seruice doone by the first ancestor, with some aduancement, which with the title of that honour is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but esquiers: yet in common spéech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie dooth agréé to none of lower degré than barons, yet by law and vse these be not esteemed barons.

**Barons.** The baronie or degré of lords dooth answer to the degree of senators of Rome (as I said) and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Romane Patricij. Also in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie dispend of yearelie reuenues a thousand pounds, or so much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But visconts, erles, marquesses, and dukes excéed them according to the proportion of their degré & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he kéepeth this degree: but if the decaie be excessiue and not able to mainteine the honour, as Senatores Romani were amoti à senatu: so sometimes they are not admitted to the vpper house in the parlement although they keepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anie such occasion. The most of these names haue descended from the French inuention, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

**Of the second degré of gentlemen.** This also is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the first emperour of that name, indeuouring to restore the decaied estate of Italie vnto some part of hir pristinate magnificence, did after the French example giue Dignitates & prædia to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valuasors or capteins, and valuasines.

**Prædia.** His Prædia in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, stackage, coinage, profits by saltpits, milles, water-courses (and whatsoever emoluments grew by them) & such like. But at that present I read not that the word Baro was brought into those parts. And as for the valuasors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrés of honor vnder the first three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) so that they are called Maiores, minores, & minimi valuasores. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor therof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquesse, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If

**Valuasores.** from the prince, then are they called Maiores valuasores, if from anie of his thrée péeres, then were they Minores valuasores: but if anie of these Valuasors doo substitute a deputie, those are called Minimi valuasores, and their deputies also Valuasini, without regard vnto which degré the valuasor dooth apperteine: but the word Valuasor is now growne out of vse, wherefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function.

**Knights.** Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to encourage them the more to aduventure & trie their manhood: or after the battell ended, as an aduancement for

**Milites.** their courage and prowesse already shewed (& then are they called Milites;) or out of the warres for some great seruice doone, or for the singular vertues which doo appeare in them, and then are they named Equites aurati, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall

**Equites aurati.** authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order seemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called Equitum Romanorum. For as Equites Romani were chosen Ex censu, that is, according to their substance and riches; so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or abundance of riches, wherewith to mainteine their estates. Yet all that had Equestrem censum, were not chosen to be knights, and no more be all made Knights in England that may spend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. Sometime diuerse ancient gentlemen, burgesses, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthood by the prince, and neuertheless refuse to take that state vpon them, for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his cofers, and to saie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwise their seruice should be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthood. And this also is a cause, wherefore there be manie in England able to dispend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne consents. The number of the knights in Rome was also vncertaine: and so is it of knights likewise with vs, as at the pleasure of the prince. And whereas the Equites Romani had Equum publicum of custome bestowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not so, but beare their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie méet for their defense and seruice. This neuertheless is certaine, that who so may dispend 40 pounds by the yeare of frée land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degré, or otherwise paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and so for a time be acquitted of that title. We name him knight in English that the French calleth Cheualier, and the Latins Equitem, or Equestris ordinis virum. And when any man is made a knight, he knéeling downe is striken of the king or his substitute with his sword naked vpon the backe or shoulder,

the prince, &c: saient, "Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu." And when he riseth vp the king saith "Aduances bon cheualier." This is the maner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in vse among the common sort.

**Knights of the bath.**

At the coronation of a king or queene, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But how soeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, so well as the barons wife; he himselfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this syllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife also of courtesie so long as she liueth is called my ladie, although she happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the cōmon law she hath no such prerogatiue. If hir first husband also be of better birth than hir second, though this later likewise be a knight, yet in that she pretendeth a priuilege to loose no honor through courtesie yéelded to hir sex, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not séene elsewhere.

**Knights of the garter.**

The other order of knighthood in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, instituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king Iohn of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Castile the bastard out of his realme, and restored Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blacke prince) he then inuented this societie of honour, and made a choise out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowned persons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garnished with gold and pretious stones, to weare dailie on the left leg onlie: also a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other solemne and magnificent apparell, both of stufte and fashion exquisite & heroicall to weare at high feasts, & as to so high and princelie an order apperteineth. Of this companie also he and his successors kings and queenes of England, be the souereignes, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawes amongst themselues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of six and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the same, an example whereof I haue here inserted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

**Round table.**

I might at this present make a long tractation of the round table and estate of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iland; and therevnto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in so dooing that I should rather set downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilitie describe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue péeres, with their solemne rites and vsages: but vnto this also I haue no great deuotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errors and fables inserted into the same by the lewd religious sort, that except a man should professe to lie with them for companie, there is little sound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerse aswell subiects as princes haue attempted to restore againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth) but such were the excessiue charges apperteining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and so great molestation dailie insued therevpon, beside the bréeding of sundrie quarrels among the knights, and such as resorted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and suffered their whole inuentions to perish and decaie, till Edward the third deuised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as shall appeare hereafter.

**Roger Mortimer.**

**The occasion of the deuise.**

The order of the garter therefore was deuised in the time of king Edward the third, and (as some write) vpon this occasion. The quéenes maiestie then liuing, being departed from his presence the next waie toward hir lodging, he following soone after happened to find hir garter, which slacked by chance and so fell from hir leg, vnspied in the throng by such as attended vpon hir. His groomes & gentlemen also passed by it, disdainig to stoope and take vp such a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to staie and reach it vp to him. Why and like your grace (saieth a gentleman) it is but some womans garter that hath fallen from hir as she followed the quéenes maiestie. What soeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me. So when he had receiued the garter, he said to such as stood about him: You my maisters doo make small account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudest of you all to reuerence the like. And euen vpon this slender occasion he gaue himselfe to the deuising of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had so simple a begining hath growne in the end to so great honour and estimation. But to proceed. After he had studied awhile about the performance of his deuise, and had set downe such orders as he himselfe inuented concerning the same, he proclaimed a roiall feast to be holden at Windsore, whither all his nobilitie resorted with their ladies, where he published his institution, and fourthwith inuested an appointed number into the

**Peradventure but a blue ribbon.**

afore said fellowship, whose names insue, himselfe being the souereigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himselfe also he placed

Edward Prince of Wales.  
Henrie duke of Lancaster.  
N. earle of Warw.  
N. capt. de Bouche.  
N. earle of Stafford.  
N. earle of Sarum.  
N. lord Mortimer.  
Sir John Lisle.  
Sir Bartholomew Burwash.  
N. sonne of sir Iohn Beauchamp.  
Sir N. de Mahun.  
S. Hugh Courtneie.  
S. Thomas Holland. Sir Iohn Graie.  
Sir Rich. Fitzsimon.  
Sir Miles Stapleton.  
Sir Thomas Wale.  
Sir Hugh Wrotesley.  
Sir Neale Lording.  
Sir Iohn Chandos.  
S. Iames Dawdleie.  
Sir Otho Holland.  
Sir Henrie Eme.  
Sir Sanchet D'Abrichecourt.  
Sir Walter Pannell aliàs Paganell.

**Election.**

What order of election, and what estatutes were prescribed vnto the elected at this first institution, as yet I can not exactlie vnderstand; neither can I learne what euerie prince afterward added therevnto before the six and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the sixt: wherefore of necessitie I must resort vnto the estate of the said order as it is at this present, which I will set downe so brieflie as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a roome found void for his admission) into this fellowship, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithstanding that he before hand be nominated to the same, to this effect. Right trustie and welbeloued we gréete you well, asserteining you, that in consideration aswell of your approoued truth and fidelitie, as also of your couragious and valiant acts of knighthood, with other your probable merits knowne by experience in sundrie parties and behalpes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, assembled at the election holden this daie within our manour of N. haue elected and chosen you amongst other to be one of the companions of the said Order, as your deserts doo condignelie require. Wherefore we will that with conuenient diligence vpon the sight herof, you repaire vnto our presence, there to receiue such things as to the said order apperteineth. Dated vnder our signet at our maner of N. &c. These letters are the exemplification of certeine, which (as it should séeme) were written An. 3. Edwardi sexti at Gréenewich Aprilis 24, vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordships honorable father, at such time as they were called vnto the aforesaid companie. I find also these names subscribed vnto the same.

Edward duke of Summerset vncler to the king.  
The marq. of Northhampton.  
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.  
Earle of Shrewesburie.  
L. Russell lord priuie seale. L. S. Iohn lord great master.  
Sir Iohn Gage.  
S. Anthonie Wingfield.  
Sir William Paget.

**Admission.**

Being elected, preparation is made for his installing at Windsore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpose) whereat it is required that his banner be set vp, of two yardes and a quarter in length, and thrée quarters in bredth, besides the fringe. Secondlie his sword of whatsoever length him séemeth good. Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards ought to be of thrée inches at the least. Fourthlie the crest, with mantels to the helme belonging, of such conuenient stuffe and bignesse, as it shall please him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his stall, and crest with mantels and beasts supportant, to be grauen in the mettall.

Item lodging scutcheons of his armes, inuironed with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be fixed in the common Inns where he dooth lodge, as a testimonie of his presence and staies from time to time as he did trauell.



Item two mantels, one to remain in the college at Windsore, the other to use at his pleasure, with the scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, tasselets, and knops of blue silke and gold belonging to the same.

Item a surcote or gowne of red or crimson velvet, with a hood of the same, lined with white sarcenet or damaske.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richly garnished with precious stones or otherwise.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, having the buckle and pendant garnished with gold.

Item a booke of the statutes of the said order.

Item a scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to set upon the mantell. And this furniture is to be provided against his installation.

**Installation.** When any knight is to be installed, he hath with his former letters, a garter sent unto him, and when he cometh to be installed, he is brought into the chapter house, where incontinently his commission is read before the souereigne, or his deputie, and the assemblie present: from hence he is led by two knights of the said order, accompanied with the other of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, having his mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or else the king at armes, to whome it secondarily appertaineth to beare it. This mantell shall be delivered unto him for his habit, after his oath taken before his stall, and not before: which done, he shall returne unto the chapter house, where the souereigne, or his deputie, shall deliver him his collar, and so he shall have the full possession of his habit. As for his stall, it is not given according unto the calling and countenance of the receiver, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, so that each one called unto this knighthood (the souereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted) shall have the same seat, which became void by the death of his predecessor, howsoever it fall out: whereby a knight onlie oftentimes dooth sit before a duke, without any murmuring or grudging at his roome, except it please the souereigne, once in his life onely to make a generall alteration of those seats, and to set each one according to his degré.

**Mantell.**

**Stall.**

Now as touching the apparell of these knights, it remaineth such as king Edward, the first deuiser of this order left it, that is to saye, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to say, scarlet, sanguine in grain, blue and white. In like sort the kings grace hath at his pleasure the content of cloth for his gowne and hood, lined with white satine or damaske, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

**A timber  
containeth  
fortie skins,  
peltes, or  
felles.**

The prince hath five yardes of cloth for his gowne and hood, and garters with letters of gold at his pleasure, beside five timber of the finest mineuer.

A duke hath five yardes of woollen cloth, five timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath five yards of woollen cloth, five timber of mineuer, 110 garters of silke.

An earle five yardes of woollen cloth, five timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of silke.

A viscount five yardes of woollen cloth, five timber of mineuer, 90 garters of silke.

A baron five yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer gresse, 80 garters of silke.

A banneret five yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 70 garters of silke.

A knight five yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 60 garters of silke.

The bishop of Winchester chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure, ninetene timber gresse, three timber and a halfe of the best, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth.

The chancellor of the order five yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.

The register of the order five yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.

And this order to be holden generally among the knights of this companie, which are six and twentie in number, and whose patron in time of superstition was supposed to be S. George, of whome they were also called S. Georges knights as I have heard reported. Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by some other name, for the title of saint George argueth a wrong patron.

**Installation.** Furthermore at his installation he is solemnly sworne, the maner whereof I have thought good also to annex, in this maner. You being chosen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, shall promise and sweare upon the holie euangelies by you bodily touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maiestie, and to obserue and keepe all the points of the statutes of the said order, and euerie article in them contained, the same being agreeable and not repugnant to the kings highnesse other godlie proceedings, so far as to you belongeth & appertaineth, as

God you helpe, &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the premisses.

- Estatutes.** As touching the estatutes belonging to this order they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt doo arise about the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall souereigne of that order hath to determine and resolute the same. Neither are anie chosen therevnto vnder the degree of a knight, and that is not a gentelman of blood and of sound estimation.
- Gentleman of blood.** And for the better vnderstanding what is meant by a gentleman of blood, he is defined to descend of threé descents of noblesse, that is to saie, of name and of armes both by father and mother.
- Degrées of reproch.** There are also foure degrées of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the first is heresie lawfullie proued, the second high treason, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall excesse of expenses, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof. Moreouer touching the wearing of their aforesaid apparell, it is their custome to weare the same, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter house of their order, or finallie doo go about anie thing appertaining to that companie. In like sort they weare also their mantels vpon the euen of S. George, and go with the souereigne, or his deputie in the same in maner of procession from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewise backe againe vnto the aforesaid place, not putting it from them, vntill supper be ended, and the auoid doone. The next daie they resort vnto the chappell also in the like order, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their said apparell vnto euening praier, and likewise all the supper time, vntill the auoid be finished. In the solemnitie likewise of these feasts, the thirtéene chanons there, and six and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the order, whereof those for the chanons are of Murreie with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of red, with a scutcheon onelie of the said armes.
- Sicke or absent.** If anie knight of this order be absent from this solemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and be inforced not to be present either through bodilie sicknesse, or his absence out of the land: he dooth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, prouide an honorable stall for the kings maiestie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of estat, and cushions, and scutchion of the garter, and therein the armes of the order. Also his owne stall of which side soeuer it be distant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed so nigh as he can, after the maner and situation of his stall at Windsore, there to remaine, the first euening praier on the euen of S. George, or threé of the clocke, and likewise the next daie during the time of the diuine seruice, vntill the morning praier, and the rest of the seruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace, without either whood, collar or surcote. Or if he be so sicke that he doo kéepe his bed, he dooth vse to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine seruice aforesaid.
- Offering.** At the seruice time also vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (sauing the deputie of the souereigne if he himselfe be absent) shall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the sword with the hilts forwards, which being doone the first two shall returne againe, and offer the helme and crest, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the statutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and assisted with one of the chiefe lords, dooth deliuer at his offering a péece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he so procéedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like solemnitie vnto his stall, and next of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himselfe, whose oblation being made, euerie knight according to their stals, with an herald before him procéedeth to the offering.
- Buriall.** What solemnitie is vsed at the buriall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: wherefore I will shew generallie what is doone at the disgrading of one of these knights, if through anie grieuous offense he be separated from this companie. Whereas otherwise the signe of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doo end & finish vp his daies. Therefore when anie such thing is doone, promulgation is made therof after this maner insuing.
- Disgrading.** Be it knowne vnto all men that N.N. knight of the most noble order of the Garter, is found giltie of the abhominable and destestable crime of high treason, for he hath most traitorouslie conspired against our most high and mightie prince souereigne of the said order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath sworne and taken. For which causes therefore he hath deserued to be deposed from this noble order, and fellowship of this Garter. For it may not be suffered that such a traitor and disloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowned stomach & bountifull prowes, or that his armes should be mingled with those of noble chialrie. Wherefore our most excellent prince and supreme of this most honorable order, by the aduise and counsell of his colleagues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deserued shall be from hencefoorth be taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himselfe cleane cut off from

the societie of this renowned order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the same, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like trespasse, or fall into such notorious infamie and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there resorteth vnto the partie to be disgraded certeine officers with diuerse of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inuestiture, after a solemne maner.

And hitherto of this most honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering thus much. For sith the noble order of the Toison Dor or golden fléese, with the ceremonies appertaining vnto the creation and inuestiture of the six and thirtie knights thereof: and likewise that of saint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are discoursed vpon at large by the historiographers of their owne countries, without reprehension or checke, especiallie by Vincentius Lupan. lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis, where he calleth them Cheualliers sans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the least, and honour thereof so great, that it is not lawfull for them to sell, giue or laie the same to morgage (would to God they might once brooke their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not suffer some of the best of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I trust I haue not giuen anie cause of displeasure, briefelie to set forth those things that apperteine vnto our renowned order of the Garter, in whose compasse is written commonlie, \*"Honi soit qui mal y pense," which is so much to saie, as, "Euill come to him that euill thinketh:" a verie sharpe imprecation, and yet such as is not contrarie to the word, which promiseth like measure to the meter, as he dooth mete to others.

\* Some think that this was the answer of the quéene, when the king asked what men would think of her, in loosing the garter after such a maner.

There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, so that being before but a bachelor knight, he is now of an higher degree, and allowed to displaie his armes in a banner, as barrons doo. Howbeit these knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings standard being vnfolded.

Bannerets.

Esquire.

Esquire (which we call commonlie squire) is a French word, and so much in Latine as Scutiger vel armiger, and such are all those which beare armes, or armoires, testimonies of their race from whence they be descended. They were at the first costerels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being instructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to distinguish them from common souldiers called Gregarij milites when they were together in the field.

Gentlemen.

Gentlemen be those whome their race and bloud, or at the least their vertues doo make noble and knowne. The Latines call them Nobiles & generosos, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as Gens in Latine betokeneth the race and surname: so the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c: of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were also called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that house and race.

Lawiers students in vniuersities. Physicians. Capteins.

Moreouer as the king dooth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, so gentlemen whose ancestors are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much lesse of the British issue) doo take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times. Who soeuer studieth the lawes of the realme, who so abideth in the vniuersitie giuing his mind to his booke, or professeth physicke and the liberall sciences, or beside his seruice in the roome of a capteine in the warres, or good counsell giuen at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for monie haue a cote and armes bestowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the same doo of custome pretend antiquitie and seruice, and manie gaie things) and therevnto being made so good cheape be called master, which is the title that men giue to esquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is so much the lesse to be disalowed of, for that the prince dooth loose nothing by it, the gentleman being so much subiect to taxes and publike paiments as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise dooth beare the gladlier for the sauing of his reputation. Being called also to the warres (for with the government of the common-wealth he medleth litle) what soeuer it cost him, he will both arraie & arme himselfe accordinglie, and shew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the person which he representeth. No man hath hurt by it but himselfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buskens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe saith, now and then beare a bigger saile than his boat is able to susteine.

Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great strife sometimes amongst the Romans, I meane when those which were Noui homines, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie séene and shewed, than the old smell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardise & euill life of their nephues & defendants\* could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iustice and equitie, so it forceth not what language the malicious doo giue out, against such as are exalted for their wisdomes. This neuerthelesse is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of

\* Sic.—qu. dependants?

gentilitie, and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vsuall sending of noblemens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but meere atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behaiour, wherby it commeth to passe that they returne far worse men than they went out. A gentleman at this present is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earnest protestant, but comming home he could saie after this maner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no losse or hinderance of a further purpose is susteined by holding of the same; and forgiuenesse onelie to be shewed when full reuenge is made. Another no lesse forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; He is a foole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more foole that will loose anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for constant leaning to anie: but if he yéeld to loose his life for his possession, he is stark mad, and worthie to be taken for most foole of all the rest. This gaie bootie gate these gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may see what fruit is afterward to be looked for where such blossoms doo appéere. I care not (saith a third) what you talke to me of God, so as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my side. Such men as this last, are easilie knowne; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe also in England, with pages at their héeles finelie apparelled, whose face and countenance shall be such as sheweth the master not to be blind in his choise. But least I should offend too much, I passe ouer to saie anie more of these Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifest to the world, and yet not called into question.

**Citizens and burgesses.**

Citizens and burgesses haue next place to gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities, and are of some likelie substance to beare office in the same. But these citizens or burgesses are to serue the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common assemblie of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little swaie (which assemblie is called the high court of parlement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgesses to haue voices in it, and giue their consent or dissent vnto such things as passe or staie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

**Merchants.**

In this place also are our merchants to be installed, as amongst the citizens (although they often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conuersion of the one into the other) whose number is so increased in these our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cause of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwise when euerie nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifulle to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speake not, sith the matter will easilie bewraie it selfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heape of them were somewhat restrained, as also of our lawiers, so should the rest liue more easilie vpon their owne, and few honest chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankrupt. I doo not denie but that the nauie of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and so are the high prices of wares kept vp now they haue gotten the onelie sale of things, vpon pretense of better furtherance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times past when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth halfe a crowne, raisons or corints for a penie that now are holden at six pence, and sometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raisons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and sixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequele of things not alwaies but verie seldome to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the most part brode clothes and carsies of all colours, likewise cottons, fréeses, rugs, tin, wooll, our best béere, baies, bustian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, rash, lead, fells, &c: which being shipped at sundrie ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times past their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iseland onelie: now in these daies, as men not contented with these iournies, they haue sought out the east and west Indies, and made now and then suspicious voiajes not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise into Cathaia, Moscouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I see not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for so I doo accompt of it) was sufficientlie prouided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble estatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occasion the generall execution thereof is staied or not called on, in good sooth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and seuerall vocation striueth with other, which of them should haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne cesterne.

**Yeomen.**

Yeomen are those, which by our law are called Legales homines, free men borne

English, and may dispend of their owne free land in yearelie reuenee, to the summe of fortie shillings sterling, or six pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the same which the French men call varlets, but as that phrase is vsed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be so. The truth is that the word is deriued from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which signifieth (as I haue read) a settled or staid man, such I meane as being married and of some yeares, betaketh himselfe to staie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himselfe and his familie, whereof the single sort haue no regard, but are likelie to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This sort of people haue a certeine preheminance, and more estimation than labourers & the common sort of artificers, & these commonlie liue wealthilie, kéepe good houses, and trauell to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called Pagani, & opponuntur militibus, and therfore Persius calleth himselfe Semipaganus) or at the leastwise artificers, & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and kéeping of seruants (not idle seruants as the gentlemen doo, but such as get both their owne and part of their masters liuing) do come to great welth, in somuch that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the vniuersities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwise leauing them sufficient lands wherevpon they may liue without labour, doo make them by those meanes to become gentlemen: these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called master as gentlemen are, or sir as to knights apperteineth, but onelie Iohn and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue doone verie good seruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were woont to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horssemen: the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist.

Englishmen  
on foot and  
Frenchmen  
on  
horsebacke  
*capite censi*  
or Proletarij.

The fourth and last sort of people in England are daie labourers, poore husbandmen, and some retailers (which haue no frée land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, shomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, &c. As for slaues and bondmen we haue none, naie such is the priuilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land they become so frée of condition as their masters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is vtterlie remooued from them, wherein we resemble (not the Germans who had slaues also, though such as in respect of the slaues of other countries might well be reputed frée, but) the old Indians and the Taprobanes, who supposed it a great iniurie to nature to make or suffer them to be bond, whome she in hir woonted course dooth product and bring foorth frée. This fourth and last sort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogether neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are faine to make up their inquests of such maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, sidemen, aleconners, now and then constables, and manie times inioie the name of hedboroughes. Vnto this sort also may our great swarmes of idle seruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a prouerbe; Yoong seruing men old beggers, bicause seruice is none heritage. These men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well perused, they are enimies to their masters, to their freends, and to themselues: for by them oftentimes their masters are encouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their fréends brought vnto pouertie by their rents inhanced, and they themselues brought to confusion by their owne prodigalitie and errors, as men that hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their excesses, doo search in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and stables, which way to supplie their wants. How diuerse of them also coueting to beare an high saile doo insinuate themselues with yoong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the case is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaired, but also their liuelihoods and reuenues so wasted and consumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they shall be able to recouer themselues. It were verie good therefore that the superfluous heapes of them were in part diminished. And sith necessitie inforceth to haue some, yet let wisdome moderate their numbers, so shall their masters be rid of vnnecessarie charge, and the common wealth of manie théeues. No nation cherisheth such store of them as we doo here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themselues to idlenesse, that otherwise would be brought to labour, and liue in order like subiects. Of their whoredomes I will not speake anie thing at all, more than of their swearing, yet is it found that some of them doo make the first a cheefe pillar of their building, consuming not onelie the goods but also the health & welfare of manie honest gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by such vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I waded in this point, or how farre may I saile in such a large sea? I will therefore now staie to speake anie more of those kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter, this furthermore among other things I haue to saie of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer so excellent in their trades as at this present. But as the workemanship of the later sort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, so was it neuer lesse strong and substantiall for continuance and benefit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common sort of our artificers more than hast, and

No slaues nor  
bondmen in  
England.

a barbarous or slauish desire to turne the penie, and by ridding their worke to make spéedie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to bungle vp and dispatch manie things they care not how so they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often sore defrauded, and findeth to his cost, that hast maketh wast, according to the prouerbe.

Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no néed? How manie néedfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great cost, &c: and yet may with farre more ease and lesse cost be prouided from other countries if we could vse the meanes. I will not speake of iron, glasse, and such like, which spoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better chéepe than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie also in manie other. But to leaue these things and procéed with our purpose, and herein (as occasion serueth) generallie by waie of conclusion to speake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and mainteined by three sorts of persons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the woman) the quéene: in whose name and by whose authoritie all things are administred.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two sorts, as the baronie or estate of lords (which conteineth barons and all aboue that degree) and also those that be no lords, as knights, esquiers, & simple gentlemen, as I haue noted alreadie. Out of these also are the great deputies and high presidents chosen, of which one serueth in Ireland, as another did sometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one lord president dooth gouerne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this lland, which later with certeine councillors and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But forsomuch as I haue touched their conditions elsewhere, it shall be inough to haue remembred them at this time.

3 The third and last sort is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their sequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue said somewhat euen now. Whereto I ad that they be not called masters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Coot, goodman Cornell, goodman Mascall, goodman Cockswet, &c: & in matters of law these and the like are called thus, Giles lewd-yeoman, Edward Mountford yeoman, James Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common sorts. Cato calleth them Aratores & optimos ciues rei publicæ, of whom also you may read more in the booke of common wealth which sir Thomas Smith sometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen also some are by the prince chosen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which said offices diuerse concerne the whole realme; some be more priuat and peculiar to the kings house. And they haue their places and degrés, prescribed by an act of parlement made An. 31 Henr. octaui, after this maner insuing.

These foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treasurer (who is Supremus ærarij Anglici quæstor or Tribunus ærarius maximus) the lord President of the councill, and the lord Priuie seale, being persons of the degré of a baron or aboue, are in the same act appointed to sit in the parlement and in all assemblies or councill aboue all dukes, not being of the bloud roiall, Videlicet the kings brother, vncler, or nephue.

And these six, the lord great Chamberleine of England: the lord high Constable of England: the lord Marshall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great master or Steward of the kings house: and the lord Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all assemblies of councill, after the lord priuie seale, according to their degrés and estats: so that if he be a baron, then he is to sit aboue all barons: or an earle, aboue all earles.

And so likewise the kings secretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degré, he shall sit and be placed according therevnto.

*The rehearsall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or first calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this present.*

No duke in  
England.  
Earles.

The Marquise of Winchester.  
The earle of Arundell.  
The earle of Oxford.  
The earle of Northumberland.  
The earle of Shrewesburie.  
The earle of Kent.  
The earle of Derby.  
The earle of Worcester.  
The earle of Rutland.  
The earle of Cumberland.  
The earle of Sussex.

The earle of Huntingdon.  
The earle of Bath.  
The earle of Warwike.  
The earle of Southampton.  
The earle of Bedford.  
The earle of Penbrooke.  
The earle of Hertford.  
The earle of Leicester.  
The earle of Essex.  
The earle of Lincolne.

**Viscounts.**

The viscont Montague.  
The viscont Bindon.

**Barons.**

The lord of Abergeuennie.  
The lord Awdeleie.  
The lord Zouch.  
The lord Barkeleie.  
The lord Morleie.  
The lord Dacres of the south.  
The lord Cobham.  
The lord Stafford.  
The lord Greie of Wilton.  
The lord Scroope.  
The lord Dudleie.  
The lord Latimer.  
The lord Stourton.  
The lord Lumleie.  
The lord Mountioie.  
The lord Ogle.  
The lord Darcie of the north.  
The lord Mountegle.  
The lord Sands.  
The lord Vault.  
The lord Windsore.  
The lord Wentworth.  
The lord Borough.  
The lord Mordaunt.  
The lord Cromwell.  
The lord Euers.  
The lord Wharton.  
The lord Rich.  
The lord Willowbie.  
The lord Sheffeld.  
The lord Paget.  
The lord Darcie of Chichester.  
The lord Howard of Effingham.  
The lord North.  
The lord Chaundos.  
The lord of Hunsdon.  
The lord saint Iohn of Bletso.  
The lord of Buckhirst.  
The lord Delaware.  
The lord Burghleie.  
The lord Compton.  
The lord Cheineie.  
The lord Norreis.

*Bishops in their anciencie, as they sat in parlement, in the fift of the Queenes  
maiesties reigne that now is.*

**Cleargie.**

The archbishop of Canturburie.  
The archbishop of Yorke.  
London.  
Durham.  
Winchester.

The rest had their places in senioritie of consecration.

Chichester.  
Landaffe.  
Hereford.  
Elie.  
Worcester.

Bangor.  
Lincolne.  
Salisburie.  
S. Davids.  
Rochester. Bath and Welles.  
Couentrie and Lichfield.  
Excester.  
Norwich.  
Peterborough.  
Carleill.  
Chester.  
S. Assaph.  
Glocester.

And this for their placing in the parlement house. Howbeit, when the archbishop of Canturburie siteth in his prouinciall assemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbishop of Yorke, and next vnto him the bishop of Winchester, on the left hand the bishop of London: but if it fall out that the archbishop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his sée, then the archbishop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the bishop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Winchester to his left, the rest sitting alwaies as afore, that is to saie, as they are elders by consecration, which I thought good also to note out of an ancient president.



## CHAP. VI.

The situation of our region, lieng néere vnto the north, dooth cause the heate of our stomaches to be of somewhat greater force: therefore our bodies doo craue a little more ample nourishment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accustomed withall, whose digestiue force is not altogether so vehement, bicause their internall heat is not so strong as ours, which is kept in by the coldnesse of the aire, that from time to time (speciallie in winter) dooth enuiron our bodies.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifully garnished than those of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen since the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our cuntry, our predecessors fed largelie vpon flesh and milke, whereof there was great abundance in this Ile, bicause they applied their chéefe studies vnto pasturage and féeding. After this maner also did our Welsh Britons order themselues in their diet so long as they liued of themselues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the English they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, so that at this daie there is verie little difference betwéene vs in our diets.

In Scotland likewise they haue giuen themselues (of late yeares to speake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for some respect nature dooth make them equall with vs: so otherwise they far excéed vs in ouer much and distemperate gormandize, and so ingrosse their bodies that diuerse of them doo oft become vnapt to anie other purpose than to spend their times in large tabling and bellie chéere. Against this pampering of their carcasses dooth Hector Boetius in his description of the cuntry verie sharpelie inueigh in the first chapter of that treatise. Henrie Wardlaw also bishop of S. Andrewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into excessiue gluttonie, to be brought out of England with Iames the first (who had béene long time prisoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries, and at his returne caried diuerse English gentlemen into his cuntry with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) dooth vehementlie exclave against the same in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three estats, and so bringeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presentlie made there for the restreint of superfluous diet, amongst other things baked meats (dishes neuer before this mans daies seene in Scotland) were generallie so prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the same vnder the degré of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiuall daies, but alas it was soone forgotten.

In old time these north Britons did giue themselues vniuersallie to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would often féed but once or twice at the most in two or thrée daies (especiallie if they held themselues in secret, or could haue no issue out of their bogges and marises, through the presence of the enemie) and in this distresse they vsed to eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rootes, or if these shifts serued not thorough want of such prouision at hand, then vsed they to créepe into the water or said moorish plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue wrought and béene readie to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustinance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ouer all, to eat either goose, hare, or henne, bicause of a certeine superstitious opinion which they had conceiued of those three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I saie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long yer open shipwracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in processe of time, so well the north and south Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make such difference in meats, as they had doone before.

From thencefoorth also vnto our daies, and euen in this season wherein we liue, there is no restreint of anie meat, either for religions sake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to féed vpon what soeuer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especiallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that abundance of fish which the sea yéeldeth, more generallie receiued. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preservation of the nauie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of sea faring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decaie, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how soeuer this case standeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheese, which were neuer so deere as in my time, and woont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe staies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilst such as are more wealthie, doo féed vpon the flesh of all kinds of cattell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose cookes are for the most part musicall headed Frenchmen and strangers) doo most exceed, sith there is no daie in maner that passeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie béefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yeeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow déere, beside great varietie of fish and wild foule, and thereto sundrie other delicates wherein the swéet hand of the seafaring Portingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to tast of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to doo, but ech one feedeth vpon that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being reserued vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whome it is drawn vp still by the waiters as order requireth, and from whome it descendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof) is rather to yéeld vnto a conspiracie with a great deale of meat for the spéedie suppression of naturall health, then the vse of a necessarie meane to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to susteine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not séene in their gests, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue dailie much resort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto reteine great numbers of seruants, it is verie requisit & expedient for them to be somewhat plentiful in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their dailie prouision is brought in before them (commonlie in siluer vessell if they be of the degré of barons, bishops and vpwards) and placed on their tables, wherof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserued, and afterward sent downe to their seruing men and waiters, who féed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, their reuersion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same. This is spoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and gwestes are accustomed to sit, beside which they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted by custome to waite vpon their master) and with them such inferiour gwestes doo féed as are not of calling to associat the noble man himselfe (so that besides those afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or thrée score persons fed in those hals, to the great reliefe of such poore sutors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardlie. As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of siluer in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these elsewhere in pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds whereof manie are garnished with siluer) or at the leastwise in pewter, all which notwithstanding are seldome set on the table, but each one as necessitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of such drinke as him listeth to haue: so that when he hath tasted of it he deliuered the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the same. By this deuise (a thing brought vp at the first by Mnesteus of Athens, in conseruation of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egistus and Clitemnestra) much idle tippling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continuallie stand at the elbow or néere the trencher, diuerse would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelie when necessitie vrgeth, and so auoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the seruitours with filling of their bols. Neuerthelesse in the noble mens hals, this order is not vsed, neither in anie mans house commonlie vnder the degré of a knight or esquire of great reuenues. It is a world to sée in these our daies, wherin gold and siluer most aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing those mettals (bicause of the plentie) do now generallie choose rather the Venice glasses both for our wine and béere, than anie of those mettals or stone wherein before time we haue béene accustomed to drinke, but such is the nature of man generallie that it most coueteth things difficult to be attained; & such is the estimation of this stuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne néere to Venice situat on the Adriatike sea) from whence the verie best are dailie to be had, and such as for beautie doo well néere match the christall or the ancient Murrhina vasa, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is séene in the gentilitie, so in the wealthie communaltie the like desire of glasse is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchase is yet much more increased to the benefit of the merchant. The poorest also will haue glasse if they may, but sith the Venecian is somewhat too déere for them, they content themselues with such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to shards at the last, so that our great expenses in glasses (beside that they bréed much strife toward such as haue the charge of them) are worst of all bestowed in mine opinion, bicause their péeces doo turne vnto no profit. If the philosophers stone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with fortie of molten glasse, it would induce such a mettalllicall toughnesse therevnto, that a fall should nothing hurt it in such maner, yet it might peradventure bunch or batter it, neuerthelesse that inconuenience were quickelie to be redressed by the hammer. But whither am I slipped?

Ro. Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants keepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himselfe with foure, fiue, or six dishes, when they haue but small resort, or peradventure with one, or two, or thrée at the most, when they haue no strangers

to accompanie them at their tables. And yet their seruants haue their ordinarie diet assigned, beside such as is left at their masters boordes, & not appointed to be brought thither the second time, which neuerthelesse is often séene generallie in venison, lambe, or some especiall dish, whereon the merchant man himselfe liketh to feed when it is cold, or peradventure for sundrie causes incident to the féeder is better so, than if it were warme or hot. To be short, at such time as the merchants doo make their ordinarie or voluntarie feasts, it is a world to see what great prouision is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beside that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will seldome regard anie thing that the butcher vsuallie killeth, but reiect the same as not worthie to come in place. In such cases also geliffes of all colours mixed with a varietie in the representation of sundrie floures, herbs, trees, formes of beasts, fish, foules and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine wrought with no small curiositie, tarts of diuerse hewes and sundrie denominations, conserues of old fruits forren and home-bred, suckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, sugerbread, gingerbread, florentines, wild foule, venison of all sorts, and sundrie outlandish confections, altogether seasoned with suger (which Plinie calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuise not common nor greatlie vsed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia) doo generallie beare the swaie, besides infinit deuises of our owne not possible for me to remember. Of the potato and such venerous roots as are brought out of Spaine, Portingale, and the Indies to furnish vp our bankets, I speake not, wherin our Mures of no lesse force, and to be had about Crosbie Rauenswath, doo now begin to haue place.

But among all these, the kind of meat which is obtained with most difficultie and cost, is commonlie taken for the most delicat, and therevpon each guest will soonest desire to feed. And as all estats doo excéed herin, I meane for strangenesse and number of costlie dishes, so these forget not to vse the like excesse in wine, in somuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where more store of all sorts than in England, although we haue none growing with vs but yearelie to the proportion of 20000 or 30000 tun and vpwards, notwithstanding the dailie restreincts of the same brought ouer vnto vs) wherof at great méetings there is not some store to be had. Neither doo I meane this of small wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about fiftie six sorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but also of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c: whereof Veruage, Cate pument, Raspis, Muscadell, Romnie, Bastard Tire, Oseie, Caprike, Clareie & Malmeseie are not least of all accompted of, bicause of their strength and valure. For as I haue said in meat, so the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means wherof in old time, the best was called Theologicum, bicause it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whose houses manie of the laitie would often send for bottels filled with the same, being sure that they would neither drinke nor be serued of the worst, or such as was anie waies mingled or brued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his soule should haue gone streightwaie to the diuell, if he should haue serued them with other than the best. Furthermore when these haue had their cause which nature yéeldeth, sundrie sorts of artificiall stuffe, as ypocras & wormewood wine must in like maner succéed in their turnes, beside stale ale and strong béere, which neuerthelesse beare the greatest brunt in drinking, and are of so manie sorts and ages as it pleaseth the bruer to make them.

**Béere.** The béere that is vsed at noble mens tables in their fixed and standing houses, is commonlie of a yeare old, or peradventure of two yeares tunning or more, but this is not generall. It is also brued in March and therefore called March béere, but for the household it is vsuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech one coueting to haue the same stale as he may, so that it be not sowre, and his bread new as is possible so that it be not hot.

**Artificer.** The artificer and husbandman make greatest accompt of such meat as they may soonest come by, and haue it quickliest readie, except it be in London when the companies of euery trade doo meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie. Their food also consisteth principallie in béefe and such meat as the butcher selleth, that is to saie, mutton, veale, lambe, porke, &c: whereof he findeth great store in the markets adioining, beside souse, brawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of sundrie sorts, cheese, butter, eggs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne prouision, which is at the best hand, and commonlie least charge. In feasting also this latter sort, I meane the husbandmen doo excéed after their maner: especiallie at bridales, purifications of women, and such od méetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed & spent, ech one bringing such a dish, or so manie with him as his wife & he doo consult vpon, but alwaies with this consideration, that the léefér fréend shall haue the better prouision. This also is commonlie séene at these bankets, that the good man of the house is not charged with any thing sauing bread, drink, sauce, houseroome, and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doo deale far otherwise, for albeit that some of them doo suffer their iawes to go oft before their clawes, and diuerse of them by making good cheere doo hinder themselues and other men: yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well inough in these iunkettings, and therefore their frugalitie

deserueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall, & verie fréendlie at their tables, and when they méet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtilltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour sort somewhat to be blamed, that being thus assembled, their talke is now and then such as sauoureth of scurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themselues not to be merie & welcome, if their foolish veines in this behalfe be neuer so little restrained. This is moreouer to be added in these méetings, that if they happen to stumble vpon a péeece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide against their appointed daies) they thinke their chéere so great, and themselues to haue fared so well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will not often sticke to make comparison, because that of a subiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined  
so well as  
my lord  
maior.

I might here talke somewhat of the great silence that is vsed at the tables of the honorable and wiser sort, generallie ouer all the realme (albeit that too much deserueth no cōmendation, for it belongeth to gests neither to be muti nor loquaces) likewise of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie séene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himselfe from the note of surffetting and dronkenesse (for which cause salt meat, except béefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit esteemed, and yet these thrée may not be much powdered) but as in rehearsall thereof I should commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, so I could not cleare the meaner sort of husbandmen, and countrie inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there some od yeoman) with whome he is thought to be the meriest that talketh of most ribaldrie, or the wisest man that speaketh fastest among them, & now and then surffetting and dronkenesse, which they rather fall into for want of héed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in those errours of set mind and purpose. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, small drinke, and some of them hauing scarce inough of that, are soonest ouertaken when they come vnto such bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no small disgrace if they happen to be cupshotten, so that it is a greefe vnto them though now sans remedie sith the thing is doone and past. If the freends also of the wealthier sort come to their houses from farre, they are commonlie so welcome till they depart as vpon the first daie of their comming, wheras in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little roome, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of béefe and mutton, largelie bestowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or béere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an "You are heartelie welcome" is thought to be great interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this saieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinement of townesmens and Londoners after the daies of their abroad in this maner:

Primus iucundus, tollerabilis estq; secundus,  
Tertius est vanus, sed fetet quatriduanus.

**Bread.**

The bread through out the land is made of such graine as the soile yéeldeth, neuertheless the gentilitie commonlie prouide themselues sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilst their household and poore neighbours in some shires are inforced to content themselues with rie, or barleie, yea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogither and some acornes among, of which scourge the poorest doo soonest tast, sith they are least able to prouide themselues of better. I will not saie that this extremitie is oft so well to be seene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I should I could easilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almost in euerie place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iust cause (except it be that landlords doo get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to kéepe vp the peeces for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himselfe with horsse-corne, I meane, beanes, peason, otes, tares, and lintels: and therefore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer so well verified as now, that hunger setteth his first foot into the horsse manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and some caterpillers there are that can saie so much alreadie.

A famine at  
hand is first  
séene in the  
horsse  
manger  
when the  
poore doo  
fall to  
horssecorne.  
Primarius  
panis.

Of bread made of wheat we haue sundrie sorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the first and most excellent is the mainchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine Primarius panis, wherof Budeus also speaketh, in his first booke De asse, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushell with another they make fortie cast of manchet, of which euerie lofe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and six ounces out, as I haue béene informed. The second is the cheat or wheaton bread, so named bicause the colour therof resembleth the graie or yellowish wheat, being cleane and well dressed, and out of this is the coursest of the bran (vsuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raueled is a kind of cheat bread also, but it retaineth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat: and this being more sleightlie wrought vp, is vsed in the

**Cheat bread.**

**Rauelled  
bread.**

**The size of bread is verie ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the countrie townes and markets.**

halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne dooth beare) and by a statute prouided by king Iohn in that behalfe. The rabeled cheat therefore is generallie so made that out of one bushell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet) they make thirtie cast, euerie lofe weighing eightéene ounces into the ouen and sixteene ounces out: and beside this they so handle the matter that to euerie bushell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie or thrée and twentie pound of water, washing also in some houses there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleasing to the eie, than otherwise it would be. The next sort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two sorts, one baked vp as it cōmeth from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit diminished, this Celsus called Autopirus panis, lib. 2. and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at all, howbeit he calleth it Panem Cibarium, and it is not onlie the woorst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for seruants, slaues, and the inferiour kind of people to féed vpon. Herevnto likewise, bicause it is drie and brickie in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handsomelie into loaues) some adde a portion of rie meale in our time, whereby the rough drinesse or drie roughnes therof is somewhat qualified, & then it is named miscelin, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerse doo sow or mingle wheat & rie of set purpose at the mill, or before it come there, and sell the same at the markets vnder the aforesaid name.

**Browne bread.**

**Panis Cibarius.**

**Summer wheat and winter barleie verie rare in England.**

In champeigne countries much rie and barleie bread is eaten, but especiallie where wheat is scant and geson. As for the difference that is betwéene the summer and winter wheat, most husbandmen know it not, sith they are neither acquainted with summer wheat, nor winter barleie: yet here and there I find of both sorts, speciallie in the north and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and also of summer rie, but in so small quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

**Drinke.**

Our drinke, whose force and continuance is partlie touched already, is made of barleie, water, and hops, sodden and mingled together, by the industrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barleie doo come vnto their hands, it susteineth great alteration, and is conuerted into malt, the making whereof, I will here set downe in such order, as my skill therein may extend vnto (for I am scarce a good malster) chiefelie for that forreine writers haue attempted to describe the same, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue shot so farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betwéene themselues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beséech thée) that lead thee from the description of the plentiful diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a seruile trade, or rather from a table delicatelie furnished, into a mustie malthouse: but such is now thy hap, wherfore I praie thée be contented.

**Malt.**

**Making of malt.**

Our malt is made all the yeare long in some great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens houses, who commonlie make sufficient for their owne expenses onelie, the winter halfe is thought most méet for that commoditie: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow dooth bud, is commonlie worst of all, neuertheless each one indeuoureth to make it of the best barleie, which is steeped in a cesterne, in greater or less quantitie, by the space of thrée daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie soked. This being doone, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and laieng it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it resteth so vntill it be readie to shoote at the root end, which maltsters call Comming. When it beginneth therefore to shoot in this maner, they saie it is come, and then forthwith they spread it abroad, first thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the said floore (as it commeth) and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fiue times) by the space of one and twentie daies at the least, the workeman not suffering it in anie wise to take anie heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that bringeth foorth the blade, and by which ouersight or hurt of the stuffe it selfe the malt would be spoiled, and turne small commoditie to the bruer. When it hath gone or béene turned so long vpon the floore, they carie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue spread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. For the more it be dried (yet must it be doone with soft fire) the swéeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but slackelie handled, it will bréed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the floure of the corne, and in processe of time will so eat out it selfe, that nothing shall remaine of the graine but euen the verie rind or huske.

The best malt is tried by the hardnesse & colour, for if it looke fresh with a yellow hew, & thereto will write like a péce of chalke, after you haue bitten a kinnell in sunder in the midst, then you may assure your selfe that it is dried downe. In some places it is dried at leisure with wood alone, or strawe alone, in other with wood and strawe together, but of all the strawe dried, is the most excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brued, beside that the drinke is higher of colour, it dooth hurt and

annoie the head of him that is not vsed thereto, bicause of the smoake. Such also as vse both indifferentlie doo barke, cleaue, and drie their wood in an ouen, thereby to remooue all moisture that shuld procure the fume, and this malt is in the second place, & with the same likewise, that which is made with dried firze, broome, &c: whereas if they also be occupied gréene, they are in maner so preiudiciall to the corne, as is the moist wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruing whereof some grinde the same somewhat groselie, and in séething well the liquor that shall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcorne, which consisteth of sundrie graine, as wheate, and otes ground. But what haue I to doo with this matter, or rather so great a quantitie, wherewith I am not acquainted. Neuerthelesse, sith I haue taken occasion to speake of bruing, I will exemplifie in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, bicause it is the vsuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practised by my wife & hir maid seruants, who procéed withall after this maner, as she hath oft informed me.

**Bruing of beere.**

Hauing therefore ground eight bushels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is saued, she addeth vnto it halfe a bushell of wheat meale, and so much of otes small ground, and so tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot easilie discern the one from the other, otherwise these later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The first liquor which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, she maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it softlie into the malt, where it resteth (but without stirring) vntill hir second liquor be almost readie to boile. This doone she letteth hir mash run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the leastwise the greatest part of the moisture, which she perceiueth by the staie and soft issue thereof, and by this time hir second liquor in the furnace is ready to séeth, which is put also to the malt as the first woort also againe into the furnace wherevnto she addeth two pounds of the best English hops, and so letteth them seeth together by the space of two houres in summer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie superfluous tartnesse. But before she putteth hir first woort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, she taketh out a vessel full, of eight or nine gallons, which she shutteth vp close, and suffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this she reserueth by it selfe vnto further vse, as shall appeare hereafter, calling it Brackwoort or Charwoort, and as she saith it addeth also to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeeldeth not vnto amber or fine gold in hew vnto the eie. By this time also hir second woort is let runne, and the first being taken out of the furnace and placed to coole, she returneth the middle woort vnto the furnace, where it is striken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile and mashed the second time, whilest the third liquor is heat (for there are thrée liquors) and this last put into the furnace, when the second is mashed againe. When she hath mashed also the last liquor (and set the second to coole by the first) she letteth it runne, and then séetheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds as she séeth cause by the goodnesse or basenesse of the hops, & when it hath sodden in summer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, she striketh it also and reserueth it vnto mixture with the rest when time dooth serue therefore. Finallie when she setteth hir drinke together, she addeth to hir brackwoort or charwoort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of baiberries finelie powdered, and then putting the same into hir woort with an handfull of wheat flowre, she procéedeth in such vsuall order as common bruing requireth. Some in stéed of arras & baies adde so much long pepper onelie, but in hir opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make thrée hoggesheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is méet for poore men as I am to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare Computatis computandis able to performe) may indure no déeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings which I buie, my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, seruants wages two shillings six pence with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my vessell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of béere or more, notwithstanding the losse in seething, which some being loth to forgo doo not obserue the time, and therefore spéed thereafter in their successe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determind after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer. For it féedeth vpon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguished the drinke must be spent or else it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

**Charwoort.**

In this trade also our bruers obserue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; and soile through which it passeth, for all waters are not of like goodnesse, sith the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie soiles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the sunne lieth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other the fennie and morish is the worst, and the cléerest spring water next vnto it. In this busines therfore the skilfull workeman dooth redeeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and sickmens drinke) is neuer séene nor heard of. Howbeit as the beere well sodden in the bruing, and stale,

is cleere and well coloured as muscadell or malueseie, or rather yellow as the gold noble as our potknights call it: so our ale which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are thrée notable things to be considered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know some aleknights so much addicted therevnto, that they will not cease from morow vntill euen to visit the same, clensing house after house, till they defile themselues, and either fall quite vnder the boord, or else not daring to stirre from their stooles, sit still pinking with their narrow eies as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh. Such flights also haue the alewiues for the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mixe it with rosen and salt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale so neere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you shall sée the rosen come foorth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and so dooth he carrie off a drie dronken noll to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

**Cider.  
Perrie.**

In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie, and both are ground and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Sussex, Kent, Worcester, and other stéeds, where these sorts of fruits doo abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate sorts of drinke,

**Metheglin.**

as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Gréeke did of their Ambrosia or Nectar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods themselues did delite in. There is a kind of swish swash made also in Essex, and diuerse other places, with honicombs and water, which the homelie countrie wiues, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as loue to be loose bodied at large, or a little eased of the cough, otherwise it differeth so much frō the true metheglin, as chalke from cheese. Truelie it is nothing else but the washing of the combes, when the honie is wroong out, and one of the best things that I know belonging thereto is, that they spend but little labour and lesse cost in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied. Hitherto of the diet of my countrimen, & somewhat more at large peradventure than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finish this tractation, and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole processe of the same shall fullie be deliuered, & my promise to my fréend in this behalfe performed.

**Mead.**

**Hydromel.**

**Lesse time  
spent in  
eating than  
heretofore.**

Heretofore there hath béene much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakefasts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest (a toie brought into England by hardie Canutus and a custome whereof Athenæus also speaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates speake but of twice at the most lib. 2. De rat. vict. in feb. ac.) Now these od repasts thanked be God are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yoong hungrie stomach that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie. The Normans misliking the gormandise of Canutus, ordeined after their arriual, that no table should be couered aboue once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either waxing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or suffering the cockle of old custome to ouergrow the good corne of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie, that in often féeding they surmounted Canutus surnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but thrée or foure times in the daie, these spread their clothes fiue or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custome of long and statelie sitting at meat, whereby their feasts resembled those ancient pontificall bankets whereof Macrobius speaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for sumptuousnesse of fare, long sitting and curiositie shewed in the same, excéded all other mens feasting, which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excesse and misgouernement of our bodies doo appéere, although it be a great expense of time, and worthe of reprehension. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, especiallie at great méetings doo sit commonlie till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, so that with manie is an hard matter, to rise from the table to go to euening praier, and returne from thence to come time inough to supper. For my part I am persuaded that the purpose of the Normans at the first was to reduce the ancient Roman order or Danish custome in féeding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. And indéed the Romans had such a custome, and likewise the Grecians, as may appeere by the words of Socrates, who said vnto the Atheniens, "Oriente sole consilium, occidente conuiuium est cogitandum," although a little something was allowed in the morning to yoong children which we now call a breakefast. Plato called the Siciliens monsters, for that they vsed to eat twice in the daie. Among the Persians onelie the king dined when the sunne was at the highest, and shadow of the stile at the shortest: the rest (as it is reported) went alwaies but once to meat when their stomachs craued it, as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who if appetite serue refuse not to go to meat at anie heure of the night) and likewise the ancient Caspians. Yet Arhianus noteth it as a rare thing li. 4. cap. 16.

**Canutus a  
glutton, but  
the  
Normans at  
the last  
excéded  
him in that  
vice.**

**Long sitting  
reprehended.**

that the Tyrhenians had taken vp an ill custome to féed twice in a daie. Howbeit at the last they fell generallie to allow of suppers toward the setting of the sunne in all places, bicause they would haue their whole familie to go to meat together, and wherevnto they would appoint their guests to come at a certeine length of the shadow, to be perceiued in their dials. And this is more to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plutarch saith) did féed before that time, he incurred a note of reprehension as if he had beene gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. Sympos. 6. Their slaues in like sort were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, for then were they sure soone after to go to meat. In the scripture we read of manie suppers & few dinners, onelie for that dining was not greatlie vsed in Christs time, but taken as a thing latelie sproong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occasioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pretie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth Marius for that he gaue himselfe to drinke before the \*ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too soone. Afterwards when gurmandise increased yet more amongst the Romans, and from them was dispersed vnto all nations vnder their subiexion, it came to passe that six houres onlie were appointed to worke and consult in, and the other six of the daie to feed and drinke in, as the verse saith:

\* That is at thrée of the clocke at afternoone.

Sex horæ tantùm rebus tribuantur agendis,  
Viuerè post illas, littera Zetha monet.

Wherevnto Maximus Planudes (except my memorie faile me) addeth this scholie after his maner, saieing that from morning vnto noone (which is six of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one dooth trauell about his necessarie affaires, that being doone, he betaketh himselfe to the refreshing of his bodie, which is noted and set downe by the Gréeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby the time is described; for those which point 7, 8, 9 and 10 are written with ξ η θ ι and being ioined yéeld ξηθι, which in English signified so much as liue, as if they should meane, eat that thou maist liue. But how Martial diuided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiser sort, these verses following doo more euidentlie declare:

Li. 4. epig.  
8.

Prima salutantes, atque altera continet horas,  
Exercet raucos tertia causidicos.  
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,  
Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.  
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua palestris,  
Imperat extractos frangere nona thoros.  
Hora libellorum decima est Eupheme meorum,  
Temperat Ambrosias cum tua cura dapes.  
Et bonus æthereo laxatur Nectare Cæsar,  
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.  
Tunc admitte iocos: gressu timet ire licenti,  
Ad matutinum nostra Thaleia Iouem.

Thus we see how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to féed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good custome. I might here remember also their maner in pulling off their shooes when they sat downe to meat, whereof Martial saith:

Deposui soleas, affertur protinus ingens  
Inter lactucas oxygarmúq; liber, &c.

And Tullie also remembreth where he saith Seruum à pedibus ad te misi, which office grew of the said custome, as Seruus ad limina did of kéeping the doore, though in most houses both these were commonlie one mans office, also Ad pocula of attending on the cup. But bicause the good writers of our time haue obserued these phrases and such like with their causes and descriptions, in their infinite and seuerall treatises, I shall not need to discourse anie farther vpon them. With vs the nobilitie, gentry, and students, doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before noone, and to supper at fiue, or betweene fiue and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelue at noone, and six at night especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone as they call it, and sup at seuen or eight: but out of the tearme in our vniuersities the scholers dine at ten. As for the poorest sort they generallie dine and sup when they may, so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a néedlesse matter. I might here take occasion also to set downe the varietie vsed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almost euerie nation had a seuerall fashion, some beginning of custome (as we doo in summer time) with salets at supper, and some ending with lettice, some making their entrie with eggs, and shutting vp their tables with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all sorts. Diuerse (as the old Romans) began with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fish called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (or as we doo yet also) with butter and eggs vpon fish daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the most grosse food, and end with the most delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the best for his meniall seruants maketh his entrance at the best, so that he is



sure thereby to leave the worst. We use also our wines by degrees, so that the hottest cometh last to the table, but to stand upon such toys would spend much time, and turne to small profit, wherefore I will deale with other things more necessarie for this turne.

## CHAP. VII.

An Englishman, indeuoring sometime to write of our attire, made sundrie platformes for his purpose, supposing by some of them to find out one stedfast ground whereon to build the summe of his discourse. But in the end (like an oratour long without exercise) when he saw what a difficult péece of worke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while together, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and vngratious priest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, sith the phantasticall follie of our nation, euen from the courtier to the carter is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the fickle headed tailors, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expense of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enormitie, than describe anie certentie of our attire: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanish guise, to morrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian sléeues, the mandilion worne to Collie weston ward, and the short French breches make such a comelie vesture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England. And as these fashions are diuerse, so likewise it is a world to see the costlinesse and the curiositie: the excesse and the vanitie: the pompe and the brauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the ficklenesse and the follie that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancie of attire. Oh how much cost is bestowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie sutes of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left wherin to féed the later? how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies? how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language doth the poore workeman beare awaie? and manie times when he dooth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off aboue or vnder the eares round as by a wooden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a pique de vant (O fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therefore if a man haue a leane and streight face, a marquesse Ottos cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it séeme the narrower; if he be wesell becke, then much heare left on the chéeques will make the owner looke big like a bowdled hen, and so grim as a goose, if Cornelis of Chelmeresford saie true: manie old men doo weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage, doo weare either rings of gold, stones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workemanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adorne their persons, as by their nicenesse in apparell, for which I saie most nations doo not vniustlie deride vs, as also for that we doo séeme to imitate all nations round about vs, wherein we be like to the Polypus or Chameleon; and therevnto bestow most cost vpon our arses, & much more than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women doo likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they doo now farre excéed the lightnesse of our men (who neuerthelesse are transformed from the cap euen to the verie shoo) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed méet for none but light housewiues onelie, is now become an habit for chaste and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpéeses on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sléeues of sundrie colours? their galligascons to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie coloured nether stocks of silke, ierdseie, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I haue met with some of these trulles in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters: and those good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to reléue our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogither the grace of God into

Andrew  
Beard.

Strange  
cuts.

Much cost  
vpon the  
bodie, and  
little vpon  
the soule.

Beards.

Excesse in  
women.

wantonnesse, for

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secundis)

not otherwise bestowed than in all excesse, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and wast them. I praie God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whose errors were pride, excesse of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits aboundantlie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poore, and certeine other points which the prophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to flourish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by vnreasonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poore tenants, wherewith to mainteine the same. Neither was it euer merier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abroad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carsie hosen, and a meane slop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of browne blue or puke, with some pretie furniture of veluet or furre, and a doublet of sad tawnie, or blacke veluet, or other comelie silke, without such cuts and gawrish colours as are worne in these daies, and neuer brought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselues the gaiest men, when they haue most diuersities of iagges and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants doo least alter their attire, and therefore are most to be commended: for albeit that which they weare be verie fine and costlie, yet in forme and colour it representeth a great péece of the ancient grauitie apperteining to citzens and burgesses, albeit the yoonger sort of their wiues both in attire and costlie housekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in déed in whome all kind of curiositie is to be found and seene, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a sort of hewes deuised for the nonce, wherewith to please phantasticall heads, as gooseturd gréene, pease porridge tawnie, poppingaie blue, lustie gallant, the diuell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe them ouer thinking it sufficient to haue said thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be spoken of anie constancie thereof.

Ezech. 16.

Attire of  
merchants.

## CHAP. VIII.

**The  
parlement  
house  
diuideth the  
estate of the  
realme into  
nobilitie and  
the  
commons.**

**Time of  
summons.**

**Of the vpper  
house.**

**Places of the  
peeres.**

**Petitions of  
the speaker.**

In speaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapter precedent said somewhat of this high and most honorable court. Wherefore it shall not need to remember ought héere that is there touched: I will onelie speake of other things therefore concerning the estate of assemblee, whereby the magnificence thereof shall be in some part better knowne vnto such as shall come after vs. This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time béene deposed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offenders of all sorts punished, and corrupted religion either dissanulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houses or parts, the higher or vpper house consisting of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the baron and bishop: the lower called the nether house of knights, squires, gentlemen, and burgesses of the commons, with whome also the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they sit in diuerse places, and these haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the rest in confirmation of all such acts as are to passe in the same. For without the consent of the thrée estates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and laietie, sildome anie thing is said to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his consent and allowance. To be short, whatsoeuer the people of Rome did in their Centuriatis or Tribunitijs comitijs, the same is and may be doone by authoritie of our parlement house, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular person is intended to be present, if not by himselve, yet by his aduocate or attorneie. For this cause also any thing ther enacted is not to be misliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the space of fortie dais, before this assemblee be begun, the prince sendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, summoning them to appeare at the said court. The like he doth to the shiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to choose two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduise in the name of the shire, likewise to euerie citie and towne, that they may choose their burgesses, which commonlie are men best skilled in the state of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of such benefits as they want, or to shew which waie to reforme such enormities as thorough the practises of ill members are practised and crept in among them: the first being chosen by the gentlemen of the shire, the other by the citizens and burgesses of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furnished. The first daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper house, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, doo attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in person, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after praier made, and causes shewed, wherefore some not present are inforced to be absent, each man taketh his place according to his degré. The house it selfe is curiouslie furnished with tapisterie, and the king being set in his throne, the spirituall lords take vp the side of the house which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, so well dukes and earles, as viscounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the midst and a pretie distance from the prince, lie certeine sakes stuffed with wooll or haire, wheron the iudges of the realme, the master of the rolls, and secretaries of estate doo sit. Howbeit these iudges haue no voice in the house, but onelie shew what their opinion is of such & such matters as come in question among the lords, if they be commanded so to doo: as the secretaries are to answer such letters or things passed in the councell, whereof they haue the custodie & knowledge. Finallie, the consent of this house is giuen by each man seuerallie, first for himselve being present, then seuerallie for so manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, saing onelie; Content or Not content, without any further debating. Of the number assembled in the lower house, I haue already made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars shall follow here at hand. These therefore being called ouer by name do choose a speaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they present vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuse or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name dooth answer vnto his oration, made at his first entrance & presentation into the house, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choise vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fiue requests vnto that honorable assemblee, first that the house may (as in times past) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges: secondlie, that the congregates may frankelie shew their minds vpon such matters as are to come in question: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower house doo giue anie cause of offense during the continuance of this assemblee, that the same may inflict such punishment vpon the partie culpable, as to the said assemblee shall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt should arise among them of the lower house, that he in their name might haue frée accesse and recourse vnto his maiestie & lords of the higher house, to be further instructed and resolued in the same: fiftlie and last, he craueth pardon for himselve, if in his going to and fro betweene the houses, he forget or mistake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in such things as he did faile in without offense: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor dooth answer as apperteineth, and this is doone on the first daie, or peradventure the second, if it could not be conuenientlie performed in the first.

**Of the lower  
house.  
Speaker.**

Clerke of  
the  
parlement.

Beside the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper house called the clerke of the parlement, whose office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that commeth in consultation in either house, is first put in writing in paper, which being read, he that listeth riseth vp and speaketh either with it or against it, and so one after another so long as they shall thinke good; that doone they go to another, and so to the third, &c: the instrument still wholie or in part raced or reformed, as cause moueth for the amendment of the same if the substance be reputed necessarie. In the vpper house the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingrossed, that is to saie, put in parchement, which doone, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part doo conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of these words, "Are ye contented that it be enacted or no?" the clerke writeth vnderneath "Soit baille aux commons," and so when they sée time they send such billes approued to the commons by some of them that sit on the wooll sakes, who comming into the house, & demanding licence to speake, doo vse this kind of words or the like to the speaker, as sir Thomas Smith dooth deliuer and set them downe, whose onelie direction I vse, and almost word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borowage as he hath vsed toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrés of estates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) shall be no discredit to his trauell. "Master speaker, my lords of the vpper house haue passed amongst them, and thinke good that there should be enacted by parlement such an act, and such an act (reading their titles in such sort as he receiued them) they praie you therefore to consider & shew your aduise vpon them." Which doone they go their waie, and the doore being shut after them, the speaker declareth what message was sent vnto them, and if they be then void of consultation vpon anie other bill, he presentlie demandeth what their pleasures are, first of one, then of another, &c: which are solemnelie read, or their contents bréeflie shewed and then debated vpon among them.

Of the  
nether  
house.

The speaker sitteth in a chaire erected somewhat higher than the rest, that he may sée and be séene of all men, and before him on a lower seat sitteth his clerke, who readeth such bills as be first propounded in the lower house, or sent downe from the lords: for in that point each house hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke méet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bills be thrise and on diuerse daies read and disputed vpon before they come to the question, which is, whether they shall be enacted or not; and in discourse vpon them, verie good order is vsed in the lower house, wherein he that will speake giueth notice thereof by standing vp bare headed. If manie stand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he speaketh first that was first seene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the speaker, without rehersall of his name whose speches he meaneth to confute, so that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation these discourses are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie on that daie, so one man can not speake twice to one bill in one daie though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may speake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, seditious, vnreuerent or biting words are vsed in this assemblie, yet if anie happen to escape and be vttered, the partie is punished according to the censure of the assemblie and custome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they sit not except vpon some vrgent occasion, neither hath the speaker anie voice in that house, wherewith to moue or dissuade the furtherance or staie of anie bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof breeflie to declare the contents. If anie bill passe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus subscribed, "Les commons ont assentus:" so if the lords agree vpon anie bill sent vnto them from the commons, it is subscribed after this maner, "Les seigniours ont assentus." If it be not agreed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betwéene the vpper and nether houses, by certeine appointed for that purpose vpon the points in question, wherевpon if no finall agrément by the more part can be obtained, the bill is dashed and reiected, or (as the saieing is) cleane cast out of the doores. None of the nether house can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne person, and after the bill twice read, then ingrossed and the third time read againe & discoursed vpon, the speaker asketh if they will go to the question, whervnto if they agree he holdeth vp the bill & saith; "So manie as will haue this bill go forward saie Yea:" hervpon so manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or lesse on either side, so is the bill to staie or else go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices seeme to be equall, so manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the rest sit still, and being told by the poll the greater part doo carrie away the matter. If something be allowed and in some part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committées to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and passeth or staieth as the voices yéeld therto. This is the order of the passage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houses haue agréed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his assent. Vpon the last daie therefore of the parlement or session, the prince commeth in person againe into the house, in his robes as at the first. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, first in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the speaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewise for their paines, with promise of recompense as opportunitie & occasion shall serue therefore. This doone one readeth the title of euerie act passed in that session, and then it is noted

vpon them what the prince doth allow of with these words, "Le roy veult." If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them "Le roy aduisera." And so those acts are dashed, as the other from thencefoorth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except such as concerne some priuat persons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the seale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vse. And this is the summe of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfeiture of life, member or lands of anie Englishman, where no law is ordeined for the same before hand, is auailable or can take place amongst vs. And so much in maner out of the third chapiter of the second booke of the common-wealth of England written by sir Thomas Smith: whervnto I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which send knights, burgesses, and barons to the parlement house, and dooth insue as followeth.

THE NAMES OF COUNTIES, CITIES, BOROUGHS, AND PORTS, SENDING  
KNIGHTS,  
CITIZENS, BURGESSES, AND BARONS TO THE PARLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

<b><i>Bedford.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Bedford.	2
<b><i>Buckingham.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Buckingham.	2
The borough of Wickombe.	2
The borough of Ailesburie.	2
<b><i>Barckeshire.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of New Windsore.	2
The borough of Reading.	2
The borough of Wallingford.	2
The borough of Abington.	2
<b><i>Cornewall.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Launceston aliàs Newport.	2
The borough of Leskerd.	2
The borough of Lostwithiell.	2
The borough of Dunheuet.	2
The borough of Truro.	2
The borough of Bodmin.	2
The borough of Helston.	2
The borough of Saltash.	2
The borough of Camelford.	2
The borough of Portighsam aliàs Portlow.	2
The borough of Graunpount.	2
The borough of Eastlow.	2
The borough of Prurie.	2
The borough of Tregonie.	2
The borough of Trebenna aliàs Bossinnie.	2
The borough of S. Ies.	2
The borough of Fowaie.	2
The borough of Germine.	2
The borough of Michell.	2
The borough of saint Maries.	2
<b><i>Cumberland.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Caerleill.	2
<b><i>Cambridge.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Cambridge.	2
<b><i>Chester.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Chester.	2

	<b><i>Darbie.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The borough of Darbie.		2
	<b><i>Deuon.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The citie of Excester.		2
The borough of Totnes.		2
The borough of Plimmouth.		2
The borough of Bardnestable.		2
The borough of Plimton.		2
The borough of Tauestocke.		2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdines.		2
	<b><i>Dorsetshire.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The borough of Poole.		2
The borough of Dorchester.		2
The borough of Linne.		2
The borough of Melcombe.		2
The borough of Waiemouth.		2
The borough of Bureport.		2
The borough of Shaftesburie.		2
The borough of Warham.		2
	<b><i>Essex.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The borough of Colchester.		2
The borough of Malden.		2
	<b><i>Yorkeshire.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The citie of Yorke.		2
The borough of Kingston vpon Hull.		2
The borough of Knaresborough.		2
The borough of Skardborough.		2
The borough of Rippon.		2
The borough of Hudon.		2
The borough of Boroughbridge.		2
The borough of Thuske.		2
The borough of Aldebrough.		2
The borough of Beuerleie.		2
	<b><i>Glocestershire.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The citie of Glocester.		2
The borough of Cirencester.		2
	<b><i>Huntingtonshire.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The borough of Huntingdon.		2
	<b><i>Hertfordshire.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The borough of saint Albons.		2
	<b><i>Herefordshire.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The citie of Hereford.		2
The borough of Lempster.		2
	<b><i>Kent.</i></b>	
Knights.		2
The citie of Canturburie.		2
The citie of Rochester.		2
The borough of Maidstone.		2
The borough of Quinborough.		2

<b><i>Lincolne.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The cite of Lincolne.	2
The borough of Bostone.	2
The borough of great Grinesbie.	2
The borough of Stamford.	2
The borough of Grantham.	2
<b><i>Leicestershire.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Leicester.	2
<b><i>Lancastershire.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Lancaster.	2
The borough of Preston in Andernes.	2
The borough of Liuerpoole.	2
The borough of Newton.	2
The borough of Wigan.	2
The borough of Clithero.	2
<b><i>Middlesex.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The cite of London.	4
The cite of Westminster.	2
<b><i>Monmouth.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Monmouth.	1
<b><i>Northhampton.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The cite of Peterborough.	2
The borough of Northhampton.	2
The borough of Barkleie.	2
The borough of Higham Ferres.	1
<b><i>Notingham.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Notingham.	2
The borough of Estreatford.	2
<b><i>Norffolke.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The cite of Norwich.	2
The borough of Linne.	2
The borough of great Iernemouth.	2
The borough of Thetford.	2
The borough of castell Rising.	2
<b><i>Northumberland.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of New castell vpon Tine.	2
The borough of Morpeth.	2
The borough of Barwike.	2
<b><i>Oxford.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The cite of Oxford.	2
The borough of Bamburie.	2
The borough of Woodstocke.	2
<b><i>Rutland.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
<b><i>Surreie.</i></b>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Southwarke.	2
The borough of Blechingleigh.	2



The borough of Rigate.	2
The borough of Guildford.	2
The borough of Gatton.	2

***Stafford.***

Knights.	2
The citie of Lichfield.	2
The borough of Stratford.	2
The borough of New castell vnder Linne.	2
The borough of Tamworth.	2

***Salop.***

Knights.	2
The borough of Salop.	2
The borough of Bruges aliàs Bridgenorth.	2
The borough of Ludlow.	2
The borough of Wenlocke.	2

***Southhampton.***

Knights.	2
The citie of Winton.	2
The borough of Southhampton.	2
The borough of Portesmouth.	2

The borough of Peterfield.	2
The borough of Stockebridge.	2
The borough of Christ church.	2

***Suffolke.***

Knights.	2
The borough of Ippeswich.	2
The borough of Dunwich.	2
The borough of Orford.	2
The borough of Aldeborough.	2
The borough of Sudburie.	2
The borough of Eya.	2

***Summerset.***

Knights.	2
The citie of Bristow.	2
The citie of Bath.	2
The citie of Welles.	2
The borough of Taunton.	2
The borough of Bridgewater.	2
The borough of Minehed.	2

***Sussex.***

Knights.	2
The citie of Chichester.	2
The borough of Horsham.	2
The borough of Midhurst.	2
The borough of Lewes.	2
The borough of Shorham.	2
The borough of Brember.	2
The borough of Stening.	2
The borough of Eastgrenesteed.	2
The borough of Arundell.	2

***Westmerland.***

Knights.	2
The borough of Appulbie.	2

***Wilton.***

Knights.	2
The citie of New Sarum.	2
The borough of Wilton.	2
The borough of Downton.	2
The borough of Hindon.	2
The borough of Heitesburie.	2

The borough of Westburie.	2
The borough of Calne.	2
The borough of Deuises.	2
The borough of Chipenham.	2
The borough of Malmesburie.	2
The borough of Cricklade.	2
The borough of Budwin.	2
The borough of Ludgesale.	2
The borough of Old Sarum.	2
The borough of Wotton Basset.	2
The borough of Marleborough.	2

***Worcester.***

Knights.	2
The cite of Worcester.	2
The borough of Withée.	2

***Warwike.***

Knights.	2
The cite of Couentrie.	2
The borough of Warwike.	2

***Barons of the ports.***

Hastings.	2
Winchelseie.	2
Rie.	2
Rumneie.	2
Hithe.	2
Douer.	2
Sandwich.	2

***Mountgomerie.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Mountgomerie.	1

***Flint.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Flint.	1

***Denbigh.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Denbigh.	1

***Merionneth.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Hauerfordwest.	1

***Carneruan.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Carneruan.	1

***Angleseie.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Beaumares.	1

***Carmarden.***

Knights.	1
The borough of new Carmarden.	1

***Pembroke.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Pembroke.	1

***Cairdigan.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Cairdigan.	1

***Brecknoch.***

Knights.	1
The borough of Brecknoch.	1

	<b>Radnor.</b>	
Knights.		1
The borough of Radnor.		1

	<b>Glamorgan.</b>	
Knights.		1
The borough of Cardiffe.		1

¶ *The summe of the foresaid number of the common house videlicet, of*

Knights.	90.
Citizens.	46.
Burgesses.	289.
Barons.	14.
	—
	439.
	—

## CHAP. IX.

**Samothés.** That Samothés or Dis gaue the first lawes to the Celtes (whose kingdome he erected about the fiftéenth of Nimbrote) the testimonie of Berosus is prooffe sufficient. For he not onelie affirmeth him to publish the same in the fourth of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there liued none in his daies of more excellent wisdome, nor politike inuention than he, whereof he was named Samothés, as some other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogither vnknowne, as most things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can absolutelie denie, sith new lords vse commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors abolish such as were in vse before them.

**Albion.**

**Brute.** The like also may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithstanding that the certeine knowledge so well of the one as of the other is perished, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their dooings. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued such princes as reigned in this land, but also brought the realme to good order, that long before had béene torne with ciuill discord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in these daies is able to determine.

**Mulmutius.**

**The praise of Dunwallon.** Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his subiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none that made so ridiculous an end: in like sort there hath not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whose waies were more feared at the first, than those of Dunwallon (king Henrie the fift excepted) and yet in the end he prooued such a prince, as after his death there was in maner no subiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, seure administration of iustice, and prouident framing of his lawes and constitutions, for the gouernment of his subiects. His people also, coueting to continue his name vnto posteritie, intituled those his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Britons, so long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward when the comeling Saxons had once obtained the superioritie of the kingdom, the maiestie of those lawes fell for a time into such decaie, that although "Non penitùs cecidit, tamen potuit cecidisse videri," as Leland saith, and the decreés themselues had vtterlie perished in déed at the verie first brunt, had they not beene preserued in Wales, where they remained amongst the reliques of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the first, who obtaining the souereigntie of that portion, indeuoured verie earnestlie to extinguish those of Mulmutius, and to establish his owne.

But as the Saxons at their first arriuell did what they could to abolish the British lawes, so in processe of time they yéelded a little to relent, & not so much to abhorre and mislike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receiue and imbrace the same, especiallie at such time as the said Saxon princes entered into amitie with the British nobilitie, and after that began to ioine in matrimonie with the British ladies, as the British barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an especiall statute and decreé, wherof in another treatise I haue made mention at large. Héerof also it came to passe in the end, that they were contented to make a choise, and insert no small numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by those of Athelbert the great, surnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the west Saxons, and diuerse other yet extant to be séene. Such also was the lateward estimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make new ordinances, they caused those of Mulmutius (which Gildas sometime translated into Latine) to be first expounded vnto them, and in this perusall if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might serue their turnes, they foorthwith reuiued the same, and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is most of all to be commended, who not onelie chose out the best, but gathered together all such whatsoever the said Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they should lie no more in corners as forlorne bookes, and vnknowne to the learned of his kingdome, he caused them to be turned into the Saxon toong, wherein they continued long after his decease.

As for the Normans, who for a season neither regarded the British, nor cared for the Saxon statutes, they also at the first vtterlie misliked of them, till at the last, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no stranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make such equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without some care & trouble: they fell in with such a desire to sée by what rule the state of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing perused the same, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but also admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vsed as principles and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almost intollerable burden of seruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the shoulders of the English, but also left vs a great number of the old

Mulmutian lawes, whereof the most part are in vse to this daie as I said, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to distinguish them from others, that are in strength amongst vs.

**Martia.**

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was Martia, whome Leland surnameth Proba; and after him Iohn Bale also, who in his Centuries dooth iustlie confesse himselfe to haue béene holpen by the said Leland, as I my selfe doo likewise for manie things contained in this treatise. Shée was wife vnto Gutteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir husbands deceasse in the nonage of hir sonne, and séeing manie things dailie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, she deuised sundrie and those verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir subiects when she was dead and gone, did name the Martian statutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I doo not read, howbeit (as I said before of the lawes of Mulmutius) so the same Alfred caused those of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerse commend also for hir great knowledge in the Gréeke toong) to be turned into his owne language, wherevpon it came to passe that they were dailie executed among his subiects, afterward allowed of (among the rest) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vse in these our daies, notwithstanding that we can not disseuer them also verie readilie from the other.

The seuenth alteration of lawes was practised by the Saxons, for I ouerpasse the vse of the ciuill ordinances vsed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuilians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the seuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of these later, which yet remaine in sound knowlege, and are to be read, being comprehended for the most part vnder the names of the Martian and the Saxon law. Beside these also I read of the Dane law, so that the people of middle England were ruled by the first, the west Saxons by the second; as Essex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and part of Herfordshire were by the third, of all the rest the most inequall and intollerable. And as in these daies what soeuer the prince in publike assemblie commanded vpon the necessitie of his subiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: so none of them had appointed anie certeine place, wherevnto his people might repaire at fixed times for iustice, but caused them to resort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper person they would often determine their causes, and so make shortest worke, or else commit the same to the hearing of other, and so dispatch them awaie. Neither had they any house appointed to assemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Westminster. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Habam, Alfred at Woodstock and Wanning, Athelstane in Excester, Cricklade, Feuersham, & Thundersleie, Canutus at Winchester, &c: other in other places, whereof this may suffice.

**Martian  
Law.  
Saxon Law.  
Dane Law.**

Among other things also vsed in the time of the Saxons, it shall not be amisse to set downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with them from beyond the seas out of Scithia, and vsed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it contained not an ordinarie procéding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we see practised in these daies; but a short dispatch & triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfullie translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted copie, latelie published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Neuerthesse, as the Scithians were the first that vsed this practise, so I read that it was taken vp and occupied also in France in processe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and vew in that behalfe. But what stand I herevpon?

**Ordalian  
law.**

The Ordalian (saith the aforesaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vsed two waies, wherof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was doone by fire, the partie accused should go a certeine number of pases, with an hot iron in his hand, or else bare footed vpon certeine plough shares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of thrée, and then named treble Ordalium, and whosoeuer did beare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged guiltlesse, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was foorthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespasse whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

**Fire.**

**Water.**

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or strugling for life, he was foorthwith acquitted as guiltlesse of the fact wherof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without anie maner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie

to noble men and women, and such as were frée borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Wherof to shew the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set foorth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of King Iohn, who séeing the manifold subtilties in the same (by sundrie sorcerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restrained) did extinguish it altogither as flat lewdnesse and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: "*Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron.* Then it followeth: *After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and praier, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to saie, O all ye workes of God the Lord, and in Latine Benedicite omnia opera, &c: he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth: Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, vt sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, & victoria, & sanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto. Hæc benedictio sit super hunc locum, & super omnes habitantes in eo. In English: Blesse thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, purenesse, humilitie, goodnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. Then followeth the blessing of the fire. Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accendamus igne claritatis tuæ. Et sicut igne illuminasti Mosen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, & sensus nostros, vt ad vitam æternam mereamur peruenire, per Christum, &c. Lord God father almightie, light euerlasting, heare vs, sith thou art the maker of all lights. Blesse O Lord this light, that is already sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightned with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting life, through Christ our, &c. This being ended let him say the Pater noster, &c: then these words: Saluum fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c. That is, O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.*

"*The praier.* Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt sit sanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifesta fiat, per eundem Dominum, &c. *In English: Blesse we beséech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlasting God, through the inuocation of thy most holie name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels vtterlie remoued, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Iesus, &c.*

"*After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilst it heateth, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.*

#### **The office of the masse.**

"Iustus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iust, &c.

#### **The Praier.**

"Absolue quæsumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum suorum nexibus, quæ pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iustitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c. *That is: Pardon we beséech thée O Lord, the sinnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.*

#### **The Gospell. Mar. 10.**

"In illo tempore, cùm egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magister bone, quid faciam vt vitam æternam percipiam? Iesus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. In those daies when Iesus went foorth toward his iourneie, and one méeting him in the waie running, and knéeling vnto him, asked him saing: Good master what shall I doo that I may possesse eternall life? Iesus said vnto him, Whie callest thou me good? &c. *Then followeth the secret,*

The cup yet  
in vse.

and so forth all of the rest of the masse. But before the partie dooth communicate, the priest shall vse these words vnto him: *Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & spiritum sanctum, & per veram christianitatem quam suscepisti, & per sanctas reliquias quæ in ista ecclesia sunt, & per baptismum quo te sacerdos regenerauit, vt non præsumas villo modo communicare, neq; accedere ad altare, si hoc fecisti aut consensisti, &c.* I adiuere thée by the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost, by the true christendome which thou hast receiued, by the holie reliques which are in this church, and by the baptisme wherewith the priest hath regenerated thée, that thou presume not by any maner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou hast doone or consented vnto this, whereof thou art accused, &c. *Here let the priest suffer him to communicate, saieng;* Corpus hoc, & sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sit tibi ad probationem hodie. This bodie & this bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto thee a triall this daie. *The praier:* Perceptis Domine Deus noster sacris muneribus, supplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio sacramenti à proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis sententiam declaret, &c. Hauing receiued O Lord God these holie mysteries, we humblie beséech thée that the participation of this sacrament may rid vs of our guiltinesse, and in this thy seruant set foorth the truth. *Then shall follow Kyrieleson, the Letanie, and certaine Psalmes, and after all them Oremus:* Let vs praie. Deus qui per ignem signa magna ostendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibusdam pereuntibus eruisti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conspectum Mosis & minimè comburi permisisti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis plerisque succensis, tres pueros tuos illæsos eduxisti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuum cum suis salute donasti, Deus qui in aduentu sancti spiritus tui, illustratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuisti: ostende nobis in hoc prauitatis nostræ examine virtutem eiusdem spiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem discernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuius inquisitio agitur, conscius exhorrescat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitens illæsus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam secreta effugiunt, fidei nostræ tua bonitate responde, & præsta vt quisquis purgandi se gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel absoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c. *In English thus:* O God, which in shewing great tokens by fire diddest deliuer Abraham thy seruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whilst other perished; O God which sufferedst the bush to burne in the sight of Moses, and yet not to consume; O God which deliueredst the thrée children from bodilie harme in the furnace of the Chaldeis, whilst diuerse were consumed; O God which by fire didst wrap the people of Sodome in their destruction, and yet sauedst Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the shining of thy brightnesse at the comming of the holie ghost in likenesse of fire, diddest separate the faithfull from such as beléeued not: shew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickednesse, the power of the same spirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire discerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whose cause is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in safetie, &c. O God from whome no secrets are hidden, let thy goodnesse answer to our faith, and grant that whosoever in this purgation, shall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offender, &c. *After this the priest shall sprinkle the iron with holie water saieng:* The blessing of the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iust iudgement of God. *And foorthwith let him that is accused beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and sealed vp for the space of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw flesh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and sound, let him giue thanks to God."* And thus much of the firie Ordalia, wherevnto that of the water hath so precise relation, that in setting foorth of the one, I haue also described the other, wherefore it shall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall.

Water.

Hitherto also (as I thinke) sufficientlie of such lawes as were in vse before the conquest. Now it resteth that I should declare the order of those, that haue beene made and receiued since the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto doo produce thrée score and foure seuerall courts. But for asmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little skill to procéed in the same accordinglie, it shall suffice to set downe some generall discourse of such as are vsed in our daies, and so much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-saie.

Ciuill law.

We haue therefore in England sundrie lawes, and first of all the ciuill, vsed in the chancerie, admeraltie, and diuerse other courts, in some of which, the seuerer rigor of iustice is often so mitigated by conscience, that diuerse things are thereby made easie and tollerable, which otherwise would appeare to be méere iniurie and extremitie.

Canon law.

We haue also a great part of the Canon law dailie practised among vs, especiallie in cases of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and such like, as are vsuallie to be séene in the consistories of our bishops and higher courts of the two archbishops, where the exercise of the same is verie hotlie followed. The third sort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & those alwaies so variable, & subiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerse iudgements doo passe vpon one maner of case, whereby the saieng

of the poet,

"Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,"

**Lawiers of  
England not  
alwaies  
constant in  
iudgment.**

may verie well be applied vnto such, as being vrged with these words; In such a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for sound law; doo answer nothing else, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, so that they saie farre otherwise. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon thrée lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Customarie law, and Prescription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an assise, or wager of battell, of which the last is little vsed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the first and last rehearsed. But to returne to my purpose.

**Parlement  
law.**

The first is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the most part holden at Westminster néere London, is the highest of all other, & consisteth of three seuerall sorts of people, that is to saie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not summoned, but vpon vrgent occasion when the prince dooth see his time, and that by seuerall writs, dated commonlie full six wéekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher house by the lords spirituall and temporall, and in the lower house by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Powles, or if occasion so require in Westminster church, is a member) there speaking by the mouth of the knights of the shire and burgesses, remaine in the end to be confirmed by the prince, who commonlie resorteth thither of custome, vpon the first and last daies of this court, there to vnderstand what is doone, and giue his roiall consent to such statutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher house, and hauing taken his throne, the speaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to go betwéene the houses, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the said thrée estates, and then craueth the princes consent and finall confirmation to the same. The king hauing heard the summe and principall points of each estatute brieflie recited vnto him, answereth in French with great deliberation vnto such as he liketh ("Il nous plaist") but to the rest "Il ne plaist," whereby the latter are made void and frustrate. That also which his maiestie liketh of, is hereby authorised, confirmed, & euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like assemblie. The number of the commons assembled in the lower house, beside the cleargie, consisteth of ninetie knights. For each shire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greatest wisdom and reputation, chosen out of the bodie of the same for that onelie purpose, sauing that for Wales one onlie is supposed sufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewise fourtie and six citizens, 289 burgesses, and fouretéene barons, so that the whole assemblie of the laitie of the lower house, consisteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine persons, if the iust number be supplied. Of the lawes here made likewise some are penall and restraine the common law, and some againe are found to inlarge the same. The one sort of these also are for the most part taken strictlie according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

**Number of  
congregates  
in the  
parlement.**

**Common  
law.**

The Common law standeth vpon sundrie maximes or principles, and yeares or termes, which doo containe such cases as by great studie and solemne argument of the iudges sound practise confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the course of most ancient lawes made farre before the conquest, and thereto the déepest reach and foundations of reason, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes these cases are otherwise called plees or action, wherof there are two sorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and messengers also to determine those causes are our writs or bréefes, whereof there are some originall and some iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant when they appeare procéed (if the case doo so require) by plaint or declaration, barre or answer, replication, reioinder, and so by rebut, surrebut to issue and triall if occasion so fall out, the one side affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common experience teacheth. Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confession or default, wherein if anie negligence or trespasse hath béene committed, either in processe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie griued may haue a writ of errour to vndoo the same, but not in the same court where the former iudgement was giuen.

Customarie law consisteth of certeine laudable customes vsed in some priuat countrie, intended first to begin vpon good and reasonable considerations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children equallie to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where it is onelie to my knowledge retained, and no where else in England. It was at the first deuised by the Romans, as appeareth by Cæsar in his cōmentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males which holdeth still in England) should haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongst them. By this meanes also it came to passe, that whereas before time for the space of sixtie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the space of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax so feeble, and such discord fell out amongst themselues, that they were not able to mainteine warres

**Customarie law.**



with the Romans, nor raise anie iust armie against them. For as a riuer runing with one streame is swift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: so the lands and goods of the ancestors being dispersed amongst their issue males, of one strong there were raised sundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall strength to resist the aduersarie, became infeeble and brought almost to nothing. "Vis vnita (saith the philosopher) fortior est eadem dispersa," and one good pursse is better than manie euill, and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will séeke to mainteine his priuate estate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare.

Burrow kind, is where the yoongest is preferred before the eldest, which is the custome of manie countries of this region; also the woman to haue the third of hir husbands possessions, the husband that marieth an heire to haue such lands as moue by hir during his naturall life, if he suruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath béene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c: of such like to be learned elsewhere, and sometimes frequented generallie ouer all.

**Prescription.** Prescription is a certaine custome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than customarie law, as where onelie a parish or some priuat person dooth prescribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans soile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwise than the common course and order of the law requireth, whereof let this suffice at this time, in stéed of a larger discourse of our owne lawes, least I should seeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no skill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to doo with anie precise knowledge of the law of man, sith they are seuerall trades, and incident to diuerse persons?

**Terme.** There are also sundrie vsuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word Terminus, wherein all controuersies are determined, that happen within the Quéenes dominions. These are commonlie holden at London, except vpon some great occasion they be transferred to other places. At what times also they are kept both for spirituall and temporall dealing, the table insuing shall easilie declare. Finallie how well they are followed by sutors, the great wealth of lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie expresse. For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the start, and after them the cleargie: so now all the wealth of the land dooth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome some one hauing practised little aboue thirteene or fourtéene yeares is able to buie a purchase of so manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiser & warie hereafter. It is not long, since a sergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arrested vpon an extent, for thrée or foure hundred pounds, and another standing by did greatlie maruell that he could not spare the gaines of one terme for the satisfaction of that dutie. The time hath béene that our lawiers did sit in Powles vpon stooles against the pillers and walles to get clients, but now some of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the lest. And one being demanded why he made so much of his trauell, answered, that it was but follie for him to go so farre, when he was assured to get more monie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had a sute of late of some valure, and to be sure of counsell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whose names I forbore to deliuer) twentie shillings a peece, telling them of the daie and houre wherein his matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came not vnto the barre at all, whervpon he staid for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increased his former gifts by so much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe serued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall doore, and after some timorous reprehension, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he bestowed either thrée angels or foure more vpon each of them, whervpon they promised peremptorie to speake earnestlie in his cause. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet sucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in déed came in, and wagging a scroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he spake not aboue thrée or foure words, almost so soone vttered as a good morrow, and so went from the bar, and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counsellours did séeme to take of his cause, then standing vpon the hazard. But

**Deceipt.** inough of these matters, for if I should set downe how little law poore men can haue for their small fées in these daies, and the great murmurings that are on all sides vttered against their excessiue taking of monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpose. Wherefore it shall suffice to haue set downe so much of their demeanour, and so much as is euen enough to cause them to looke with somewhat more conscience into their dealings, except they be dull and senselesse.

**Manie of our lawiers stoope not at small fées.**

**Poore men contentious.** This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected sundrie courts, especiallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the ease of poore men dwelling in those parts, yet will the poorest (of all men commonlie most contentious) refuse to haue his cause heard so néere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndooing to trauell vp to London, thinking there soonest to preuaile against his aduersarie, though his case be neuer so doubtfull. But in this toie our Welshmen doo excéed of all that euer I heard, for you shall here and there haue some one od poore Daid of them giuen so much to contention and strife,

that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wearing) bicause he hath no change. When he commeth there also, he will make such importunate begging of his cuntrymen, and hard shift otherwise, that he will sometimes carie downe six or seuen writs with him in his pursse, wherewith to molest his neighbor, though the greatest quarrel be scarselie worth the fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, least in reuealing the superfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my selfe amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable case to see furthermore, how a number of poore men are dailie abused and vtterlie vndoone, by sundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as promoters or brokers betwéene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle and espie coales of contention, whereby the one side may reape commoditie, and the other spend and be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Essex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till Iohn of Ludlow, aliàs Mason came in place, vnto whome in comparison they two were but children: for this last in lesse than threé or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie else-where in other places) almost to extreame miserie (if beggerie be the vttermost) that before he had the shauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake with the least) and finallie feeling that he had not sufficient wherewith to susteine himselfe and his familie, and also to satisfie that greedie rauenour, which still called vpon him for new fées, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and pensiuenesse. After his death also he so handled his sonne, that there was neuer shéepe shorne in Maie, so néere clipped of his fléece present, as he was of manie to come: so that he was compelled to let awaie his land, bicause his cattell & stocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in stéed of these enormities, a table shall follow of the termes contening their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my fréend Iohn Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

Promoters seeke matters to set lawiers on worke withall.

The times of our termes no hinderance to iustice.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the same to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Westminster, and finallie the great expenses employed vpon the same, should be no small cause of the staie and hinderance of the administration of iustice in this land: but as it falleth out they prooue great occasions and the staie of much contention. The reasons of these are soone to be conceiued, for as the broken sleeue dooth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cause manie to sit at home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and feare of delaie dooth driue those oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwise would liue at strife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men desirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might ingender longer sute; other would haue the houses made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to minister the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too short than too long by one returne a péee: so if there were smaller roomes and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pawses before they did rashlie enter into plée. But sith my purpose is not to make an ample discourse of these things, it shall suffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which insueth after this manner.

*A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.*

Hilarie terme beginneth the three and twentieth daie of Ianuarie (if it be not sundaie) otherwise the next daie after, and is finished the twelfe of Februarie, it hath foure returnes.

Octabis Hilarij.	Crastino Purific.
Quind. Hilarij.	Octabis Purific.

¶ Easter terme beginneth seuentéene daies after Easter, endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie, and hath fiue returnes.

Quind. Pasch.	Mense. Paschæ.	Quinque Paschæ.
Tres Paschæ.		Crast. Ascention.

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the fridaie after Trinitie sundaie, and endeth the wednesdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

Crast. Trinitatis.	Quind. Trinitatis.
Octabis Trinitatis.	Tres Trinitatis.

¶ Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not sundaie) and ending the eight and twentieth of Nouember, it hath eight returnes.

Octabis Michael.	Tres Michael.	Crast. anima.	Octa Martini.
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Note also that the eschequer, which is *Fiscus ærarium publicum principis*, openeth eight daies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vsuall termes as they are kept for the administration of our common lawes, wherevnto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accustomed holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other ecclesiasticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for somuch time as their execution indureth (which in comparison is scarselie one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called vp to answer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being sorie in the meane season, that the vse of the popish calendar is so much reteined in the same, and not rather the vsuall daies of the moneth placed in their roomes, sith most of them are fixed and palter not their place of standing. Howbeit some of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie so easilie, pretending facilitie and custome of vsage, but meaning peradventure inwardlie to keepe a commemoration of those dead men whose names are there remembered.

Michaelmas terme.

S. Faith.	Simon & Iu.	Edmund.	Conception of
S. Edward.	All Soules.	Katharine.	the virgin
S. Luke.	S. Martin.	S. Andrew.	Marie.

¶ It is to be remembered that the first daie following euerie of these feasts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the same first daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for ciuill and seafaring causes kept in Southwarke, where iustice is ministred & execution doone continually according to the same.

The second daie following euerie one of the said feasts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the consistorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the selfe daie in the afternoone, in the same place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie such feast in the forenoone, the consistorie court of the bishop of London is kept in Paules church in the said consistorie, and the same third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quéenes highnesse commissioners vpon appeales is likewise kept in the same place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.

S. Hilarie.	S. Blase.	Ashwednes.	Perpet. & Fel.
S. Wolstan.	S. Scolastic.	S. Matthie.	S. Gregorie.
Conuersion of S. Paule.	S. Valentine.	S. Chad.	Annüciation of our Ladie.

Note that the foure first daies of this terme be certeine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yeare, and sometime kept and sometime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feasts fall on wednesdaie, commonlie called Ashwednesdaie after the daie of S. Blase (so that the same lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie cannot be kept because the lawdaie of the other feast dooth light on the same) then the second lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie be the next daie after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all and euerie court daies be obserued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke that although Ashwednesdaie be put the seuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the course of Easter causeth it.

Easter terme.

The fiftéenth daie after Easter.

S. Alphege.	Gordian.
S. Marke.	S. Dunstan.
Inuention of the crosse.	Ascension daie.

¶ In this terme the first sitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftéenth daie after Easter, and so foorth after the feasts here noted, which next follow by course of the yeare after Easter, and the like space being kept betweene other feasts.

The rest of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Ascension, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, doo come before anie of the feasts aforesaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewise if anie of those daies come before the fifteenth of Easter, those daies are omitted also.

Trinitie terme.

Trinitie sundaie.	S. Butolph.	S. Swithune.
Corpus Christi.	S. Iohn.	S. Margaret.
Boniface bish.	S. Paule.	S. Anne.
S. Barnabie.	Translat. Thomas.	

Here note also that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitsuntide, and the first sitting is kept alwaies on the first lawdaie after the feast of the holie Trinitie, and the second session is kept the first lawdaie after the idolatrous and papisticall feast daie called Corpus Christi, except Corpus Christi daie fall on some day aforesaid: which chanceth sometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the second session account foure daies or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feast day, and the first lawdaie after the said feast shall be the third session. The other law daies follow in order, but so manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare shall be thought méet.

It is also generallie to be obserued, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not sundaie or holie daie: and that if the feast daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the first or second daie following be sundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the said holie daie or feast.

## CHAP. X.

Thréé sorts  
of poore.

There is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherin there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarilie to be relieued by the welthier sort, which otherwise would starue and come to vtter confusion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into thrée sorts, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded souldier, the decaied householder, and the sicke person visited with grieuous and painefull diseases: the third consisteth of thriftlesse poore, as the riotour that hath consumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were séeking worke and finding none) and finallie the roge and strumpet which are not possible to be diuided in sunder, but runne too and fro ouer all the realme, chéefelie kéeping the champaine soiles in summer to auoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds.

A thing  
often séene.

At whose  
hands shall  
the bloud of  
these men  
be required?

For the first two sorts, that is to saie, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by casualtie, which are the true poore in deed, and for whome the word dooth bind vs to make some dailie prouision: there is order taken through out euerie parish in the realme, that weekelie collection shall be made for their helpe and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both towne and countrie. Authoritie also is giuen vnto the iustices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for such as make default, to sée that the intent of the statute in this behalfe be trulie executed, according to the purpose and meaning of the same, so that these two sorts are sufficientlie prouided for: and such as can liue within the limits of their allowance (as each one will doo that is godlie and well disposed) may well forbear to rome and range about. But if they refuse to be supported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to mainteine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third sort, and so in stéed of courteous refreshing at home, are often corrected with sharpe execution, and whip of iustice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithstanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yéeld rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be dailie vnder the feare and terrour of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the deuotion of the parishes. I found not long since a note of these latter sort, the effect whereof insueth. Idle beggers are such either through other mens occasion, or through their owne default. By other mens occasion (as one waie for example) when some couetous man such I meane as haue the cast or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to pester the land, espieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, dooth find such meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the same vnto his priuate gaines. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wise and better minded, doo either forsake the realme for altogether, and seeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Moscouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no roome to be left for them at home, doo so behaue themselues that they are worthilie to be accompted among the second sort: yet the greater part commonlie hauing nothing to staie vpon are wilfull, and therevpon doo either prooue idle beggers, or else continue starke théeues till the gallowes doo eat them vp, which is a lamentable case. Certes in some mans iudgements these things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some also doo grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessarie brood of cattell farre better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken such men best of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practise the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermost, to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first may continue and indure the longer. But if it should come to passe that any forren inuasion should be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake! then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to séeke remedie. The like occasion caused the Romans to deuise their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceased to practise disturbance till it was quite abolished. But to proceed with my purpose.

Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or méere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means, are in the beginning iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore afore mentioned: 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 is their owne vngratious lewdnesse, and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosiues, 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 and odious sores, and mooue the harts of the goers by such places where they lie, to yerne at their miserie, and therevpon bestow large almesse vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible spéech, and how they select and choose out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner coniure or adiure 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 cheeflie 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 sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times in their apparell also they will be like seruing men or laborers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and séeke for ships which they neuer lost. But in fine, they are all théeues and caterpillers in the common-wealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but licke the sweat from the true labourers browes, & 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 wicked & detestable maner.

It is not yet full thréescore 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 aboue 10000 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 late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rable. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth thrée & twentie sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

Thomas Harman.

*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 whipiacks. |
| 4 Roges.                | 11 Dummerers.                         |
| 5 Wild roges.           | 12 Drunken tinkers.                   |
| 6 Priggers or pransers. | 13 Swadders or pedlers.               |
| 7 Palliards.            | 14 Iarkemen or patricoes.             |

¶ *Of women kind*

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

The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must néeds be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them, as vpon théeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yoong children, burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people, 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 adjudged to be gréuouslie 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 woorth fiue pounds in the quéenes 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, minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretended schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From 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, béene 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 & haue béene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the quéenes maiestie for euerie time that he dooth so succour them, as it shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation excéed not twentie shillings, as I haue béene informed. And thus much of the poore, & such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

## CHAP. XI.

In cases of felonie, manslaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & such capitall crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offendor is to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments vsed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vse, and yet so few gréeuous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To vse torment also or question by paine and torture in these common cases with vs is greatlie abhorred, sith we are found alwaie to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, choosing rather frankelie to open our minds than to yeeld our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are vsed in other countries. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons doo go so chéerefullie to their deths, for our nation is frée, stout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud, as sir Thomas Smith saith lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica, and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be vsed as villanes and slaues, in suffering continuallie beating, seruitude, and seruile torments. No, our gailers are guiltie of felonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prisoner committed to their custodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greatest and most gréeuous punishment vsed in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliue, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided neere hand and within their owne sight, euen for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespasse be not the more hainous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when soeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason by their peeres, that is to saie, equals (for an inquest of yeomen passeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads onelie, notwithstanding that the sentence doo run after the former order. In triall of cases concerning treason, felonie, or anie other greeuous crime not confessed, the partie accused dooth yéeld, if he be a noble man, to be tried by an inquest (as I haue said) and his péeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vse) and being condemned of felonie, manslaughter, &c: he is eftsoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, doone either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie, he is either hanged aliue in chaines néere the place where the fact was committed (or else vpon compassion taken first strangled with a rope) and so continueth till his bones consume to nothing. We haue vse neither of the whéele nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manslaughter is perpetrated, beside hanging, the offendor hath his right hand commonlie striken off before or néere vnto the place where the act was doone, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word fellow is deriued of the Saxon words Fell and One, that is to say, an euill and wicked one, a one of vntamable nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like sort in the word felonie are manie gréeuous crimes contened, as breach of prison An. 1 of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors An. 1. of Henrie the seuenth. Rape or stealing of women & maidens An. 3 of Henrie the eight. Conspiracie against the person of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the seuenth. Embesilling of goods committed by the master to the seruant, aboue the value of fourtie shillings An. 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horsse or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes eggs An. 31. of Henrie the eight. Coniuring, sorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of crosses An. 33. of Hen. 8. Prophecieng vpon armes, cognisances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Casting of slanderous bills An. 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poison An. 1. of Edw. the sixt. Departure of a soldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the sixt. Diminution of coine, all offenses within case of premunire, embeselling of records, goods taken from dead men by their seruants, stealing of what soeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the sea, or of dwelling houses, letting out of ponds, cutting of purses, stealing of déere by night, counterfeiters of coine, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuerse other needlesse to be remembred. If a woman poison hir husband she is burned aliue, if the seruant kill his master he is to be executed for petie treason, he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practise: in cases of murther all the accessaries are to suffer paines of death accordinglie. Periurie is punished by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the rewalting of the trées growing vpon the grounds of the offenders and losse of all his mooueables. Manie trespasses also are punished by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offendor, as the vtterance of seditious words against the magistrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the eares, carriers of sheepe out of the land by the losse of their hands, such as kill by



poison are either boiled or skalded to death in lead or séething water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and dooing of open penance in shéets, in churches and market stéeds are often put to rebuke. Howbeit as this is counted with some either as no punishment at all to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offenders, so I would wish adulterie and fornication to haue some sharper law. For what great smart is it to be turned out of an hot sheet into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let lose againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit the dragging of some of them ouer the Thames betwéene Lambeth and Westminster at the taile of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifieth them which are condemned therto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marshall, and that within the compasse of his iurisdiction & limits onelie. Canutus was the first that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to punish whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being too seuere in this behalfe. For before the time of the said Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleasure; and the adulteresse was to lose hir eies or nose, or both, if the case were more than common: whereby it appéereth of what estimation mariage was amongst them, sith the breakers of that holie estate were so gréeuously rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more fauourable with them, shooting rather at the punishments of such priests and clearkes as were married, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that anie seueritie was shewed, except vpon such laie men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therefore so in adulterie and whoredome I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a shéet, though the weather be neuer so cold.

Manslaughter in time past was punished by the pursse, wherin the quantitie or qualitie of the punishment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 shillings. And by an estatute made vnder Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else-where I haue spoken more at large. Such as kill themselues are buried in the field with a stake driuen through their bodies.

**Halifax law.** Witches are hanged or sometimes burned, but théeues are hanged (as I said before) generallie on the gibbet or gallowes, sauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a strange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath beene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Halifax, that who soeuer dooth commit anie fellonie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirtéene pence halfe penie, he is fourthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall vsuallie vpon the tuesdaies, thursdaies, & saturdayes) or else vpon the same daie that he is so conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is doone, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which dooth ride vp and downe in a slot, rabet, or regall betwéene two péeces of timber, that are framed and set vpright of fiue yardes in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ax keied or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there fastened by a wooden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samsons post) vnto the midst of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that commeth downe among the people, so that when the offender hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost blocke, euerie man there present dooth either take hold of the rope (or putteth fourth his arme so neere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to sée true iustice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened dooth fall downe with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge distance. If it be so that the offender be apprehended for an ox, oxen, shéepe, kine, horsse, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast or other of the same kind shall haue the end of the rope tied somewhere vnto them, so that they being driuen doo draw out the pin wherby the offender is executed. Thus much of Halifax law, which I set downe onelie to shew the custome of that countrie in this behalfe.

**Mute.** Roges and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped, scolds are ducked vpon cucking-stooles in the water. Such fellons as stand mute and speake not at their arraignment are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a boord, that lieth ouer their brest, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which if they were condemned should be confiscated to the prince. Théeues that are saued by their bookes and cleargie, for the first offense, if they haue stollen nothing else but oxen, shéepe, monie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie side, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores, are burned in the left hand, vpon the brawne of the thombe with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieth them to haue beene arraigned of fellonie before, whereby they are sure at that time to haue no mercie. I doo not read that this custome of sauing by the booke is vsed anie where else than in England, neither doo I find (after much diligent

**Cleargie.**

Pirats.

inquire) what Saxon prince ordeined that law. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuised to traine the inhabiters of this land to the loue of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themselues to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue beene amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not suffer euen their princes to be lerned for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counsell house, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whensoever anie thing touching the state of the land was to be consulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the shore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue ouerwashed them. Finallie, such as hauing wals and banks néere vnto the sea, and doo suffer the same to decaie (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine ancient custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

And thus much in part of the administration of iustice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding that we doo not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murthers (such I meane as are not sildome séene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then some manslaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be seuerelie punished, and in such wise as I before reported. Certes there is no greater mischéefe doone in England than by robberies, the first by yoong shifting gentlemen, which oftentimes doo beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by seruuingmen, whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them bréeches, wherefore they are now and then constrained either to kéepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houses with the first sort, or else to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers pastures, there to sée and view which horssees féed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard aduerture it hath béene knowne by their confession at the gallowes, that some one such chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or sixtie stolne horssees at pasture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselues in the meane season being taken about home for honest yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue been bewraied. It is not long since one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie townesman, he vttered also more horssees than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable peniworth, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentleman or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Iesus I stole him. Which talke was plaine inough, and yet such was his estimation, that each beleued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indéed.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are roges, which doo verie great mischeefe in all places where they become. For wheras the rich onelie suffer iniurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or small, all is fish that commeth to net with them, and yet I saie both they and the rest are trussed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein thrée hundred or four hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth it vpon the report of the bishop of Lexouia) in the geniture of king Edward the sixt, how Henrie the eight, executing his laws verie seuerelie against such idle persons, I meane great théeues, pettie théeues and roges, did hang vp thréescore and twelue thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the rest: but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle sort, hauing once serued or but séene the other side of the sea vnder colour of seruice to shake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish townes and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of theeues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man complaine and giue warning of slaughter or murther committed, the constable of the village wherevnto he commeth and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespasser may be, or is supposed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable after serch made to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the offender is harbored and found. It is also prouided, that if anie parish in this businesse doo not hir dutie, but suffereth the théefe (for the auoiding of trouble sake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape the same parish, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but also the same with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law, howbeit I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to haue escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for want of watch & gard, that théeues haue beene let

passee, because the couetous and greedie parishoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to prison, if it were far off, that when hue and crie haue béene made euen to the faces of some constables, they haue said; "God restore your losse, I haue other businesse at this time." And by such meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath swet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.

## CHAP. XII.

The greatest part of our building in the cities and good townes of England consisteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the communalitie (except here & there in the West countrie townes) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerse other places be builded so good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houses of the Britons were slightlie set vp with a few posts & many radels, with stable and all offices vnder one roofe, the like whereof almost is to be séene in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in speaking of building to make a distinction betwéene the plaine and wooddie soiles: for as in these, our houses are commonlie strong and well timbered, so that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, six, or nine inches betwéene stud and stud; so in the open and champaine countries they are inforced for want of stufte to vse no studs at all, but onlie franke posts, raisins, beames, prickeposts, groundsels, summers (or dormants) transoms, and such principals, with here and there a griding, whervnto they fasten their splints or radels, and then cast it all ouer with thicke claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwise would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in quéene Maries daies to woonder, but chéeflie when they saw what large diet was vsed in manie of these so homelie cottages, in so much that one of no small reputation amongst them said after this maner: "These English (quoth he) haue their houses made of sticks and durt, but they fare commonlie so well as the king." Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such course cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like sort as euerie countrie house is thus appavelled on the out side, so is it inwardlie diuided into sundrie roomes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwise with straw, sedge, or reed, except some quarrie of slate be néere hand, from whence they haue for their monie so much as may suffice them.

The claie wherewith our houses are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of these the first dooth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke, the second is called lome, but the third eftsoones changeth colour so soone as it is wrought, notwithstanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke also we haue our excellent Asbestos or white lime, made in most places, wherewith being quenched we strike ouer our claie workes and stone wals, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houses: otherwise in steed of chalke (where it wanteth for it is so scant that in some places it is sold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red stone, as in Wales, and else where other stones and shels of oysters and like fish found vpon the sea coast, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eschew water whereby it is dissolued, and neuertheless desire oile wherewith it is easilie mixed, as I haue seene by experience. Within their doores also such as are of abilitie doo oft make their floores and parget of fine alabaster burned, which they call plaster of Paris, whereof in some places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable against the rage of fire.

In plastering likewise of our fairest houses ouer our heads, we vse to laie first a laine or two of white mortar tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or sometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made fast here and there with saplaths for falling downe) and finallie couer all with the aforesaid plaster, which beside the delectable whitenesse of the stufte it selfe, is laied on so euen and smoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be doone with more exactnesse. The wals of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapiserie, 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 wainescot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close than otherwise they would be. As for stooues we haue not hitherto vsed them greatlie, yet doo they now begin to be made in diuerse houses of the gentry and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in as in Germanie and else where, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and néed shall require. This also hath béene common in England, contrarie to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be séene (for example in most stréets of London) that many of our greatest houses haue outwardlie béene verie simple and plaine to sight, which inwardlie haue béene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their ease. Hereby moreouer it is come to passe, that the fronts of our stréets haue not béene so vniforme and orderlie builded as those of forreine cities, where (to saie truth) the vtterside of their mansions and dwellings haue oft more cost bestowed vpon them, than all the rest of the house, which are often verie simple and vneasie within, as experience dooth confirme. Of old time our countrie houses in steed of glasse did vse much lattise and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwise. I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithstanding vsed some glasse also since the time of Benedict Biscop the moonke that brought the feat

of glasing first into this land) did make panels of horne in stéed of glasse, & fix them in wooden calmes. But as horne in windows is now quite laid downe in euerie place, so our lattises are also growne into lesse vse, bicause glasse is come to be so plentifull, and within a verie little so good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obscure mention of the specular stone also to haue béene found and applied to this vse in England, but in such doubtfull sort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuerthesse certeine it is that antiquitie vsed it before glasse was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glasse was first found I care not greatlie to remember euen at this present, although it be directlie beside my purposed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & néere to the foot of mount Carmell there is a moore or marris, wherout riseth a brooke called sometime Belus, and falleth into the sea néere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie ascribed vnto Baall, and also honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Israell. It came to passe also as a certeine merchant sailed that way loden with Nitrum, the passengers went to land for to repose themselues, and to take in some store of fresh water into their vessell. Being also on the shore they kindled a fire, and made prouision for their dinner, but bicause they wanted treuets or stones whereon to set their kettels on, ran by chance into the ship, and brought great péeces of Nitrum with him, which serued their turne for that present. To be short, the said substance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauel that laie vnder it; and so brought forth that shining substance which now is called glasse, and about the time of Semiramis. When the companie saw this, they made no small accompt of their successe, and foorthwith began to practise the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the said stuffe did also insue. Certes for the time this historie may well be true: for I read of glasse in Iob, but for the rest I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glazed with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be séene in Sudleie castell) and in diuerse other places with fine christall, but this especiallie in the time of the Romans, wherof also some fragments haue béene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that onelie the clearest glasse is most estéemed: for we haue diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which would be so good as the best, if we were diligent and carefull to bestow more cost vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the mansion houses of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground stand altogither by stréets, & ioining one to an other, but in woodland soiles dispersed here and there, each one vpon the seuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor bruehouse annexed vnto them vnder the same rooffe (as in manie places beyond the sea & some of the north parts of our countrie) but all separate from the first, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not so farre distant in sunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is doone in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger should attach him.

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are cōmonlie either of bricke or hard stone, or both; their roomes large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron dooth often match in our daies with some honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptista, and Serlo. Neuerthesse, their estimation more than their gréedie and seruile couetousnesse, ioined with a lingering humour causeth them often to be rejected, & strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasters of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to passing delicacie: and herein I doo not speake of the nobilitie and gentry onelie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupbords, to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe dooth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkie worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth fiue or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts doo far excéed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other; so in time past, the costlie furniture staid there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases

haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our cuntry (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imploye it well) dooth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I speake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to shew that I do reioise rather, to see how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and whilist I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to most excessiue prices, & what commoditie so euer is to be had, is dailie plucked from the communalitie by such as looke into euerie trade, we doo yet find the means to obtein & atchiue such furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance; & other three things too too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, wheras in their yoong daies there were not aboue two or threé, if so manie in most vplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peradventure some great personages) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

**Threé things  
greatlie  
amended in  
England.**

**Chimnies.**

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a shéet vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in steed of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seuen yeares after his mariage purchased a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peradventure laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes (said they) were thought méet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie shéet aboue them it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to kéepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides.

**Hard  
lodging.**

**Furniture of  
household.**

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessell, as of treene platters into pewter, and wodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of tréene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure pièces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be iustly called) they were scarce able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horsse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vttermost by the yeare. Such also was their pouertie, that if some one od farmer or husbandman had béene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst six or seuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to shew what store he had, did cast downe his pursse, and therein a noble or six shillings in siluer vnto them (for few such men then cared for gold bicause it was not so readie paiement, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie likelie that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it: whereas in my time, although peradventure foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date trée thinke his gaines verie small toward the end of his terme, if he haue not six or seuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in od vessell going about the house, threé or foure featherbeds, so manie couerlids and carpets of tapistrie, a siluer salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast) and a dozen of spoones to furnish vp the sute. This also he taketh to be his owne cléere, for what stocke of monie soeuer he gathereth & laieth vp in all his yeares, it is often séene, that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he renueth his lease, which is commonlie eight or six yeares before the old be expired (sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuersion, and so defeat him out right) that it shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shauen it from his chin. And as they commend these, so (beside the decaie of housekéeping whereby the poore haue beene relieued) they speake also of threé things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhansing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppression of copiholders, whose lords seeke to bring their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, dailie deuising new meanes, and séeking vp all the old how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then seuen times increasing their fines, driuing them also for euerie trifle to loose and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greatest part of the realme dooth stand and is maintained) to the end they may fléece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Iewes, now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie that he is accompted but for a foole that dooth lend his monie for nothing. In time past it was "Sors pro sorte," that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beside that which is aboue the principall properlie called "Vsura," we chalenge "Fœnus," that is commoditie of soile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it selfe. In time past also

**This was in the  
time of generall  
idleness.**

By the  
yeare.

one of the hundred was much, from thence it rose vnto two, called in Latine "Vsura, Ex sextante;" thrée, to wit "Ex quadrante;" then to foure, to wit "Ex triente;" then to fiue, which is "Ex quincunce;" then to six, called "Ex semisse," &c: as the accompt of the "Assis" ariseth, and comming at the last vnto "Vsura ex asse," it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it "Centesima," for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elsewhere. See Cicero against Verres, Demosthenes against Aphobus, and Athenæus lib. 13. in fine: and when thou hast read them well, helpe I praie thée in lawfull maner to hang vp such as take "Centuū pro cento," for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge in conscience. Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they séeme (as it were) to eat them vp and deale with bondmen, so that if the leassée be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his new terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am sorie to report it, much more gréeued to vnderstand of the practise; but most sorowfull of all to vnderstand that men of great port and countenance are so farre from suffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themselues become grasiers, butchers, tanners, shéepmasters, woodmen, and "denique quid non," thereby to inrich themselues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or féeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plausible shew, but when necessitie shall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter sequele.

## CAP. XIII.

Six and  
twentie  
cities in  
England.

As in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the south part of this Ile, and so manie great cities vnder their iurisdiction: so in these our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them also vnder the ecclesiasticall regiment of some one bishop or archbishop, who in spirituall cases haue the charge and ouersight of the same. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be bishopriks & archbishopriks. For notwithstanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Welles, doo séeme to extend the aforesaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of these couples are to be accounted, but as one entier citie and sée of the bishop, sith one bishoprike can haue relation but vnto one sée, and the said see be situate but in one place, after which the bishop dooth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient histories, that the cities of this southerlie portion haue beene of excéeding greatnesse and beautie, whereof some were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in these our times are quite decaied, and the places where they stood worne out of all remembrance. Such also for the most part as yet remaine are maruellouslie altered, insomuch that whereas at the first they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houses, or appeare not to be much greater in comparison than poore & simple villages. Antoninus the most diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other these ancient townes following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as Leland supposeth (wherin they went by Colchester) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betwéene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles east of London, and likewise Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their first founder Magus, the sonne of Samothés, & second king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; and not "A profunditate," onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus should stand in holes and low grounds: which is to be disprooued in diuerse cities in the maine, as also here with vs. Of these moreouer sir Thomas Eliot supposeth Neomagus to haue stood somewhere about Chester; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie same that we doo now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the shore. And as these and sundrie other now perished tooke their denomination of this prince, so there are diuerse causes, which mooue me to coniecture, that Salisbury dooth rather take the first name of Sarron the sonne of the said Magus, than of Cæsar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers doo imagine) or else at the least wise of Salisburge of the maine, from whence some Saxons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlikelie, sith before the comming of the Saxons, the king of the Suessionenses had a great part of this Iland in subiECTION, as Cæsar saith; and in another place that such of Belgie as stale ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himselfe dooth witnesse. But sith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stand now vpon the prooue of this matter, least I should séeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in such wise to deteine the heads of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise peraduenture would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To procéed therefore. As soone after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughlie furnished with hir conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, doo still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those daies the most part of the Iland was reserued vnto pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the lestwise stood not so thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but chéefelie after the comming of the Saxons, and after them the Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by coppie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especiall place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.

Sitomagus.

Nouiomagus.

Neomagus.  
Niomagus.

Salisbury of  
Sarron.

Sarronium.  
Sarronsburg.

Greater  
cities in  
times past  
when  
husbandmen  
also were  
citizens.  
The cause of  
the increase  
of villages.



Leouitius  
 placeth  
 Yorke in  
 Scotland de  
 eclipsibus.

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1  | London<br>otherwise<br>called   | {<br>Londinum or Longidinium.<br>Augusta of the legion Augusta<br>that sojourned there,<br>when the Romans ruled here.<br>}   |
| 2  | Yorke<br>otherwise<br>called  | {<br>Cairbranke.<br>Vrouicum or Yurewyc.<br>Eorwyc or Eoforwyc.<br>Yeworwyc.<br>Eboracum.<br>Victoria of the legion victrix<br>that laie there sometime.<br>}   |
| 3  | Canturburie.  | {<br>Duroruerno aliàs Duraruennenno.<br>Dorobernia.<br>Cantwarbirie.<br>}   |
| 4  | Colchester.   | {<br>Cair Colon.<br>Cair Colden.<br>Cair Colkin of Coilus.<br>Cair Colun, of the riuer that<br>runneth thereby.<br>Colonia, of the colonie<br>planted there by the Romans.<br>Coloncester. { Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.<br>Tacitus.<br>Ptolome.<br>Camulodunum.<br>} |
| 5  | Lincolne.   | {<br>Cair Lud Coit, of the woods<br>that stood about it.<br>Cair Loichoit, by corruption.<br>Lindum.<br>Lindocollinum.<br>}   |
| 6  | Warwyc<br>had sometime<br>9 parish<br>churches.                               | {<br>Cair Guttelin.<br>Cair Line or Cair Leon.<br>Cair Gwair.<br>Cair Vmber.<br>Cair Gwaerton.<br>}   |
| 7  | Chester vpon<br>Vske was a<br>famous<br>vniuersitie in the<br>time of Arthur. | {<br>Cair legion.<br>Carlheon.<br>Cairlium.<br>Legecester.<br>Ciuitas legionum.<br>}  |
| 8  | Carleill.   | {<br>Cair Lueill.<br>Cair Leill.<br>Lugibalia.<br>Cair Doill.<br>}  |
| 9  | S. Albanes.   | {<br>Cair Maricipit.<br>Cair Municip.<br>Verolanium.<br>Verlamcester.<br>Cair Wattelin, of the street<br>wheron it stood.<br>}  |
| 10 | Winchester.   | {<br>Cair Gwent.<br>Cair Gwin.<br>Cair Wine.<br>Venta Simenorum.<br>}   |
| 11 | Cisceter.   | {<br>Cair Churne.<br>Cair Kyrne.<br>Cair Kery.<br>Cair Cery.<br>Cirnecester.<br>Churnecester.<br>}  |
| 12 | Silcester.  | {<br>*Cair Segent.<br>Selecester.<br>}  |

A legion contened  
 sixtie centuries,  
 thirtie manipuli,  
 threë cohortes.

\* Cair

Segent  
stood vpon  
the Thames,  
not farre  
from  
Reding.

13 Bath.	{	Cair Badon. Thermæ. Aquæ solis.	
14 Shaftesbyry.	{	Cair Paladour. Septonia.	
15 Worcester.	{	Wigornia. Cair Gworangon. Brangonia. Cair Frangon. Woorkecester.	
16 Chichester.	{	Cair Key or Kair Kis. Cair Chic.	
17 Bristow.	{	Cair Odernant Badon. Oder. Cair Bren. Venta Belgarum.	
18 Rochester.	{	Durobreuis, corruptlie Rofcester. Roffa.	{ Durobrouis. Dubobrus. Durobrius.
19 Portchester.	{	Cair Peris. Cair Porcis.	
20 Cairmarden.	{	Cair Maridunum. Cair Merdine. Maridunum. Cair Marlin. Cair Fridhin.	
21 Gloucester.	{	Cair Clowy. Cair Glow. Claudiocestria.	
22 Leircester.	{	Cair Beir. Cair Leir. Cair Lirion. Wirall, teste. Matth. West. 895.	
23 Cambridge.	{	Grantabric. Cair Graunt.	
	{	24 Cair Vrnach, peradventure Burgh castell. 25 Cair Cucurat. 26 Cair Draiton, now a slender village. 27 Cair Celennon. 28 Cair Megwaid.	

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewise) it stood somewhere vpon the Nene in Huntingdon shire, but now vnknowne, sith it was twice raced to the ground, first by the Saxons, then by the Danes, so that the ruines thereof are in these daies not extant to be séene. And in like sort I am ignorant where most of them stood, that are noted with the star. I find in like sort mention of a noble citie called Alclud ouer and beside these afore mentioned, sometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine, as the fame goeth, and finallie destroyed by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It stood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betwéene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the west, and was sometime march betwéene the Britons and the Picts, and likewise the Picts and the Scots; neuerthesse, the castell (as I heare) dooth yet remaine, and hath béene since well repared by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dunbritton, so that it is not an hard matter by these few words to find where Alclud stood. I could here, if leisure serued, and hast of the printer not require dispatch, deliuer the ancient names of sundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time past was called Stadtford, and therfore (as I gesse) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebantou now Kimbalton. But if anie man be desirous to sée more of them, let him resort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the second, and there he shall be further satisfied of his desire in this behalfe.

When  
Albane was  
martyred  
Asclepiodotus  
was legat in  
Britaine.

Sullomaca  
and Barnet  
all one, or  
not far in  
sunder.

It should séeme when these ancient cities flourished, that the same towne, which we now call saint Albons, did most of all excell: but chéefelie in the Romans time, and was not onelie nothing inferior to London it selfe, but rather preferred before it, bicause it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, as the most part of the Iland was also in those daies. Good notice hereof also is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whose writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the maiestie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto posteritie, and the former estate of Verlamcester not lie altogether (as it hath doone hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of such as might haue deserued better of their successours, by leauing the description thereof in a booke by it selfe, sith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are lost and perished. Tacitus in the fouretéenth booke of his historie maketh mention of it, shewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miserablie distressed, "Eadem clades" (saith he) "municipio Verolamio fuit." And here vpon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair municip, as I before haue noted. Ptolome speaking of it, dooth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing Sullomaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that Sullomaca stood néere to Barnet, if it were not the verie same. Of the old compasse of the walles of Verolamium there is now small knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it selfe you shall partlie vnderstand by that which followeth at hand, after I haue told you for your better intelligence what "Municipium Romanorum" is: for there is great difference betwéene that and "Colonia Romanorum," sith "Colonia aliò traducitur a ciuitate Roma," but "Municipes aliundè in ciuitatem veniunt, suísq; iuribus & legibus viuunt:" moreouer their soile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the stedfast fréndship and protection of the Romans, as did somtime the Ceretes who were the first people which euer obtained that priuilege. The British Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble seruice in the warres deserued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole frédome of Romans, whereby they were made Municipes, and became more frée in truth than their Colonies could be. To conclude therefore, Municipium is a citie infranchised and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of hir former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a Colonie is a companie sent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to possesse either a citie newlie builded, or to replenish the same from whence hir former citizens haue beene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being desirous to enlarge that house, it came into his mind to search about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to sée if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garnish his building taken in hand. To be short, he had no sooner begun to dig among the rubbis, but he found an excéeding number of pillers, péeces of antike worke, thresholds, doore frames, and sundrie other péeces of fine masonrie for windowes and such like, verie conuenient for his purpose. Of these also some were of porphyrite stone, some of diuerse kinds of marble, touch, and alabaster, beside manie curious deuises of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himselfe an happie man, and his successe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Besides these also he found sundrie pillers of brasse, and sockets of latton, alabaster and touch, all which he laid aside by great heaps, determining in the end (I saie) to laie the foundation of a new abbaie, but God so preuented his determination, that death tooke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him succéeded one Eadmerus, who followed the dooings of Eldred to the vttermost: and therefore not onlie perused what he had left with great diligence, but also caused his pioners to search yet further, within the old walles of Verolamium, where they not onelie found infinite other péeces of excellent workemanship, but came at the last to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which stood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie superstitiouslie and religiouslie adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of necessitie. These images were of sundrie mettals, and some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie couered, all which ornaments Edmerus tooke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vse in his building, but also destroyed an innumerable sort of other idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and substances could doo no seruise. He tooke vp also sundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruses of stone and wood most artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in such quantitie, besides infinite store of fine household stuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had béene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In procéding further, he tooke vp diuerse pots of gold, siluer, brasse, glasse and earth, whereof some were filled with the ashes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downwards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Massingham in Norffolke, of six or eight gallons a péece, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which vessels the said abbat brake into péeces, and melting the mettall, he reserued it in like sort for the garnishing of his church.

This

He found likewise in a stone wall two old bookes, whereof one contained the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the

martyrdome of saint Albane, both of them written in old Brittish letters, which either bicause no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not woorth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, sauing that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found since that time, and diuerse within the memorie of man, of passing workemanship, the like whereof hath no whers else béene séene in anie ruines within the compasse of this Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stufte.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Verlume (afterward called Vere and the Mure) did and dooth so still (whatsoeuer Gildas talketh hereof, whose books may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident prooffe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie small by reason of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it kéepeth in maner the old course, and runneth betwéene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmehirst crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are medow beneath the abbaie, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the said riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, wheras at this present it is verie slow, and of no such deapth as of ancient times it hath beene. But heare what mine author saith further of the same. As those aforsaid workemen digged in these ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shels, péeces of rustie anchors, and keeles of great vessels, wherevpon some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderstanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, wherof there was one adioining to the north side of the citie, which laie then (as some men thinke) vnwalled, but that also is false. For being there vpon occasion this summer passed, I saw some remnant of the old wals standing in that place, which appeared to haue béene verie substantiallie builded; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be séene running along by the old chappell hard by in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the historie of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell stréet or there about, for so the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corruptlie "Stagnum enaximum" for "Stagnum maximum") at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also vntill the time of Alfrijc the seuenth abbat of that house, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by excessiue charges drained it so narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie (sauing that he reserued a chanell for the riuer to haue hir vsuall course, which he held vp with high bankes) bicause there was alwaies contention betwéene the moonks and the kings seruants, which fished on that water vnto the kings behoofe.

In these daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one stréet, which yet is called Fishpoole stréet, wherof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as séeke rather to yéeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas should séeme to mistake this riuer.

Hauing thus digressed to giue some remembrance of the old estate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is soone found by the bishoprikes, sith euerie sée hath such prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vse Regale ius within hir owne limits. Which priuilege also is granted to sundrie ancient townes in England, especiallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these:

London.  
Yorke.  
Canturburie.  
Winchester.  
Cairleill.  
Durham.  
Norwich.  
Lincolne.  
Worcester.  
Glocester.  
Hereford.  
Salisbury.  
Excester.  
Bath.  
Lichfield.  
Bristow.  
Rochester.  
Chester.

Chichester.  
Oxford.  
Peterborow.  
Landaffe.  
S. Davids.  
Bangor.  
S. Asaph.

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall insue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologie be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed) than at this present. And this I note out of diuerse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glassenburie, Abbandon, Ramseie, Elie, and such like) and whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. Leland in sundrie places complaineth likewise of the decaie of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some six, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well more at their first comming, yet since the first two hundred yeares after the latter conquest, they haue gone so fast againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. Ranulph the moonke of Chester telleth of generall surueie made in the fourth, sixtéenth, & nineteenth of the reigne of William Conquerour, surnamed the Bastard, wherein it was found, that (notwithstanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 parish churches, and 75000 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerse other builded since that time, within the space of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Bastard, as it were in lieu or recompense of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forrest. For by an old booke which I haue, and sometime written as it séemeth by an vndershiriffe of Nottingham, I find, euen in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parish churches, and but 60216 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the least 28000: for so small is the difference which he dooth séeme to vse. Howbeit if the assertions of such as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you shall not find aboute 17000 townes and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforesaid number, if it be throughlie scanned.

Certes this misfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto most of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the gréedie desire of such as would liue alone and onelie to themselues. And hereof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeth) was called Hecatompolis, because it contained an hundred cities, but now it is so vnfurnished that it may hardlie be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus saith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which so decaied in processe of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not aboute 3000: but in our daies both in all Asia & Aegypt this lesser number shall not verie readilie be found. In time past in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue beene two and fiftie parish churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monasteries and religious houses, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.

But to leaue this lamentable discourse of so notable and gréuous an inconuenience, growing (as I said) by incroching and ioining of house to house, and laieng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houses either altogither pulled downe or suffered to decaie by litle and litle, although sometime a poore man peradventure dooth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repare it, suffereth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himselfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground assigned vnto him whereon to kéepe a cow, or wherein to set cabbages, radishes, parsneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or such like stuffe, by which he and his poore household liueth as by their principall food, sith they can doo no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themselues in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore estate God wot! Howbeit what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled sometime in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hopyards, and sheads for poles, or peradventure gardens, as we may see in castell Hedingham, and diuerse other places. But to procéed.

It is so, that our soile being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houses of the first lie vniformelie builded in euerie towne together with stréets and lanes, wheras in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and most great market townes, there are commonlie thrée hundred or foure hundred families or mansions, & two thousand communicants, or peradventure more: so in the other, whether they be woodland or champaine, we find not often aboute fortie, fiftie, or thrée score households, and two

or thrée hundred communicants, whereof the greatest part neuertheless are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, sith the ground of the parish is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea sometimes into the tenure of one, two or thrée, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired seruants vnto the other, or else to beg their bread in miserie from doore to doore.

There are some (saith Leland) which are not so fauourable when they haue gotten such lands, as to let the houses remaine vpon them to the vse of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the soile to pull them downe for altogether, saieng that if they did let them stand, they should but toll beggers to the towne, therby to surcharge the rest of the parish, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas these pitifull men sée not that they themselues hereby doo laie the greatest log vpon their neighbors necks. For sith the prince dooth commonlie loose nothing of his duties accustomed to be paid, the rest of the parishioners that remaine must answer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, saieng; I am charged already with a light horse, I am to answer in this sort and after that maner. And it is not yet altogether out of knowledge, that where the king had seuen pounds thirteene shillings at a taske gathered of fiftie wealthie householders of a parish in England: now a gentleman hauing three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure households doo beare all the aforesaid payment, or else Leland is deceiued in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he especially noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormittie, both in the hart of the land and likewise vpon the coasts. Certes a great number compleine of the increase of pouertie, laieing the cause vpon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or want of wars that should consume them, affirming that the land was neuer so full, &c: but few men doo sée the verie root from whence it dooth procéed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they florished, and therefore prescribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of thrée score in Inde, where he did plant himselfe. I could (if néed required) set downe in this place the number of religious houses and monasteries, with the names of their founders that haue béene in this Iland: but sith it is a thing of small importance, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herein I will commend sundrie of the monasticall votaries, especially moonkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares, néere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their couetous minds one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent an other, appéered herin too too much. For being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought off great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodelhouses, especially where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. But what doo I spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthinesses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue vsed according to the shires, if I might haue brought it to passe.

<i>Shires.</i>	<i>Market townes.</i>	<i>Parishes.</i>
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without.		120
Surrie.	6	140
Sussex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northhampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Essex.	18	415

## CHAP. XIV.

It hath béene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels néere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Neuertheles it séemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogether vnnéedfull. This also is apparent by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they haue béene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of Old Salisburie I speake not, of Anwarpe I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting thereon, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vtterlie denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a bréeder of tyrants. Pyrrhus king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Athens, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the fréendlie intertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentleness. Caietanus in his common-wealth hath finallie no liking of them, as appéereth in his eight booke of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe so far as shall be néedfull?

There haue béene in times past great store of castels and places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so manie as them listed vpon their owne demeanes, hoping thereby that they would haue imploied their vse to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than vsed in his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predecessour had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to race and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the méeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gaine saie manie of those procéedings, which he and his successours from time to time intended. Herevpon therefore he caused more than eleuen hundred of their said castels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restrained. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained haue decayed, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselues, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remoued: so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all maintained within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie for the better kéeping backe of the forren enimie, when soeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most provident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repaired most of such as were already standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For hauing shaken off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from quéene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderstanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes neece, and married his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect than safelie to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small spéed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduersaries, and vtterlie put off their hastie purpose of inuasion. But would to God he had cast his eie toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is doone! albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much brieflie for my purpose at this present. For I néed not to make anie long discourse of castels, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with stone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handstrokes, where he maie trauisse his ground, choose his plot, and

vse the benefit of sunne shine, wind and weather, to his best aduantage & commoditie. Isocrates also saith that towres, walles, bulworkes, soldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the best kéepers of kingdomes; but freends, loue of subiects, & obedience vnto martiall discipline, which they want that shew themselues either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for those tales that go of Beston castell, how it shall saue all England on a daie, and likewise the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that said in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fiftith yeare of his reigne:

If I were in my castell of Bungeie,  
Vpon the water of Waueneie,  
I wold not set a button by the king of Cockneie,

I repute them but as toies, the first méere vaine, the second fondlie vttered if anie such thing were said, as manie other words are and haue béene spoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of memorie, and with small losse not heard of among the common sort. Certes the castell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforesaid prince, the same yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and castell of Leircester, also the castels of Treske and Malesar, apperteining to Roger Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewise to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like sort take occasion to speake of sundrie strong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I passe ouer to talke of any such néedlesse discourses. This neuerttheless concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one néere vnto Cambridge now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to saie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may easilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewise is verie large and strong. The second is to be séene in the edge of Shropshire about two miles from Colme, betwéene two riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewie otherwise named Themis, wherevnto there is no accesse but at one place. The Welshmen call it Cair Carador, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was ouercome there by Ostorius, at such time as he fled to Cartimanda quéene of the Brigants for succour, who betraied him to the Romans, as you may see in Tacitus.

The best kéepers  
of kingdomes.

The Wandles  
in time past  
were called  
Windles.



## CHAP. XV.

It lieth not in me to set down exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie description of hir graces court, sith my calling is and hath béene such, as that I haue scarselie presumed to peepe in at hir gates, much lesse then haue I aduentured to search out and know the estate of those houses, and what magnificent behaiour is to be séene within them. Yet thus much will I saie generallie of all the houses and honours pertaining to hir maiestie, that they are builded either of square stone or bricke, or else of both. And thervnto although their capacitie and hugenesse be not so monstrous, as the like of diuerse forren princes are to be seene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they so curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conuenience of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of situation, which is not the least thing to be considered of in building. Those that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to these daies the shew and image of the ancient kind of workemanship vsed in this land: but such as he erected after his owne deuise (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Iustinian the lawgiuer) doo represent another maner of paterne, which as they are supposed to excell all the rest that he found standing in this realme, so they are and shall be a perpetuall president vnto those that doo come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes masonrie did neuer better flourish in England than in his time. And albeit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this lland; yet they are rather curious to the eie like paper worke, than substantiall for continuance: whereas such as he did set vp excell in both, and therefore may iustlie be preferred farre aboue all the rest. The names of those which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reserued to hir maiesties onelie vse at pleasure are these: for of such as are giuen awaie I speake not, neither of those that are vtterlie decayed, as Bainards castell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whose wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the first; neither of the tower roiall there also, &c: sith I see no cause wherefore I should remember them and manie of the like, of whose verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of such I saie therefore as I erst mentioned, we haue first of all White hall at the west end of London (which is taken for the most large & principall of all the rest) was first a lodging of the Archbishops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Woolseie, and finallie enlarged and finished by king Henrie the eight. By east of this standeth Durham place, sometime belonging to the bishops of Durham, but conuerted also by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerset place I speake not, yet if the first beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerset) had liued, I doubt not but it should haue beene well finished and brought to a sumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that house & from vs all, so it proued the staie of such proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to passe that it standeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and house of munition, and thervnto a place for the safekéepeing of offenders, than a palace roiall for a king or quéene to soiourne in. Yet in times past I find that Belline held his aboad there, and thervnto extended the site of his palace in such wise, that it stretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in so much that it approached néere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought some of the ruines of his house are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouses in that tract of ground in our times. S. James sometime a nonrie, was builded also by the same prince. Hir grace hath also Oteland, Ashridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enuéeld, Eltham, Langleie, Richmond builded by Henrie the fift, Hampton court (begun sometime by cardinall Woolseie, and finished by hir father) and thervnto Woodstocke, erected by king Henrie the first, in which the quéenes maiestie delighteth greatlie to soiourne, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captiuitie, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

For strength Windlesor or Winsor is supposed to be the chéefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Aruiragus, as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successours haue bestowed excéeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quéenes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed vpon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is more for pleasure than for either profit or safeguard. Such also hath béene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie béene interred there, but also made it the chiefe house of assemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and statelie.

Greenewich was first builded by Humfreie duke of Glocester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the sixt, and called Pleasance. Afterwards it was greatlie enlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and

King Hen. 8.  
not inferior  
to Adrian  
and  
Iustinian.

White hall.

Oteland.  
Ashridge.  
Hatfield.  
Enuéeld.  
Richmond.  
Hampton.  
Woodstocke.

S. James.

Windsor.

Gréenewich.

finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

**Dartford.**

Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, sometime a nonnerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, wherevnto it was also conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these moreouer diuerse other. But what shall I néed to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the quéenes maiestie hath? sith all is hirs, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreate hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniured by hir vniust officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where shee continueth during pleasure, and till shée returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

**Eltham.**

**Of the court.**

The court of England, which necessarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowned and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the interteinement of such strangers as dailie resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall therevnto, much lesse one excelling it in anie maner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter concerned of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable ports, of such graue councillors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie there. I could in like sort set foorth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and costlinesse of attire, there séemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the preheminance. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Gréeke and Latine toongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doo surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting!

**English courtiers the best learned & the worst liuers.**

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court doo shun and auoid idlenesse, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine toong, whilst the yoongest sort in the meane time applie their lutes, citharnes, prickesong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are free from attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises pertaining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should séeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuerthesse this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in something wherby they kéepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vsseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a bréefe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some doo call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, bicause such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?

I might finallie describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and therevnto the great plentie of gold and siluer plate, the seuerall peeces whereof are commonlie so great and massie, and the quantitie therof so abundantlie seruing all the houshold, that (as I suppose) Cyniras, Cresus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no more, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be seene and vsed. But I passe ouer to make such needlesse discourses, resoluing my selfe, that euen in this also, as in all the rest, the excéeding mercie and louing kindnesse of God dooth wonderfullie appéere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his

so ample benefits.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, & which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epistle "Ad aulicum quendam," saith thus: "An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio est, qui illic suis artibus humana licèt effigie regnant, atque vbi scelerum schola est, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vsquam est perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclemētiae, quicquid effrænatae superbiæ, & rapaciæ auariciæ, quicquid obscenæ libidinis, fædissimæ impudiciæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum pessimorum, totum illic aceruatur cumulatissimè, vbi stupra, raptus, incestus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi sunt, vbi fastus & tumor, ira, liuor, fædâque cupido cum socijs suis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutumque omniū inenarrabile naufragium, &c." In such great princes courts (I saie) it is a world to see what lewd behaiour is vsed among diuerse of those that resort vnto the same, and what whoredome, swearing, ribaldrie, atheisme, dicing, carding, carowsing, drunkennesse, gluttonie, quareling, and such like inconueniences doo dailie take hold, and sometimes euen among those, in whose estates the like behaiour is least conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which say that the thing increaseth and groweth in the courts of princes sauing vertue, which in such places dooth languish and dailie vade away) all which enormities are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of England, or else so qualified by the diligent endeour of the chiefe officers of hir graces household, that seldome are anie of these things apparantlie séene there, without due reprehension, and such seuer correction as belongeth to those trespasses. Finallie to auoid idlenesse, and preuent sundrie transgressions, otherwise likelie to be committed and doone, such order is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, or the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beside some histories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same: whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the sudden, shall rather imagine himselfe to come into some publike schoole of the vniuersities, where manie giue eare to one that readeth, than into a princes palace, if you conferre the same with those of other nations. Would to God all honorable personages would take example of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and shew their conformitie vnto these hir so good beginnings! which if they would, then should manie grieuous offenses (wherewith God is highlie displeased) be cut off and restrained, which now doo reigne excéedinglie, in most noble and gentlemens houses, wherof they see no paterne within hir graces gates.

**Traines of attendants.**

I might speake here of the great traines and troopes of seruing men also, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their seuerall liuries, and with differences of cognisances on their sléeues, whereby it is knowen to whome they apperteine. I could also set downe what a goodlie sight it is to see them muster in the court, which being filled with them dooth yeeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the shew of the pecocks taile in the full beautie, or of some medow garnished with infinit kinds and diuersitie of pleasant floures. But I passe ouer the rehearsall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and seeke to be more curious in these points than I professe to be.

The discipline of firme peace also that is mainteined within a certeine compasse of the princes palace, is such, as is nothing inferiour to that we see dailie practised in the best gouerned holds & fortresses. And such is the seuer punishment of those that strike within the limits prohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, or sanctuarie, they are sure to loose their right hands at a stroke, and that in verie solemne maner, the forme whereof I will set downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

**Striking within the court and palace of the prince.**

At such time therefore as the partie transgressing is conuicted by a sufficient inquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the time come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeant of the kings wood-yard prouideth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithall a great beetle, staple, and cords, wherewith to fasten the hand of the offender vnto the said blocke, vntill the whole circumstance of his execution be performed. The yeoman of the scullarie likewise for the time being, dooth prouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the searing irons are to be made readie against the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall occupie the same. Upon him also dooth the sergeant or chiefe farrouer attend with those irons, whose office is to deliuer them to the said surgeon when he shall be redie by searing to vse the same. The groome of the salarie for the time being or his deputie is furthermore appointed to be readie with vineger and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offender be bound vp and fullie dressed. And as these things are thus prouided, so the sergeant surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and seare the stumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The sergeant of the cellar is at hand also with a cup of red wine, and likewise the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread to giue vnto the said partie after the execution doone, and the stumpe seared, as the sergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wrap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with seared cloths, and finallie the maister cooke or his deputie with a sharpe dressing

knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the sergeant of the larder, who dooth hold it vpright in his hand, vntill the execution be performed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of punishment ordeined for those that strike within the princes palace, or limits of the same. Which should first haue bene executed on sir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great sute to saue his right hand for the further seruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yeelded to forgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no small benefit of the offendor, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the prince. The like priuilege almost is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of punishment great difference doo appeere. For he that bralleth or quarelleth in either of them, is by and by suspended "Ab ingressu ecclesiæ," vntill he be absolued: as he is also that striketh with the fist, or laieth violent hands vpon anie whome so euer. But if he happen to smite with staffe, dagger, or anie maner of weapon, & the same be sufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beside excommunication, he is sure to loose one of his eares without all hope of release. But if he be such a one as hath bene twice condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the chéeke, and by the letter F, which is seared déepe into his flesh, he is from thencefoorth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deserue to be absolued. To strike a clearke also (that is to saie) a minister, is plaine excommunication, and the offendor not to be absolued but by the prince or his especiall cōmission. Such also is the generall estate of the excōmunicate in euerie respect, that he can yéeld no testimonie in anie matter so long as he so standeth. No bargaine or sale that he maketh is auailable in law, neither anie of his acts whatsoever pleadable, wherby he liueth as an outlaw & a man altogether out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of felonie.

## CHAP. XVI.

How well or how stronglie our countrie hath béene furnished in times past with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my selfe to make rehersall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of quéen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but also the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue some manifest notice. Vpon the first I néed not stand, for few will denie it. For the second I haue heard, that when one of the greatest péeres of Spaine espied our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnelie vtter in no obscure place, that it should be an easie matter in short time to conquer England, bicause it wanted armor, his words were then not so rashlie vttered, as they were politikelie noted. For albeit that for the present time their efficacie was dissembled, and semblance made as though he spake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gracious quéene vnto the possession of the crowne, they were so prouidentlie called to remembrance, and such spéedie reformation sought of all hands for the redresse of this inconuenience, that our countrie was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the maine (beside great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enimies could get vnderstanding of anie such prouision to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open fréends being now become our secret enimies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue some heaueie exploit against vs and our countrie, did therevpon change their purposes, whereby England obtained rest, that otherwise might haue béene sure of sharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spanish word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at the least wise hindered sundrie priuie practises of manie at another. In times past the chéefe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we haue in maner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in déed doo practise to shoot compasse for our pastime: which kind of shooting can neuer yéeld anie smart stroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were woont to doo at euerie time of néed. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tailes and crie; Shoote English, and all bicause our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the bréech of such a varlet should haue beene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to sée who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vtterlie decayed among vs one waie, so our countrie men wex skilfull in sundrie other points, as in shooting in small péeces, the caliuer, and handling of the pike, in the seuerall vses whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corslets, almaine riuets, shirts of maile, iackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are sowed in the same, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one seuerall place of euerie towne, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is alwaies readie to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well kéeping of the same, or finallie to sée those that are inrolled to exercise each one his seuerall weapon, at the charge of the townesmen of each parish according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poore in England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readinesse to set foorth thrée or foure soldiers, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the least. No there is not so much wanting as their verie liueries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if anie hast required: so that if this good order may continue, it shall be vnpossible for the sudden enimie to find vs vnprouided. As for able men for seruice, thanked be God, we are not without good store, for by the musters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not so narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left vnbilld and vncalled. What store of munition and armour the quéenes maiestie hath in hir storehouses, it lieth not in me to yéeld account, sith I suppose the same to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie said after the losse of Calis, that England should neuer recouer the store of ordinance there left and lost: that same is at this time prooued false, sith euen some of the same persons doo now confesse, that this land was neuer better furnished with these things in anie kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

*The names of our greatest ordinance are commonlie these.*

Robinet, whose weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth fiue hundred pounds, and his widenesse is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.  
 Minion poiseth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath thrée inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fiftéene hundred poundes, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thousand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath foure thousand pounds, and fiue inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon six thousand pounds, and six inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon seauen thousand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seauen inches within the mouth.

Basiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and thrée quarters within the mouth. By which proportions also it is easie to come by the weight of euerie shot, how manie scores it doth flée at point blanke, how much pouder is to be had the same, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

The names of the greatest ordinance. }	{ Weight of the shot.	Scores of cariage.	Pounds of pouder.	Height of bullet.
Robinet.	1 li.	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
Falconet.	2 li.	14	2	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Falcon.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	16	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Minion.	$4\frac{1}{2}$	17	$4\frac{1}{2}$	3
Sacre.	5	18	5	$3\frac{1}{4}$
Demie Culuerijn.	} hath {	9	9	4
Culuerijn.		18	18	$5\frac{1}{4}$
Demie canon.	30	38	28	$6\frac{1}{4}$
Canon.	60	20	44	$7\frac{3}{4}$
E. Canon.	42	20	20	$6\frac{3}{4}$
Basiliske.	60	21	60	$8\frac{1}{4}$

I might here take iust occasion to speake of the princes armories. But what shall it néed? sith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caster of his ordinance, which could not be drawn to the siege of Constantinople, but by seauentie yokes of oxen, and two thousand men; he had two other there also whose shot poised aboue two talents in weight, made by the same Orban. But to procéed. As for the armories of some of the nobilitie (whereof I also haue seene a part) they are so well furnished, that within some one barons custodie I haue seene thrée score or a hundred corslets at once, beside caliuers, hand-guns, bowes, sheffes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flasks, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie sight wherof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of some of them doo then (trow you) if I should be inforced to vse one of them in the field? But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are such, as no man hath anie great cause to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leisure to haue them in a readinesse, and therefore both high and lowe in England

*Cymbala pro galeis pro scutis tympana pulsant.*

Malè musis  
cum Marte.

I would write here also of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to doo with glistening armour? what sound acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muses? or how should a man write anie thing to the purpose of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? This neuerthelessse will I adde of things at home, that seldome shall you see anie of my councitriemen aboue eightéene or twentie yéeres old to go without a dagger at the least at his backe or by his side, although they be aged burgesses or magistrates of anie citie, who in appeerance are most exempt from brabbling and contention. Our nobilitie weare commonlie swords or rapiers with their daggers, as dooth euerie common seruing man also that followeth his lord and master. Some desperate cutters we haue in like sort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a sheath alwaies about them, wherewith in euerie dronken fraie they are known to worke much mischiefe; their swords & daggers also are of a great length, and longer than the like vsed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue béene taken for the intollerable length of these weapons; so I see as yet small redresse: but where the cause thereof doth rest, in sooth for my part I wote not. I might here speake of the excessiue staues which diuerse that trauell by the waie doo carrie vpon their shoulders, whereof some are twelue or thirtéene foote long, beside the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie suspected of honest men to be theeues and robbers, or at the leastwise scarce true men which beare them; so by reason of this and the like suspicious weapons, the honest traueler is now inforced to ride with a case of dags at his saddle bow, or with some pretie short snapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defense before he come within the danger of these weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his sword, or some such weapon, with vs; except the minister, who cōmonlie weareth

none at all, vnlesse it be a dagger or hanger at his side. Seldome also are they or anie other waifaring men robbed without the consent of the chamberleine, tapster, or ostler where they bait & lie, who féeling at their alighting whether their capcases or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their saddles, or otherwise see their store in drawing of their purses, do by and by giue intimation to some one or other attendant dailie in the yard or house, or dwelling hard by vpon such matches, whether the preie be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peradventure is asked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it please him to haue another ghest to beare him companie at supper, who rideth the same waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is séene that the new ghest shall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and kéepe him from suspicion. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the passenger trauelleth, they will either go before and lie in wait for him, or else come galloping apace after, wherby they will be sure, if he ride not the stronger, to be fingering with his purse. And these are some of the policies of such shrews or close booted gentlemen as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies, and which are most commonlie practised in the winter season about the feast of Christmas, when seruing men and vnthrifitie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie spending in such wise whatsoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till some of them sharplie set vpon their cheuisances, be trussed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Wherby it appéereth that some sort of youth will oft haue his swinge, although it be in a halter.

I might also intreat of our old maner of warfare vsed in and before the time of Cesar, when as the cheefe brunt of our fight was in Essedis or wagons; but this I also passe ouer, noting neuerthesse out of Propertius, that our said wagons were gorgeous and gailie painted, which he setteth downe in these foure verses insuing, Arethusæ ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 3.

Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,  
Te modò munito Sericus hostis equo,  
Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Brittannia curru,  
Vstus & Eoa discolor Indus aqua.

## CHAP. XVII.

There is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their nauies: wherein, whether I consider their spéedie building, or great number of ships which some one kingdome or region possessed at one instant; it giueth me still occasion, either to suspect the historie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ship growing on the stub, and sailing on the sea within the space of fiue and fiftie daies? And yet such a nauie was to be séene in the first war of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres also against Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ships bare leafe & saile within fiue and fortie daies. In the second warre of Carthage the nauie that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and séene to saile on the sea fullie furnished in sixe weekes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth séeme to be false, and vnpossible. In like maner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one skirmish on the sea the Romans lost seauen hundred vessels, which bare ech of them fiue rowes of ores on a side, and the Carthaginenses fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of these vessels were not altogether correspondent to our ships and gallies made in these daies: yet the capacitie of most of them did not onelie match, but farre excéed them; so that if one of their biremes onlie contained so much in burden as a ship of ours of six hundred tun: what shall we thinke of those which had seauen rowes of ores walking on a side? But least I should séeme to speake more of these forren things than the course of the historie doth permit without licence to digresse: giue me leaue (I beséech thee gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of these ancient formes & kinds of vessels. For albeit that the discourse hereof maketh little to the description of our present nauie in England: yet shall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleasant to such as shall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It shall not be amisse therefore to begin at the nauie of Xerxes, of which ech meane vessell (as appéereth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie souldiers, and some of them thrée hundred. These were called triremes, and were indéede gallies that had thrée rowes of ores on euerie side; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied so well to the gallie as ship, as to the conuersant in histories is easie to be found. In old time also they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, six, seauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fifteene rowes of ores on a side; iudge you then of what quantitie those vessels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damasthenes to be the first maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuised by Aristotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Nesichthon of Salamina; the gallie of six rowes by Xenagoras of Syracusa: from this to the tenth Nesigiton brought vp; Alexander the great caused one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fiftéene; Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Triphon of fiftie: all which about foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more seruing for pleasure and to gaze vpon, than anie vse in the wars for which they should be deuised. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo Philopater builded, containing 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held also foure thousand ores, foure hundred mariners, and three thousand souldiers, so that in the said vessell were seauen thousand and foure hundred persons: a report incredible, if truth and good testimonie did not confirme the same. I must needs confesse therefore, that the ancient vessels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuerthelesse if you regard the forme, and the assurance from perill of the sea, and therewithall the strength and nimblenesse of such as are made in our time, you shall easilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greatest vessell is not alwaies the safest, so that of most huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptest to shift and brooke the seas: as might be seene by the great Henrie, the hugest vessell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building about the water (for of low gallies in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, sith time hath ingendred more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpose at the first intended.

The nauie of England may be diuided into three sortes, of which the one serueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their liuing by fishing on the sea. How manie of the first order are mainteined within the realme, it passeth my cunning to expresse: yet sith it may be parted into the nauie roiall and common fleete, I thinke good to speake of those that belong vnto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant sort of ships than the quéenes maiestie of England at this present, and those generallie are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with thrée or foure of those of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.



Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes so conuenientlie made, to brooke so well one sea as another lieng vpon the shore in anie part of the continent as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimblenesse and swiftnesse of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custodie of the admerall, who is so called (as some imagine) of the Gréeke word *Almiras* a capiteine on the sea, for so saith Zonaras "in Basilio Macedone & Basilio Porphyriogenito," though other fetch it from *Ad mare* the Latine words, another sort from *Amyras* the Saracen magistrate, or from some French deriuation: but these things are not for this place, and therefore I passe them ouer. The quéenes highnesse hath at this present (which is the foure and twentieth of hir reigne) already made and furnished, to the number of foure or fiue and twentie great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham rode, beside thrée gallies, of whose particular names and furnitures (so far forth as I can come by them) it shall not be amisse to make report at this time.

*The names of so manie ships belonging to hir maiestie as I could come by at this present.*

The Bonaduenture.	Tiger.	Foresight.	Genet.
Elizabeth Ionas.	Antlope.	Swift sute.	Barke of Bullen.
White Beare.	Hope.	Aid.	Achates.
Philip and Marie.	Lion.	Handmaid.	Falcon.
Triumph.	Victorie.	Dread nought.	George.
Bull.	Marie Rose.	Swallow.	Reuenge.

It is said, that as kings and princes haue in the yoong daies of the world, and long since framed themselues to erect euerie yeare a citie in some one place or other of their kingdoms (and no small woonder that Sardanapalus should begin & finish two, to wit, Anchialus and Tharsus in one daie) so hir grace dooth yearelie build one ship or other to the better defense of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no assured certaintie, so it shall suffice to haue said so much of these things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they should all be driuen to seruice at one instant (which God forbid) she should haue a power by sea of about nine or ten thousand men, which were a notable companie, beside the supplie of other vessels appertaining to hir subjects to furnish vp hir voiage.

Beside these hir grace hath other in hand also, of whome hereafter as their turnes doo come about, I will not let to leaue some further remembrance. She hath likewise thrée notable gallies: the Spéed well, the Trie right, and the Blacke gallie, with the sight whereof and rest of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to saie how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cause (I saie) sith by their meanes hir coasts are kept in quiet, and sundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwise would inuade vs. The number of those that serue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention already, and whose vse is dailie séene, as occasion serueth, in time of the warres, is to mée vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if the report of one record be anie thing at all to be credited, there are 135 ships that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnder 100 and aboue fortie 656: hoies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fisherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iust account, sith they are hardlie to come by. Of these also there are some of the quéenes maiesties subjects that haue two or three, some foure or six, and (as I heard of late) one man whose name I suppress for modesties sake, hath bene knowne long since to haue had sixtéene or seuentéene, and employed them wholie to the wafting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no small commoditie and gaine. I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult voiages made into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their dailie successe there: but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speake of them. Onelie this will I ad, to the end all men shall vnderstand somewhat of the great masses of treasure dailie employed vpon our nauie, how there are few of those ships, of the first and second sort, that being apparelled and made readie to sale, are not woorth one thousand pounds, or thrée thousand ducats at the least, if they should presentlie be sold. What shall we thinke then of the greater, but especiallie of the nauie roiall, of which some one vessell is woorth two of the other, as the shipwrights haue often told me? It is possible that some couetous person hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or suppose monie so employed to be nothing profitable to the queenes coffers: as a good husband said once when he hard there should be prouision made for armor, wishing the quéenes monie to be rather laid out to some spéedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, bicause the realme (saith he) is in case good enough, and so peraduenture he thought. But if as by store of armour for the defense of the countrie, he had likewise vnderstanded that the good kéeping of the sea, is the safeguard of our land, he would haue altered his censure, and soone giuen ouer his iudgement. For in times past, when our nation made small account of navigation, how soone did the Romans, then the Saxons, & last of all the

Danes inuade this Iland? whose crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were euen against their wils, to prouide for ships from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes distressed. But most of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a short processe of time after the conquest of this Iland, and good consideration had for the well kéeping of the same, they supposed nothing more commodious for the defense of the countrie, than the maintenance of a strong nauie, which they spédilie prouided, mainteined, and thereby reaped in the end their wished securitie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I doo not read that we had anie ships at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, like vnto the which there are some to be seene at this present in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betwéene them. Of the same also Solinus speaketh, so far as I remember: neuerthelesse it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them aboue the water onelie were framed of the said wickers, and that the Britons did vse to fast all the whiles they went to the sea in them: but whether it were doone for policie or superstition, as yet I doo not read.

**The Britons  
fasted all  
the while  
they were at  
the sea in  
these ships.**

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had some ships also, but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpose, so Egbert was the first prince that euer throughlie began to know this necessitie of a nauie, and vse the seruice thereof in the defense of his countrie. After him also other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: indeuoured more and more to store themselues at the full with ships of all quantities, but chieflie Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1600 aliàs 3600 saile, which he diuided into foure parts, and sent them to abide vpon foure sundrie coasts of the land to keepe the same from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthie to be remembred) is Etheldred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, should find a ship furnished to serue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I said before, when all their nauie was at the greatest, it was not comparable for force and sure building, to that which afterward the Normans prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like to the same that is to be séene now in these our daies. For the iourneies also of our ships, you shall vnderstand, that a well builded vessell will run or saile commonlie thrée hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a wéeke, or peradventure some will go 2200 leagues in six wéekes and an halfe. And suerlie, if their lading be readie against they come thither, there will be of them that will be here, at the west Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene wéekes from Colchester; although the said Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed. This also I vnderstand by report of some trauellers, that if anie of our vessels happen to make a voiage to Hispaniola or new Spaine, called in time past Quinquezia and Haiti, and lieth betwéene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies sailing or two hundred and fiftie leages from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight wéekes, which is a goodlie matter, beside the safetie and quietnesse in the passage. But more of this elsewhere.

## CHAP. XVIII.

There are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their wéekeleie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of prouision for houshold is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the cōtrie round about. Wherby as it cōmeth to passe that no buier shall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his necessities: so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to séeke for the highest prices, which commonlie are néere vnto great cities, where round and spéediest vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue béene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intended in them, as the benefit of the seller. Neither are the magistrats for the most part (as men loth to displeas their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie) so carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they should bée. For in most of these markets neither assises of bread nor orders for goodnesse and swéetnesse of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whit looked vnto; but ech one suffered to sell or set vp what and how himselfe listeth: & this is one euidēt cause of dearth and scarsitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, sith it is rare to sée in anie cōtrie towne (as I said) the assise of bread well kept according to the statute. And yet if anie cōtrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honest poore man, whome the law of nations doo commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon some round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are so nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the same, there is such headie ale & béere in most of them, as for the mightnesse thereof among such as séeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled cōscience, after he had considered well of his reachlesse life, and dangerous estate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him straightwaie to the strongest ale, as to the next physician. It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus sucke their shee wolfe or shéepheards wife Lupa, with such eger and sharpe deuotion, as these men hale at hufcap, till they be red as cockes, & litle wiser than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse? In returning therefore vnto my purpose, I find that in corne great abuse is dailie suffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and cōtrie, especiallie the poore artificer and householder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the wéeke to buie a bushell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: bicause bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne doo not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be serued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well I will saie yet a little more, and somewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmasse time poore men must make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretense of seed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, bicause one wheat often sowen without change of séed, will soone decaie and be conuerted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promising there if they happen to be espied (which God wot is verie seldome) to send so much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this shift serue not (neither dooth the fox vse alwaies one tracke for feare of a snare) they will compound with some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of hufcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon some forged surmise, which being doone, they will féed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can doo any good for himselfe so it is, if not, they will giue him somewhat for his paines at this time, & reserue him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders stumble vpon blind créekes at the sea coast, I wote not well; but that some haue so doone and yet doo vnder other mens wings, the case is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to serue a meane gentlemans house with corne, who hath cast vp all his tillage, bicause he boasteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can sow his land, as the rich grasier often dooth also vpon the like deuise, bicause grasing requireth a smaller household and lesse attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a bushell or two for his expenses vnto the market crosse, answer is made; Forsooth here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it.

Suborned  
bodgers.

Bodgers  
licenced.

And to saie the truth, these bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but Let me see it, what shall I giue you, knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to such a chamber, and if you bring in twentie seme more in the weeke daie to such an Inne or sollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it and giue you pence or more in euerie bushell for six wéekes day of paiment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, so that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouision in the markets, sith they will hardlie now a daies sell by the bushell, nor breake their measure; and so much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they saie) for so much ouer measure in a bushell as the bodger will doo in a quarter. Naie the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, bicause he prouideth altogether to serue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and insatiable desire of gaine, that the sale will be better in the market: so that he must giue two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house than the last market craued, or else go without it, and sléepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone but néeds must ioine other prouision withall, whereby not onelie our fréends abroad, but also manie of our aduersaries and councitriemen the papists are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth) but sith I see it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for néed of monie, being readie peradventure to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threshed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, so much as they could come by. Hencefoorth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an horsseload at the most, therby to be séene to keepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne waxeth deere, but it will be déerer the next market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. For they haue certeine superstitious obseruations, whereby they will giue a gesse at the sale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen doo vse commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthews daie, and for wheat as it is sold in séed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flée southward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Ianuarie, & such other apish toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they shew themselues to be scant good christians, but what care they so they may come by monie? Herevpon also will they thresh out thrée parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the summer, when new commeth apace to hand, and cast the same in the fourth vnthreshed, where it shall lie vntill the next spring, or peradventure till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not deintie to see mustie corne in manie of our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring forth when they can kéepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somewhat to abate the price, so a plague is not seldome ingendred thereby among the poorer sort that of necessitie must buie the same, wherby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will séeme to haue but small store left in their barnes: for else they will gird their sheues by the band, and stacke it vp of new in lesse roome, to the end it may not onlie séeme lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their own price, then will they set it vp in some fréends house, against an other or the third daie, & not bring it forth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be déerer to the poore man than bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthie redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to see their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world also to see how most places of the realme are pestered with purueiours, who take vp eggs, butter, chéese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c: in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, & suffer their wiues to sell the same in another, or to pulters of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or thrée market daies, then we may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonable sold, and therevnto the crosses sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of these butter buiers were stirring, our butter was scarslie woorth eigheteene pence the gallon, that now is worth thrée shillings foure pence, & perhaps fiue shillings. Wherby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue: for one of them doo cōmonlie vse to out bid another. And whilst our countrie

commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I neuer looke to seee this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is euen enough, & more peradventure than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespasse. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a seuerall bushell, and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaie so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall be either too big or too little at their next comming, and yet not depart without a fee at the first: so that what by their mending at one time and empairing the same at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iust measures to be had in anie stéed. It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vnconscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, & another to buie withall, the like is also in weights and yet all sealed and bronded. Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be mooued in this land. Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the gréedinesse of the appointed receiuers thereof) fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Wherby some péce of monie must néeds passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the corne; Thou art worthie to loose thy lease, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie and no corne, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs indeuoureth to fléece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be looked vnto, and that is the recariage of graine from the same into lofts and sollars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie, or clearke of the said market to make sale therof according to his discretion, without libertie to the farmer to set vp their corne in houses and chambers, I am persuaded that the prices of our graine would soone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one should kéepe his next market with his graine, and not to run six, eight, ten, fouretéene, or twentie miles from home to sell his corne, where he dooth find the highest price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurnished, I doo not thinke but that our markets would be farre better serued than at this present they are. Finallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after haruest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some appointed & trustie person for that purpose, we should haue much more plentie of corne in our towne crosses than as yet is commonlie seene: bicause each one hideth and hoordeth what he may vpon purpose either that it will be déerer, or that he shall haue some priuie veine by bodgers, who doo accustomedly so deale, that the sea dooth load awaie no small part thereof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except some remedie be found. But what doo I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of bodgers being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as féeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuerthelesse I speake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold necessarie for mans vse, and there is our prouision made commonlie for all the wéeke insuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the least, so there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lowse faire or the common kirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire neere to Cambridge, Bristow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerse other, all which or at leastwise the greatest part of them (to the end I may with the more ease to the reader and lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my taske in their recitall) I haue set downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I borowed the same from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

## CHAP. XIX.

In euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouision of that flesh appertene to the prince, the rest to such of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies lieng in or néere vnto the same. I would gladlie haue set downe the iust number of these inclosures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I cannot so doo, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and Essex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the bishoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow deere is cherished and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almost innumerable, and dailie like to increase, by reason that the blacke skins of those beasts are thought to counteruaile the prices of their naked carcasses, and this is the onelie cause whie the graie are lesse estéemed. Néere vnto London their quickest merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no such speedie vtterance of rabbets and sucklings in their season, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are suffered to growe vp to their full greatnesse with their owners. Our parkes are generallie inclosed with strong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great store cherished in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the said defense, and safe-keeping of the fallow déere from ranging about the countrie. Howbeit in times past diuerse haue been fensed in with stone walles (especiallie in the times of the Romans, who first brought fallow déere into this land, as some coniecture) albeit those inclosures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauisham, Towner, and Woodstocke, beside other in the west countrie, and one also at Bolton. Among other things also to be seene in that towne, there is one of the fairest clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are also inclosed with piles of slate; and therto it is doubted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beasts or not. Plinie deemeth them to be wild, Martial is also of the same opinion, where he saith, "Imbelles damæ quid nisi præda sumus?" And so in time past the like controuersie was about bées, which the lawiers call "Feras," tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. instit. But Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them "Medias inter feras & placidas aues." But whither am I so suddenlie digressed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find also the circuit of these inclosures in like manner contene often times a walke of foure or fiue miles, and sometimes more or lesse. Wherby it is to be séene what store of ground is emploied vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, sith they commonlie giue awaie their flesh, neuer taking penie for the same, except the ordinarie fée and parts of the déere giuen vnto the kéeper by a custome, who beside three shillings foure pence, or fiue shillings in monie, hath the skin, head, vmbles, chine, and shoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is scarselie equall dealing; for venison in England is neither bought nor sold, as in other countries, but maintained onelie for the pleasure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great game by selling yeerelie hir husbands venison to the cookes (as another of no lesse name will not sticke to ride to the market to sée hir butter sold) but not performed without infinite scoffes and mockes, euen of the poorest pezzants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of such countenance to sell their venison and their butter, as for an earle to feele his oxen, sheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to sell his wooll vnto the clothier, or to kéepe a tan-house, or deale with such like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or grasiers; for which such, if there be anie may well be noted (and not vniustlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themselues to husbandrie. And euen the same enormitie tooke place sometime among the Romans, and entred so farre as into the verie senate, of whome some one had two or thrée ships going vpon the sea, pretending prouision for their houses; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and restraine them. Liuie also telleth of another law which passed likewise against the senators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no senator, or he that had benee father to anie senator should possesse anie ship or vessell about the capacitie of thrée hundred amphoras, which was supposed sufficient for the cariage and recariage of such necessities as should appertene vnto his house: sith further trading with merchandizes and commodities dooth declare but a base and couetous mind, not altogether void of enuie, that anie man should liue but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himselfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and must néeds proue in time the confusion of that countrie wherein such enormities are exercised. Where in times past, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compasse of some one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell séene, and to be had among them, beside a more copious procreation of humane issue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serue the prince in his affaires: now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and sauage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delight; and yet some

owners still desirous to enlarge those grounds, as either for the bréed and feeding of cattell, doo not let dailie to take in more, not sparing the verie commons whervpon manie townships now and then doo liue, affirming that we haue already too great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too soone doo nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndoing (they saie) of the common wealth.

The decaie  
of the  
people is the  
destruction  
of a  
kingdome.

Certes if it be not one curse of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in such sort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shrowds of wild beasts, I know not what is anie. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most kéepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, some men may coniecture, but manie more lament, sith there is no hope of restraint to be looked for in this behalfe, because the corruption is so generall. But if a man may presentlie giue a ghesse at the vniuersalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumstance, he shall saie at the last, that the twentieth part of the realme is imploied vpon déere and conies already, which séemeth verie much if it be not duly considered of.

King Henrie the eight, one of the noblest princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was constrained to hire forren aid, for want of competent store of souldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed) that such supplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto those that interteine them, as may chéeflie be seene in Valens the emperor, our Vortiger, and no small number of others. He would oft maruell in priuate talke, how that when seauen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thousand men to the field against another, or two of them 100000 against the third, and those taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, so he saw not the cause of this decaie, which grew beside this occasion now mentioned, also by laieng house to house, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the bréed of people not a little thereby diminished. The auarice of landlords by increasing of rents and fines also did so wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would arise, supposing a short end in the warres to be better than a long and miserable life in peace.

Priuileges and faculties also are another great cause of the ruine of a common wealth, and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature dooth permit all men to liue in their best maner, and whatsoever trade they be exercised in, there commeth some priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they must néeds shift soile, and séeke vnto other countries. By these also the greatest commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbase, corrupt, and yet raise the prices of things at their owne pleasures. Example of this last I can giue also in bookes, which (after the first impression of anie one booke) are for the most part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it so well as the first, then would men striue which of them should doo it best; and so it falleth out in all other trades. It is an easie matter to prooue that England was neuer lesse furnished with people than at this present; for if the old records of euerie manour be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited together by other men: it will soone appéere, that in some one manour seuentéen, eightéene, or twentie houses are shrunke. I know what I saie by mine owne experience: notwithstanding that some one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpose. Of cities and townes either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminished, though some one be a little increased here and there; of townes pulled downe for sheepe-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them, beside those that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could saie somewhat: but then I should swarue yet further from my purpose, wherevnto I now returne.

Wée had no parkes left in England at the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie also to the seruitude of our nation, making men of the best sort furthermore to become kéepers of their game, whilst they liued in the meane time vpon the spoile of their reuenues, and dailie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit sort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke supposed in these times to be statelie enough, that contened not at the least eight or ten hidelands, that is, so manie hundred acres or families (or as they haue béene alwaies called in some places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was sufficient in old time to mainteine an honest yeoman.

King Iohn traueiling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre vpon the king of Scots, because he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his consent: in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which some belonged to his barons, but the greatest part to the abbats and prelates of the cleargie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how these inclosures were the chéefe decaie of men, and of tillage in the land, he sware with an oth that he would not suffer wild beasts to féed vpon the fat of his soile, and sée the people perish for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that should defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was so ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end; affirming most slanderouslie how he did it rather of purpose to spoile the corne and grasse of the

commons and catholikes that held against him of both estates, and by so doing to impouerish and bring the north part of the realme to destruction, because they refused to go with him into Scotland. If the said prince were aliue in these daies, wherein Andrew Boord saith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne person) and saw how much ground they consume, I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the most of them open that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope shall not néed in time, for the owners of a great sort of them begin now to smell out, that such parcels might be employed to their more game, and therefore some of them doo grow to be disparked.

Next of all we haue the franke chase, which taketh something both of parke and forrest, and is giuen either by the kings grant or prescription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the selfe same thing that a parke is, sauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or such like: the chase alwaie open and nothing at all inclosed, as we see in Enuéeld & Maluerne chases. And as it is the cause of the seisure of the franchise of a parke not to kéepe the same inclosed, so it is the like in a chase if at anie time it be imparked. It is trespasse, and against the law also, for anie man to haue or make a chase, parke, or frée warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of prescription: for it is not lawfull for anie subiect either to carnilate, that is, build stone houses, imbattell, haue the querke of the sea, or kéepe the assise of bread, ale, or wine, or set vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or inclose anie ground to the aforesaid purposes within his owne soile, without his warrant and grant. The beasts of the chase were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marterne. But those of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the bore and the wolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, so in stéed of the wolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beast comonlie hunted in the east countries, and fed vpon as excellent venison, although with vs I know not anie that féed thereon or care for it at all. Certes it should seeme, that forrests and franke chases haue alwaies béene had, and religiouslie preserued in this Iland for the solace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were inclosed more than at this present, or otherwise fensed than by vsuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preservation of such venerie and vert of all sorts as were nourished in the same. Neither are anie of the ancient laws prescribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; sith time hath so dealt with them that they are perished and lost. Canutus therefore seeing the dailie spoile that was made almost in all places of his game, did at the last make sundrie sanctions and décrées, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow déere were better looked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in these daies diuerse forrests in England and Wales, of which, some belong to the king, and some to his subiects, as Waltham forrest, Windlesor, Pickering, Fecknam, Delamore, Gillingham, Kingswood, Wencedale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leircester, Lée, Rokingham, Selwood, New forrest, Wichwood, Hatfeeld, Sauernake, Westbirie, Blacamore Peke, Deane, Penrise, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time lesse deuourers of the people than these latter, sith beside much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, wheras in parks and warrens we haue nothing else than either the keepers & wareners lodge, or at least the manor place of the chéef lord & owner of the soile. I find also by good record, that all Essex hath in time past wholie béene forrest ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is since it lost the said denomination in good sooth I doo not read. This neuertheless remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Essex standing in the limits of the aforesaid countie doth take hir name thereof. For in the Celtike toong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian spéech dooth not a little participate, huge woods and forrests were called Walds, and likewise their Druides were named Walie or Waldie, bicause they frequented the woods, and there made sacrifice among the okes and thicketts. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforesaid towne taketh denomination of Wald and end, as if I should say, The end of the wooddie soile; for being once out of that parish, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is so called of Wald and dene: for I haue read it written in old evidences Waldæne, with a diphthong. And to saie truth, Dene is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as Dune or Don is for an hill or hillie soile. Certes if it be so, then Walden taketh hir name of the woodie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first deriuation liketh me better, and the highest part of the towne is called also Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word zipping, which signifieth Leaning or hanging, and may verie well be applied therevnto, sith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the sides of two hils, wherof the lesser runneth quite through the midst of the same. I might here for further confirmation of these things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may suffice for the vse of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that signifieth a woodie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie store of trées, as may be seene in Cotswold, Porkewold, &c. Beside this I could saie more of our forrests, and the aforesaid inclosures also, & therein to prooue by the booke of forrest law, that the whole countie of Lancaster hath likewise beene forrest heretofore. Also how William the Bastard made a law, that whosoeuer did take anie wild beast within the

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kings forrest should lose an eare; as Henrie the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the second and his péeres at Woodstocke, wherevpon great trouble insued vnder king Iohn and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it shall suffice to haue said so much as is set downe alreadie.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of obliuion, I will giue out those laws that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (wherof peradventure some lawiers haue no knowledge) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reason of corruption, and want also of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored) I will note another breefe law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; "Ic will that elc one," &c: I will and grant that ech one shall be worthie of such venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne fée or dominion; but ech man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beasts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpon paine to forfeit so much as a man may forfeit. Hitherto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward surnamed the Confessor; & ratified by the Bastard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order and Latine as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into English, if it might haue sounded to anie benefit of the vnskilfull and vnlearned.

*Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.*

"Hæ sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni nostri Angliæ ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

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|---|--|-----------------------|
| <b>Pegened.</b>                                 | 1. "Sint tam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent saluas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei prouincia constituti, ad iustitiam distribuendam, vna cum pœna merita & materijs forrestæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios forestæ appellandos censemus.   |                       |
| <b>Lespegend.<br/>Nunc forte<br/>Fringald.</b>  | 2. "Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Lespegend nuncupant, Dani verò yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.  |                       |
| <b>Ealdermen.</b>                               | 3. "In administranda autem iustitia nullatenus volo vt tales se intromittant: mediocrésq; tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant.   |                       |
|   | 4. "Sub horum iterum quolibet sint duo minorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum seruilia opera subibunt.   | <b>Tineman.</b>       |
|   | 5. "Si talis minutus seruus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnésq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.   |                       |
| <b>Michni.</b>                                  | 6. "Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de nostra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum sella, alterum sine sella, vnum gladium, quinque lanceas, vnum cuspidem, vnum scutum, & ducentos solidos argenti.   |                       |
|   | 7. "Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam lanceam, vnum scutum, & 60 solidos argenti.   |                       |
| <b>* [Sic.]</b>                                 | 8. "Minorum quilibet, vnum* lanceam, vnam arcubalistam, & 15 solidos argenti.  |                       |
| <b>Hundred<br/>law.</b>                         | 9. "Sint omnes tam primarij, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ Hundred laghe Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warscot Angli dicunt, & forincesis querelis.   | <b>Warscot.</b>       |
|   | 10. "Sint mediocrium & minorum causæ, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quàm ciuiliū per prouidam sapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & decisæ: primariorum verò enormia si quæ fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.  |                       |
| <b>Muchehunt.</b>                               | 11. "Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem potestatem (salua semper nobis nostra præsentia) quatérq; in anno generales forestæ demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, eántque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque, & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, nisi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inuestigari. | <b>Ofgangfordell.</b> |
| <b>Purgatio<br/>ignis, triplex<br/>ordalia.</b> |  |                       |

<b>Pegen.</b>	12. "Liberalis autem homo. l. Pegen, modo crimen suum non sit inter maiora, habeat fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. l. Forathe: si autem non habet, ipsemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.	<b>Forathe.</b>
	13. "Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia vt non possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * * sibi ipsi nocet, si aliquod iudicium iudicauerint.	
<b>Halfehang.</b>	14. "Quicúnq; coram primarios homines meos forestæ in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non sit dignus imposterum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam perdidit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos, quos Dani vocant Halfehang, alias Halsehang.	
	15. "Si quis vim aliquam primarijs forestæ meæ intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.	
	16. "Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus sit mortis.	
<b>Pere &amp; Pite.</b>	17. "Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet secundum pretium sui ipsus, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos.	
<b>Gethbrech.</b>	18. "Si pacem quis fregerit, ante mediocres forestæ, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem solidis.	
	19. "Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percusserit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari solet.	
	20. "Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, pœnas luet secundum modum & genus delicti.	
<b>Ealderman.</b>	21. "Pœna & forisfactio non vna eadémq; erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & serui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eadémq; erit causarum tum ciuilium tum criminalium, ferarum forestæ, & ferarum regalium: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immeritò numerabatur: viridis verò (fractione chaceæ nostræ regalis excepta) ita pusillum & exiguum est, quòd vix ea respicit nostra constitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestæ reus.	
	22. "Si liber aliquis feram forestæ ad cursum impulerit, siue casu, siue præhabita voluntate, ita vt cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si seruus careat corio.	
	23. "Si verò harum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sitque pretij sui reus contra regem.	
<b>Staggon or Stagge.</b>	24. "Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: si verò seruus, pro vtlegato habeatur, quem Angli Frendlesman vocant.	<b>Frendlesman.</b>
	25. "Si verò occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis careat libertate, si seruus vita.	
	26. "Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restabunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.	
<b>Bubali olim in Anglia.</b>	27. "Sunt aliæ (præter feras forestæ) bestię, quæ dum inter septa & sepes forestæ continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quàm plurima animalia, quæ quâquam infra septa forestæ viuunt, & oneri & curæ mediocrium subiacent forestæ, tamen nequaquã censori possunt, qualia sunt bubali, vaccæ, & similia. Vulpes & lupi, nec forestæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio sit regalis chaceæ, & mitiùs emendetur. Aper verò quanquam forestæ sit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi est assuetus.	
	28. "Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum forestæ nemo manum apponat, quòd si quis fecerit reus sit fractionis regalis chaceæ.	
<b>Ilices aliquando in Britânia nisi intelligatur de quercu.</b>	29. "Si quis verò ilicem aut arborē aliquam, quæ victum feris suppeditat sciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti solidis.	
	30. "Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito suo habeat venerem siue viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chacea tamen; & deitent omnes meam, vbicúnq; eam habere voluero.	
<b>Greiounds.</b>	31. "Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli Greiounds appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuiscissio eorum facta fuerit coram primario forestæ licebit, aut sine genuiscissione dum remoti sunt à limitibus forestæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propiùs venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno solido. Si verò infra septa forestæ reperiat, dominus canis forisfaciet & decem solidos regi.	
<b>Velter. Langeran.</b>	32. "Velteres verò quos Langeran appellant, quia manifestè constat in ijs nihil esse	

periculi, cui libet licebit sine genuiscissione eos custodire. Idem de canibus quos Ramhundert vocant.

**Ramhundert.**

**Pretium  
hominis  
mediocris.**

33. "Quòdsi casu inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbiq; vagātur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quòdsi intra septa forestæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quòd secundum legem Werinorum. I. Churingorum, est ducentorum solidorum.

**Pretium  
liberi  
hominis.**

34. "Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet secundum pretiū hominis liberalis, quod est duodecies solidis centum. Si verò fera regalis morsa fuerit, reus sit maximi criminis."

And these are the constitutions of Canutus concerning the forrest, verie barbarouslie translated by those that tooke the same in hand. Howbeit as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

## CHAP. XX.

After such time as Calis was woone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerse countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to wax idle also, and therevpon not onlie left off their former painfulnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort gaue themselues to liue in excesse and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongst vs. Such strangers also as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggishnesse, and espieng that this idlenesse of ours might redound to their great profit, foorthwith imploied their endeouours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we supposed, by such means from them, we thought it méere madness to spend either time or cost about the same here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in those daies reposed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exercised both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall desire that mankind hath to estéeme of things farre sought, bicause they be rare and costlie, and the irkesome contempt of things néere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no small swaie also in this behalfe amongst vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, ascribing I wot not what great forces and solemne estimation vnto them, vntill they also haue waxen old, after which they haue béene so little regarded, if not more despised amongst vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could set downe manie, & in manie things, but sith my purpose is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it shall suffice that I touch them onelie, and shew our inconstancie in the same, so farre as shall séeme & be conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by mans hand, for so the case requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie elsewhere sufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath béene verie plentifull in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue séene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all or else verie little to speake of growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the soile, but the negligence of my countriemen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also as grow yéerelie out of the ground, of seed, haue béene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in processe of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the seuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was litle or no vse of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or supposed as food more méet for hogs & sauage beasts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vse is not onelie resumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes, turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes, but also fed vpon as deintie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouision yearelie for new séeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them abundantlie. Neither doo they now staie with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the verangenes, mushrooms, &c: as if nature had ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischievous operation the Lord in some measure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops in time past were plentifull in this land, afterwards also their maintenance did cease, and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found? where anie greater commoditie to be raised by them? onelie poles are accounted to be their greatest charge. But sith men haue learned of late to sow ashen keies in ashyards by themselues, that inconuenience in short time will be redressed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it selfe to prooue no small benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things else, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gaue ourselues to idlenesse, were glad to haue them other. If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how woonderfullie is their beautie increased, not onelie with floures, which Colmella calleth *Terrena sydera*, saieng:

"Pingit & in varios terrestria sydera flores,"

and varietie of curious and costlie workmanship, but also with rare and medicinable hearbes sought vp in the land within these fortie yeares: so that in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laistowes to such as did possesse them. How art also helpeth nature in the dailie colouring, dubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for so curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these daies, that they presume to doo in maner what they list with nature, and moderate hir course in things as if they were hir superiours. It is a world also to sée, how manie strange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they doo not

grow for vs, bicause that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous sauours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, bicause they are his good gifts, and created to doo man helpe and seruice. There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these floures, which now also doo begin to wax so well acquainted with our soiles, that we may almost accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no lesse regard in like sort to cherish medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions néerer hand: insomuch that I haue séene in some one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whose names within fortie yéeres passed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find some cause of iust complaint, for that we extoll their vses so farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than such as grow elsewhere, sith (as I said before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatsoever is needfull and most conuenient for them that dwell therein. How doo men extoll the vse of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground dooth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they write. And beside this, our common germander or thistle benet is found & knowne to bée so wholesome and of so great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vsed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in sundrie other, as the Salsa parilla, Mochoacan, &c: but I forbear so to doo, because I couet to be bréefe. And trulie the estimation and credit that we yéeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cause wherefore the full knowledge and vse of our owne simples hath bene so long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, so to be one sound conclusion, for the greater number of simples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confusion is found therein, because the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen so our continuall desire of strange drugs, whereby the physician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no small cause that the vse of our simples here at home dooth go to losse, and that we tread those herbes vnder our féet, whose forces if we knew, & could applie them to our necessities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their case behoueth. Alas what haue we to doo with such Arabian & Grecian stuffe as is dailie brought from those parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of such as dwell there, are of another constitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by skill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more skilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vse forren wares when our owne maie serue the turne is more follie; but to despise our owne and magnifie aboue measure the vse of them that are sought and brought from farre, is most follie of all: for it sauoureth of ignorance, or at the leastwise of negligence, and therefore woorthie of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the most present cures for euerie disease, of their owne nation, there is small regard of compound medicins, & lesse of forren drugs, because they neither know them nor can vse them, but worke woonders euen with their owne simples. With them also the difference of the clime dooth shew hir full effect. For whereas they will heale one another in short time with application of one simple, &c: if a Spaniard or English man stand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer space in their cures, and now and then also to vse some addition of two or thrée simples at the most, whose forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, because their exercise is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer sought or heard what vertue was in those that came from other countries. And euen so did Marcus Cato the learned Roman indeuor to deale in his cures of sundrie diseases, wherein he not onelie vsed such simples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but also examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt so diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could attein to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of those most learnedlie, as would easilie be séene, if those his bookes were extant. For the space also of 600 yéeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diseases, so that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in those parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he speaketh after this maner: "Non placent remedia tam longè nascentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; si placet etiam superstitionis gratiâ emantur, quoniam supplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem sine his posse constare, vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis sui tandem pudeat." For my part I doubt not, if the vse of outlandish drugs had not blinded our physicians of England in times passed, but that the vertues of our simples here at home would haue béene far better knowne, and so well vnto vs, as those of India are to the practisioners of those partes, and therevnto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This also will I ad, that euen those which are most common by reason of their plentie, and most vile bicause of their abundance, are not without some vniuersall and especiall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: sith God in nature hath so disposed his creatures, that the most néedfull are the most plentifull, and seruing for such generall diseases as our constitution most commonlie is affected withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the physicians of

our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to search out the vse of such simples as our soile dooth yéeld and bring foorth, but also to procure such as grow elsewhere, vpō purpose so to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time through some alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewise turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vsed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder of this deuise, is Carolus Clusius, the noble herbarist, whose industrie hath woonderfullie stirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Lobell, and other haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come néere to Clusius, much lesse gone further in the finding and true descriptions of such herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one seuen yéeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our physicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cherishing of such homeborne and forren simples in their gardens, for hereby they shall not onlie be had at hand and preserued, but also their formes made more familiar to be discerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue béene.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, so dooth it with our orchards, which were neuer furnished with so good fruit, nor with such varietie as at this present. For beside that we haue most delicate apples, plummies, pearres, walnuts, filberds, &c: and those of sundrie sorts, planted within fortie yéeres passed, in comparison of which most of the old trées are nothing woorth: so haue we no lesse store of strange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, corne-trees in noble mens orchards. I haue seene capers, oranges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beside other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was neuer better furnished, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifully indued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant vs grace withall to vse the same to his honour and glorie! and not as instruments and prouocations vnto further excesse and vanitie, wherewith his displeasure may be kindled, least these his benefits doo turne vnto thornes and briars vnto vs for our annoiance and punishment, which he hath bestowed vpon vs for our consolation and comfort.

We haue in like sort such workemen as are not onelie excellent in grafting the naturall fruits, but also in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one trée bringeth foorth sundrie fruits, and one and the same fruit of diuers colours and tastes, dallieng as it were with nature and hir course, as if hir whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of sowre sweet, of sweet yet more delicate, béereuing also some of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the sauour of muske, ambre, or swéet spices at their pleasures. Diuerse also haue written at large of these seuerall practises, and some of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of small fruit to make farre greater, and to remooue or ad superfluous or necessarie moisture to the trées, with other things belonging to their preservation, and with no lesse diligence than our physicians doo commonlie shew vpon our owne diseased bodies, which to me dooth seeme right strange. And euen so doo our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are strengthened against noisome blasts, and preserued from putrifaction and hinderance, whereby some such as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yéerelie taken vp, and either reserued in the house, or hauing the rosse pulled from their rootes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in safetie. What choise they make also in their waters, and wherewith some of them doo now and then keepe them moist, it is a world to sée; insomuch that the apothecaries shops maie séeme to be needfull also to our gardens and orchards, and that in sundrie wise: naie the kitchen it selfe is so farre from being able to be missed among them, that euen the verie dishwater is not without some vse amongst our finest plants. Whereby and sundrie other circumstances not here to bée remembred, I am persuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Hesperides were in times past so greatlie accounted of because of their delicacie: yet if it were possible to haue such an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in comparison of those times, wherein the old exceeded. Plinie and other speake of a rose that had thrée score leaues growing vpon one button: but if I should tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I shall not be beléued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit such a one was to be séene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a slip or stallon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the same, which should haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndoone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a litle of my garden, which is but small, and the whole Area thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath béene my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie néere thrée hundred of one sort and other contained therein, no one of them being common or vsuallie to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in keeping be so well furnished, what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Nonesuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and sundrie other appertaining to

diuerse citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I should not séeme to offend them by such my demeanour and dealing?

## CHAP. XXI.

There is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make lesse report than of our waters. For albeit our soile abound with water in all places, and that in the most ample maner: yet can I not find by some experience that almost anie one of our riuers hath such od and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are said to be indued withall. Virtruuius writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whose water séemeth as it were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerse become drunke by superfluous taking of the same. The like force is found *In amne Licésio*, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whose bankes a man shall hardlie misse to find some traueller or other sléeeping for drunkennesse, by drinking of that liquor. Néere also vnto Ephesus are certeine welles, which taste like sharpe vineger, and therefore are much esteemed of by such as are sicke and euill at ease in those parts. At Hieropolis is a spring of such force (as Strabo saith) that the water thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choise, dooth colour wooll with such a glosse, that the die thereof contendeth with scarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the same. The Cydnus in Tarsus of Cilicia, is of such vertue, that who so batheth himselfe therein, shall find great ease of the gowt that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (saith Pomponius the Cosmographer) are two springs, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other sadnesse and restraint of that effect, whereby the last is taken to be a souereigne medicine against the other, to the great admiration of such as haue beholden it. At Susis in Persia there is a spring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to cast all his téeth: but if he onlie wash his mouth withall, it maketh them fast, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, wherof if a beast drinke, he fourthwith casteth hoofe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Also a lake in Assyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth such birds as by hap doo light thereon so fast as birdlime, by means wherof verie manie doo perish and are taken that light vpon the same: howbeit if anie portion hereof happen to be set on fire by casualtie or otherwise, it will neuer be quenched but by casting on of dust, as Caietanus dooth report. Another at Halicarnassus called Salmacis, which is noted to make such men effeminate as drinke of the water of the same. Certes it maie be (saith Strabo) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of some men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing because of such corruption in them, sooner than superfluous wealth, and inconstancie of liuing and behauour, which is a bane vnto all nature, lib. 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue strange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the like wherof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the blessing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongst vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholesome, and most commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongst vs, but all wholesome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir fish: so we know by experience, that diuerse turne ash, some other elme, and oken stakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard stone, in long continuance of time, which is the strangest thing that I can learne at this present wherevpon to rest for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerse welles, wherevnto our old writers ascribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courses, as of one vpon the shore, beyond the which the sea floweth euerie daie twice a large mile and more; and yet is the surge of that water alwaies seuen foot from the salt sea: whereby it should séeme that the head of the spring is moouable. But alas I doo not easilie beleuee it, more than that which is written of the Lilingwan lake in Wales, which is néere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing sea into hir chanell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the sea goeth awaie by reason of the ebbe, it casteth vp the water with such violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an absurd report. They ad also, that if all the people of the countrie stood neere to the same, with their faces toward the lake, in such maner that the dashing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they should haue no power to go from thence, but mawgre their resistance be drawne into that gulfe and perish; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the same, they should suffer no such inconuenience though they stood neuer so néere. Manie other such like toies I could set downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie should I write that for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my selfe, more than to the report which Iohannes du Choul dooth make in his description of Pilots lake, "In monte Pilati in Gallia," or Boccatus of the Scaphigiolo in the Appenine hils, or Fœlix Malliolus of Pilats lake "In monte fracto" (where Iacobus de Voragino bishop of Gene, & Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam doo also make mention) sith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man should staine his paper with such friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuised at the first by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their superstitions and errors. Such also is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie néere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein such as went by would dip branches of baie, and sprinkle the same vpon themselues: and so



manie as stood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and crauing pardon for their sinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiuenesse and remission of their trespasses. And so it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods nor liking of the augures) dooth write in his first De legibus (except my memorie faile me) "aspersione aquæ labem tolli corpoream, & castimoniam corporis præstari," which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further also (if I would) make relation of diuerse welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of superstition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadstocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and sundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposition of such as hunted after other gaine, so it shall suffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I ad, that we haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto our shéepe, though it please Cardan to auouch otherwise; for our waters are not the causes, but the signes of their infections when they drinke, as I elsewhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as also that we haue a spring neere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the house of the lord Audleie, which is of such force, that it looseth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beside that is verie delectable & pleasant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare also of two welles néere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no sope, and yet so situat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

## CHAP. XXII.

Great  
abundance  
of wood  
sometime in  
England.

It should séeme by ancient records, and the testimonie of sundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue sometimes béene verie well replenished with great woods & groues, although at this time the said commoditie be not a little decayed in both, and in such wise that a man shall oft ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be néere vnto townes, gentlemens houses, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, hazels, or ashes about their dwellings for their defense from the rough winds, and keeping of the stormie weather from annoiance of the same. This scarcitie at the first grew (as it is thought) either by the industrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderstand the like to be doone of late by the Spaniards in the west Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compasse therby to come by ground whereon to sow their graines) or else thorough the couetousnesse of such, as in preferring of pasture for their shéepe and greater cattell, doo make small account of firebote and timber: or finallie by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue sundrie examples declared in our histories. Howbeit where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the swart of the earth to be so thin, that no tree of anie greatnesse, other than shrubs and bushes, is able to grow or prosper long therein for want of sufficient moisture wherewith to feed them with fresh humour, or at the leastwise of mould, to shrowd, staie vpriight, and cherish the same in the blustering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatnesse, and spread or yéeld their rootes downe right into the soile about them: and this either is or may be one other cause, wherefore some places are naturallie void of wood. But to procéed. Although I must needs confesse that there is good store of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in some places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our ancestors haue séene heretofore, when statelie building was lesse in vse. For albeit that there were then greater number of mesuages and mansions almost in euerie place; yet were their frames so slight and slender, that one meane dwelling house in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you consider the present charge with the plentie of timber that we bestow vpon them. In times past men were contented to dwell in houses, builded of sallow, willow, plumtree, hardbeame, and elme, so that the vse of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigation: but now all these are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet sée the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie through Persian delicacie crept in among vs altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration. In those the courage of the owner was a sufficient defense to kéepe the house in safetie, but now the assurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts must defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to kéepe the good man and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.

Desire of  
much wealth  
and ease  
abateth  
manhood, &  
ouerthroweth  
a manlie  
courage.

Of the curiousnesse of these piles I speake not, sith our workemen are growne generallie to such an excellencie of deuise in the frames now made, that they farre passe the finest of the old. And such is their husbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the same stuffe which in time past was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vse but the fire, dooth now come in the fronts and best part of the worke. Wherby the common saieng is likewise in these daies verified in our mansion houses, which earst was said onelie of the timber for ships, that no oke can grow so crooked but it falleth out to some vse, & that necessarie in the nauie. It is a world to sée moreouer how diuerse men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in spending of their goods by that trade, doo dailie imagine new deuises of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and those more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the procéeding also of their workes, how they set vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they restreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purses neuer shut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.

"Destruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis"

saith the poet. So that if a man should well consider of all the od crotchets in such a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of those affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he should not well be able to deale in anie other. But such commonlie are our workemasters, that they haue beside this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little lesse businesse in the commonwealth, or finallie no small dealings otherwise incident vnto them, wherby gaine ariseth, and some trouble oft among withall. Which causeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts so well of so manie sundrie men, whereas diuerse other of greater forecast in apparence can seldome shift well or thriue in anie one of

them. But to our purpose.

We haue manie woods, forrests, and parks, which cherish trées abundantly, although in the woodland countries there is almost no hedge that hath not some store of the greatest sort, beside infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and springs, that are maintained of purpose for the building and prouision of such owners as doo possesse the same. Howbeit as euerie soile dooth not beare all kinds of wood, so there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forrest, that is not mixed with diuerse, as oke, ash, hasell, hawthorne, birch, béech, hardbeame, hull, sorfe, quicken aspe, poplers, wild cherie, and such like, wherof oke hath alwaies the preheminnce, as most méet for building and the nauie, whervnto it is reserued. This tree bringeth fourth also a profitable kind of mast, whereby such as dwell néere vnto the aforesaid places doo cherish and bring vp innumerable heards of swine. In time of plentie of this mast, our red and fallow déere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common pultrie also if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance dooth prooue verie pernicious vnto the first, so these eggs which these latter doo bring fourth (beside blackennesse in color and bitterness of tast) haue not seldome beene found to bréed diuerse diseases vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might ad in like sort the profit insuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vse in dressing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in Maie by the fadame, as I haue oft séene: but it shall not néed at this time to enter into anie such discourse, onlie this I wish, that our sole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be hastened on by extraordinarie slights, as with ash, barke, &c. Whereby as I grant that it séemeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well doone: so if you respect the sadnes thereof, it dooth prooue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Neuerthelesse we haue good lawes for redresse of this enormitie, but it cômeth to passe in these as in the execution of most penall statutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the same being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthrifitie persons, they make a shew of great reformation at the first, & for a litle while, till they find that following of sute in law against the offenders is somewhat too chargeable and tedious. This therefore perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admission of gifts and rewards to winke at things past, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then doo they tender licences, and offer large dispensations vnto him that shall aske the same, thereby to doo what him listeth in his trade for an yearelie pension, whereby the bribour now groweth to some certeine reuenues, & the tanner to so great libertie that his lether is much worse than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifest illusion of the good subiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England the parke oke is the softest, and far more spalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Essex, that growing in Bardfield parke is the finest for ioiners craft: for oftentimes haue I seene of their workes made of that oke so fine and faire, as most of the wainescot that is brought hither out of Danske, for our wainescot is not made in England. Yet diuerse haue assaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with so good successe as they haue hoped, because the ab or iuice will not so soone be removed and cleane drawne out, which some attribute to want of time in the salt water. Neuerthelesse in building, so well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer so much hath beene spent in a hundred years before, as is in ten yeare of our time; for euerie man almost is a builder, and he that hath bought any small parcell of ground, be it neuer so little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old house (if anie were there standing) and set vp a new after his owne devise. But wherevnto will this curiositie come?

Of elme we haue great store in euerie high waie and elsewhere, yet haue I not séene thereof anie together in woods or forrests, but where they haue béene first planted and then suffered to spread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of béech and hasell in manie places, especially in Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, where they are greatlie cherished, & conuerted to sundrie vses by such as dwell about them. Of all the elms that euer I saw, those in the south side of Douer court, in Essex néere Harwich are the most notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almost apt for nothing else but nauie timber, great ordinance, and bétels: and such thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vsed in the said behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trées in whatsoever parcell else of this land, without cuphar, shaking, or cleauing, as I find.

Ash commeth vp euerie where of it selfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie and no lesse vse of these in our husbandrie, so are we not without the plane, the vgh, the sorfe, the chestnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and such like. And although that we inioy them not in so great plentie now in most places, as in times past, or the other afore remembred: yet haue we sufficient of them all for our necessarie turnes and vses, especially of vgh; as may be séene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and some stéeds of Kent also, as I haue béene informed.

The firre, frankincense, and pine, we doo not altogether want, especially the firre, whereof we haue some store in Chatleie moore in Darbeshire, Shropshire, Andernesse, and a mosse néere Manchester, not far from Leircesters house: although that in time past not onelie all Lancastershire, but a great part of the coast betwéene Chester and the Solme were well stored. As for the frankincense and pine,

The like  
haue I séene  
where hens  
doo féed  
vpon the  
tender  
blades of  
garlike.

they haue béene planted onelie in colleges and cloisters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore. Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather saie that we want them altogither: for except they grew naturallie, and not by force, I seee no cause whie they should be accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue also the aspe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The seuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vse for bolles, treies, troughs, dishes, &c. Also the alder, whose barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therefore much vsed by our cuntrye wiues in colouring their knit hosen. I might here take occasion to speake of the great sales yéerelie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath bin destroyed within these few yéers: but I giue ouer to trauell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare affirme, that if woods go so fast to decaie in the next hundred yeere of Grace, as they haue doone and are like to doo in this, sometimes for increase of sheepwalks, and some maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a well burnished gentleman \* that hath borne threescore at once in one paire of galigascons to shew his strength and brauerie) it is to be feared that the fennie bote, broome, turffe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, hassacks, flags, straw, sedge, réed, rush, and also seacole will be good merchandize euen in the cite of London, wherevnto some of them euen now haue gotten readie passage, and taken vp their innes in the greatest merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our laws were able enough to make sufficient prouision for the redresse of this error & enormitie likelie to insue. But such is the nature of our cuntryemen, that as manie laws are made, so they will kéepe none; or if they be vrged to make answer, they will rather seeke some crooked construction of them to the increase of their priuat gaine, than yéeld themselues to be guided by the same for a commonwealth and profit to their cuntrye. So that in the end whatsoever the law saith we will haue our willes, whereby the wholesome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & councillors as it were derided, the common wealth impouerished, & a few onelie enriched by this peruerse dealing. Thus manie thousand persons doo suffer hinderance by this lewd behaiour. Hereby the wholesome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good meaning magistrate in consultation about the common wealth vtterlie neglected. I would wish that I might liue no longer than to seee foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of discipline in the church: the couetous dealing of most of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: the holding of faires and markets vpon the sundaie to be abolished and referred to the wednesdaies: and that euerie man, in whatsoever part of the champaine soile enioieth fortie acres of land, and vpwards, after that rate, either by frée deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with oke mast, hasell, béech, and sufficient prouision be made that it may be cherished and kept. But I feare me that I should then liue too long, and so long, that I should either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not such things but they may easilie be brought to passe.

\* This gentleman caught such an heate with this sore load that he was faine to go to Rome for physicke, yet it could not saue his life, but hée must néeds die homewards.

Certes euerie small occasion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifles sufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto pasture. As for the taking downe of houses, a small fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who in restraint of superfluous grasing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech estate might kéepe, and what numbers of acres should suffice for that and other purposes. Neither was wood euer better cherished or mansion houses maintained, than by their lawes and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of nauigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yéerelie to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, least their vnnesessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might prooue a preiudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stuffe for the furniture of their nauie. Certes the like hereof is yet obserued in Venice. Read also I praie you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common nauie, I passe it ouer, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what doo I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that beside some countries are already driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an heauie report: within these fortie yéeres we shall haue little great timber growing about fortie yéeres old; for it is commonlie séene that those yoong staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentie yéeres fall, are vsuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

**Marises and fennes.**

Marises and fennie bogges we haue manie in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers doo specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yeere, so are a number of them which lie lowe and néere to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience dooth teach. Yet this I find of manie moores, that in times past they haue béene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may seee the triall (beside the roots that are dailie found in the déeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Merioneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of

firre hath growen in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marises with long spits, which they dash here and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie doone in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie firre trées which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blocks, they note the place, and about haruest time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them vp, and afterward carieng them home, applie them to their vses. The like doo they in Shropshire with the like, which hath beene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noies floud: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to grow euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or ouerthrowne vpon sundrie occasions, was left lieng in some places still on the ground, and in processe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due sadnesse, are now turned into moorie plots. Wherby it commeth to passe also, that great plentie of water commeth betwéene the new loose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawen awaie by ditching and draines (a thing soone doone if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might soone leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was sometime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, who called it Cair Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogether about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Mennith and Orcoit, that is, the wooddie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be séene in those places, let him that hath béene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath béene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marises, and so far as I can deale with the same.

## CHAP. XXIII.

As almightie GOD hath in most plentiful maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little enriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appéereth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Halliewell; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is néere vnto Buxston, a towne in Darbshire, situat in the high Peke, not passing sixtéene miles from Manchester, or Markechesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be séene; of which thrée are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hottest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summersetshire, so cold indéed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fiue quartes of running water were added therevnto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the same. Herevpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great spéed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer with all lesse greuous accidents in the restreining of naturall issues, strengthening the affeebled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoious oppilations, and qualifieng of sundrie griefes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so speedilie perceiued. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) procéedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue béene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleasant nor vnsauorie in the drinking. There are thrée welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plentie of water without anie notable diminution of the spring is dailie caried into sundrie parties of the realme, & droonke by such as haue néed to occupie the same. Of the other two, one is reserued for such as be comelie personages and void of lothsome diseases: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clensted dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholesomer. Manie diseases also are cured in the same, as the palsie, dimnesse of sight, dulnesse of hearing, but especiallie the collike and the stone, old sores and gréene wounds; so that I suppose there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more spéedie force in these behalves, than the vse of this simple liquor is to such as doo frequent it. The said water hath a naturall propertie also following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or sticke of ash, oke, &c: doo fall into the same, within a short space, such store of fine sand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reserued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will seeme to become an hard stone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue séene by experience. At the first entrance it is verie cold, but after a season it warmeth the goer in, casting him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet sustained anie manner of impeachment through the coldnesse of the same. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitsuntide, by a man who had wounded himselfe, & comming by the same water, thought onelie to wash the blood from his hand therewith, and so to go home and séeke for helpe by surgerie: finallie finding the paine well asswaged, & the wound faire clensted, he departed, and misliking his vsuall medicins, he eftsoones came againe, and so often indéed vnto the said water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practise. By this meanes also he became a counsellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they should trie the vertue of this spring, who finding ease also, gaue out such commendation of the said water, that now at this present their fame is fullie equall, and the resort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beside this, the cures of such diseases as their forces do extend vnto, is much more speedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie also not smallie to be considered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from saint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) saint Needs, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two springs are knowne to be, of which the one is verie sweet and fresh, the other brackish & salt; this is good for scabs and leaperie (as it is said) the other for dimnesse of sight. Verie manie also doo make their repaire vnto them for sundrie diseases, some returning whole, and some nothing at all amended, bicause their cure is without the reach and working of those waters. Neuer went people so fast from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to these wels, and those neere Rugbie, both places being discouered in this

1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found also about Ratcliffe néere London, euen at the same season. But sith rumors are now spred almost of euerie spring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I surcease to speake at all of anie other, till further experience doo trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but most of these alredie mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembered also, though confusedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in processe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of sundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath woonderfullie béene missed.

The last place of our baths, is a citie in Summersetshire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be séene and vsed. At the first it was called Cair Bledud, and not Cair Bledune, as some would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient castell at Malmesburie, which the Saxons named Yngleburne. Ptolomie afterward called it Thermæ, other Aquæ solis, or Scamannia, or Acmanchester, but now it hight generallie Bath in English, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it selfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerse notable antiquities ingraued in stone, to be séene in the wals thereof; and first of all betweene the south gate and the west, and betwixt the west gate and the north.

The first is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue seene of Antius the Romane. The second betweene the south and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a serpent, and so dooth this. Thirdlie there standeth a man on foot with a sword in his one hand, and a buckler stretched out in the other. There is also a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are moreouer two naked images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beside sundrie antike heads, with ruffled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but so defaced that no man liuing can read them at this present. There is moreouer the image of Lacaon, inuironed with two serpents, and an other inscription, and all these betwéene the south and the west gates, as I haue said before.

Now, betweene the west and north gate are two inscriptions, of which some words are euident to be read, the residue are cleane defaced. There is also the image of a naked man, and a stone in like sort, which hath "Cupidines & labruscas intercurrentes," and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie florished both aboue and beneath. Finallie (sauing that I saw afterward the image of a naked man grasping a serpent in each hand) there was an inscription of a toome or buriall, wherein these words did plainelie appeare, "Vixit annos xxx" but so defusedlie written, that letters stood for whole words, and two or thrée letters combined into one. Certes I will not saie whether these were set into the places where they now stand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it selfe, and placed afterward in those wals, in their necessarie reparations. But howsoeuer the matter standeth, this is to be gathered by our histories, that Bladud first builded that citie there, and peraduenture might also kindle the sulphurous veines, of purpose to burne continuallie there in the honour of Minerua: by which occasion the springs thereabout did in processe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for sundrie kinds of diseases. Indeede the later Pagans dreamed, that Minerua was the chéefe goddess and gouernesse of these waters, bicause of the néerensse of hir temple vnto the same. Solinus addeth furthermore, how that in hir said temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer consume into dead sparkles; but so soone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard stone: all which I take to be nothing else than the effect of the aforesaid fire, of the sulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doo come. That these baths or waters are deriued from such, the marchasites, which the Grecians call Pyritis, per antonomasiam (for being smit with the iron, it yéeldeth more sparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore seemeth to deserue the name aboue the rest) and besides these other stones mixed with some copper, and dailie found vpon the mounteins thereabouts will beare sufficient witness, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner also the father of English physicke, and an excellent diuine, supposeth that these springs doo draw their forces from sulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he gesseth that it should be salt peter, bicause he found an obscure likelihood of the same, euen in the crosse bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beléue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of the citie, which standeth in a pleasant bottome, inuironed on euerie side with great hils, out of the which come so manie springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that euerie house is serued with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettall being the more plentious and lesse of value vnto them, bicause it is not had far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolued, and their founders, if place did serue therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselues, wherof in the title of this chapter I protested to intreat.

Chap. 25.

The Pyritis is found almost in euerie veine of mettall in great plentie, diuersities and colour, and sometimes mixed with that mettall of whose excrements it consisteth.

Crosse bath.

There are two springs of water (as Leland saith) in the west south west part of the

towne, whereof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middest thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leaprie, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe it is verie temperate and pleasant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand vnder, when raine dooth ought annoie them.

**Common bath.**

The common bath, or as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot, or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compasse within the wall than the other, and with onelie seauen arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bone: but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tollerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little stréet, and ioine to S. Thomas hospitall, so that it may be thought that Reginald bishop of Bath made his house néere vnto these common baths, onelie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

**Kings bath.**

The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of the cathedrall church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who being of the gentry for the most part, doo resort thither indifferentlie, but not in such lasciuious sort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, whereof some write more a great deale than modestie should reueale, and honestie performe. There went a sluice out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vsed for baths, but now I doo not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

**Hot houses in some countries little better than brodels.**

**Colour of the water of the baths.**

As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a déepe blew, and reeketh much after the maner of a seething pot, commonlie yéelding somewhat a sulpherous taste, and verie vnpleasant sauour. The water also that runneth from the two small baths, goeth by a dyke into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge: but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into Auon about Bath bridge, where it loseth both force and tast, and is like vnto the rest. In all

**Taste of the water.**

**Fall or issue of the water.**

the three baths a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to saie, at high noone, and midnight: for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become so hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while susteine their force and vehement working. They purge themselues furthermore from all such filth as the diseased doo leaue in each of them, wherfore we doo forbear the rash entrance into them at that time: and so much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diseases, depart more gréeuously affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in déed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes therefore they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the kéeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or should leaue) frée passage vnto such as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

**Not good to enter into baths at all seasons.**

What cost of late hath béene bestowed vpon these baths by diuerse of the nobilitie, gentry, communtie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garnished with sundrie curious péeces of workemanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouision made for such pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilest they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrés. But where shall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God dooth giue these his good gifts fréelie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the customs vsed in these baths, what number of physicians dailie attend vpon those waters, for no man (especiallie such as be able to interteine them) dooth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither doo drinke oftentimes of that medicinable liquor: but then I should excéed the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it ouer to others, hoping that some man yer long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke Doctor Turner hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I doo not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much lesse of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers that resort vnto the same.



## CHAP. XXIV.

Having taken some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amis to deale yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselues, whereby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this Iland maie in some cases more manifestlie appeare. For such was their possession of this Iland on this side of the Tine, that they held not one or two, or a few places onelie vnder their subiectiō, but all the whole countrie from east to west, from the Tine to the British sea, so that there was no region void of their gouernance: notwithstanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his issue, they did permit the successors of Lud and Cimbaline to reigne and rule amongst them, though vnder a certaine tribute, as else-where I haue declared. The chéeffe cause that vrgeth me to speake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them together, intending (if euer my Chronologie shall happen to come abroad) to set downe the liuelie portraiture of euerie emperour ingrauen in the same: also the faces of Pompeie, Crassus, the seuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerse other, which I haue prouided readie for the purpose, beside the monuments and liuelie images of sundrie philosophers, and kings of this Iland, since the time of Edward the Confessor. Wherof although presentlie I want a few, yet I doo not doubt but to obtaine them all, if friendship at the leastwise procured for monie shall be able to preuaile. But as it hath doone hitherto, so the charges to be employed vpon these brasen or copper images, will hereafter put by the impression of that treatise: whereby it maie come to passe, that long trauell shall soone proue to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to verie small successe. Whereof yet I force not greatlie, sith by this means I haue reaped some commoditie vnto my selfe, by searching of the histories, which often minister store of examples readie to be vsed in my function, as occasion shall mooue me. But to procéed with my purpose.

Before the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Britaine, as Cæsar confesseth in the fift booke of his Commentaries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a report of certaine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vsed in his time, in stead likewise of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I saie) to haue the certaine view of anie of these, so after the comming of the Romans, they inforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue such imperiall monies or coines, as for the paiement of their legions was dailie brought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is easie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and siluer, as of copper, brasse, and other mettall, much like stéele, almost of euerie emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it still represent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take heed how we yéeld our selues to the regiment of strangers. Of the store of these monies, found vpon the Kentish coast, I haue alreadie made mention in the description of Richborow, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the British Albion, and there shewed also how simple fishermen haue had plentie of them, and that the conies in making profers and holes to bréed in, haue scraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In speaking also of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of these coines haue bene gathered there: wherfore I shall not néed here to repeat the same againe. Howbeit this is certaine, that the most part of all these antiquities, to be found within the land, & distant from the shore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and townes decaied, or in inclosed burrowes, where their legions accustomed sometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What store hath béene séene of them in the citie of London, which they called Augusta, of the legion that soiourned there, & likewise in Yorke named also Victrix, of the legion Victoria, or Altera Roma (because of the beautie and fine building of the same) I my selfe can partlie witnesse, that haue séene, & often had of them, if better testimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colchester, where those of Claudius, Adrian, Traian, Vespasian, and other, are oftentimes plowed vp, or found by other means: also of Cantorburie, Andredeschester (now decaied) Rochester, then called Durobreuum, Winchester, and diuerse other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie sake I doo passe ouer in silence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where most are found in deed, is néere vnto Carleon and Cairgwent in Southwales, about Kenchester, thrée miles aboue Hereford, Aldborow, Ancaster, Bramdon, Dodington, where a spurre and péce of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, besides much of the said Roman coine, Binchester, Camalet, Laccocke vpon Auon, and Lincolne, Dorchester, Warwike, and Chester, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It seemeth that Ancaster hath beene a great thing, for manie square & colored pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by such as dig and plow in the fields about the same. And amongst these, one Vresbie or Rosebie, a plowman, did ere vp not long since a stone like a trough, couered with another stone, wherein was great foison of the aforesaid coines. The like also was séene not yet fortie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an husbandman had far better lucke at Harleston, two miles from the aforesaid place, where he found not

onellie great plentie of this coine, but also an huge brasse pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and set with all kind of costlie stones: he tooke vp also chaines much like vnto beads of siluer, all which, as being (if a man might ghesse anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he presented to quéene Katharine then lieng at Peterborow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchement written long agone, though so defaced with mouldinesse, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into péeces, much lesse read them by reason of their blindnesse.

In the beginning of the same kings daies also at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harnesssed with pure gold, and a great massie pomell with a crosse hilt for a sword of the same mettall, beside studs and harnesse for spurs, and the huge long spurs of like stuffe, whereof one doctor Ruthall got a part into his hands. The boroughs or buries, wherof I spake before, were certeine plots of ground, wherin the Romane souldiers did vse to lie when they kept in the open fields as chosen places, from whence they might haue easie accesse vnto their aduersaries, if anie outrage were wrought or rebellion mooued against them. And as these were the vsuall aboads for those able legions that serued dailie in the wars, so had they other certeine habitations for the old and forworne souldiers, whereby diuerse cities grew in time to be replenished with Romane colonies, as Cairleon, Colchester, Chester, and such other, of which, Colchester bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddesse of Victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth "Aram sempiternæ dominationis," a perpetuall monument of that our British seruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes, they were generallie walled about with stone wals, and so large in compasse that some did conteine thirtie, fourtie, three score, or eightie acres of ground within their limits: they had also diuerse gates or ports vnto each of them, and of these not a few remaine to be seene in our time, as one for example not far from great Chesterford in Essex, néere to the limits of Cambridgshire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compasse of the verie wall with the places where the gates stood is easie to be discerned: the like also is to be séene at a place within two miles south of Burton, called the Borow hils. In these therefore and such like, and likewise at Euolsburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and sundrie other places, especiallie vpon the shore and coasts of Kent, as Douer, Rie, Romneie, Lid, &c: is much of their coine also to be found, and some péeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Hogs pence, Feirie groats, Jewes monie, & by other foolish names not woorthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vsed these holds as rescues for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like also did the Saxons against the Danes, by which occasions (and now and then by carieng of their stones to helpe forward other buildings néere at hand) manie of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwise might haue continued for a longer time, and so your honour would saie, if you should happen to peruse the thickenesse and maner of building of those said wals and borowes. It is not long since a siluer saucer of verie ancient making was found néere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbirie hils, and eared vp by a plough, but of such massie greatnesse, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I should stand in these things vntill I had said all that might be spoken of them, both by experience and testimonie of Leland in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerse yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore so much onellie shall serue the turne for this time as I haue said already of antiquities found within our Iland, especiallie of coine, whereof I purposed chiefelie to intreat.

**Sterbirie a  
place where  
an armie  
hath lien.**

## CHAP. XXV.

**Copper monie.**

The Saxon coine before the conquest is in maner vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I suppose that one shilling of siluer in those daies did counterpeise our common ounce, though afterward it came to passe that it arose to twentie pence, and so continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who first brought it to thrée shillings and foure pence, & afterward our siluer coine vnto brasse & copper monies, by reason of those inestimable charges, which diuerse waies oppressed him. And as I gather such obscure notice of the shilling which is called in Latine Solidus, so I read more manifestlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this also currant among the Saxons of our Ile, so well in gold as in siluer, at such time as 240 of their penies made vp a iust pound, fiue pence went to the shilling, and foure shillings to the ounce. But to procéed with my purpose. After the death of K. Henrie, Edward his sonne began to restore the aforesaid coine againe vnto fine siluer: so quéene Marie his successour did continue his good purpose, notwithstanding that in hir time the Spanish monie was verie cōmon in England, by reason of hir mariage with Philip king of Spaine.

**Siluer restored.**

After hir decease the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and now our most gracious quéene, souereigne and princesse, did finish the matter wholie, vtterly abolishing the vse of copper and brassen coine, and conuerting the same into guns and great ordinance, she restored sundrie coines of fine siluer, as pièces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, pièces of two pence, of thrée pence, of foure pence (called the groat) of six pence vsuallie named the testone, and shilling of twelue pence, whereon she hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall superscription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained since the time of king Edward the third, or béene coined by such other princes as haue reigned since his decease, without anie abasing or diminution of the finesse of that mettall. Therof also we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the salut, the angell, and their smaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though these in my time are not so common to be séene. I haue also beheld the souereigne of twentie shillings, and the pièce of thirtie shillings, I haue heard likewise of pièces of fortie shillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But sith there were few of them coined, and those onelie at the commandement of kings, yearelie to bestow where their maiesties thought good in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requisit that I should remember them here amongst our currant monies.

**Old gold.****New gold.**

The new gold is taken for such as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the finesse of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be restored for ought that I can see: and yet is it such as hath béene coined since by his successors princes of this realme, in value and goodnesse equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one dooth couet chiefelie to gather vp our old finer gold: so that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifulle seene in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the payments which they dailie make in those kinds of our coine. Our peeces now currant are of ten shillings, fiue shillings, and two shillings and six pence onelie: and those of sundrie stamps and names, as halfe souereigns (equall in weight with our currant shilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times so much siluer) quarters of souereigns (otherwise called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewise angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be anie other, in good sooth I know them not, as one scarselie acquainted with any siluer at all, much lesse then (God it wot) with any store of gold.

The first currant shilling or siluer pièces of twelue pence stamped within memorie, were coined by K. Henrie the eight in the twentieth yeare of his reigne, & those of fiue shillings, and of two shillings and six pence, & the halfe shilling by king Edward the sixt: but the od pièces aboute remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princesse quéene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greatest siluer monies if you respect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well discusse of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the first in the eight yeare of his reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest pièces of siluer roundwise, which before were square, and woont to beare a double crosse with a crest, in such sort that the penie might easilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters: by which shift onelie the people came by small monies, as halfe pence and fardings, that otherwise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the single, double, and the double double, the crusadoes, with the long crosse and the short: the portigue, a pièce verie solemnelie kept of diuerse, & yet oft times abased with washing, or absolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemish crownes, onlie currant among vs, so long as they hold weight. But of siluer coines, as the soules turnoies, whereof ten make a shilling, as the franke dooth two shillings, and thrée franks the French

crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalders, and such often times brought ouer, but neuerthelesse exchanged as bullion, according to their finenesse and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by such as haue authoritie.

In old time we had sundrie mints in England, and those commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houses before the conquest, where true dealing was commonlie supposed most of all to dwell: as at Ramseie, S. Edmundsburie, Canturburie, Glassenburie, Peterborow, and such like, sundrie exemplificats of the grants whereof are yet to be seene in writing, especiallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: wherevnto it appeereth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they trusted themselues best with the ouersight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerse of their owne, although they afterward permitted some for small péeces of siluer vnto sundrie of the houses aforesaid. In my time diuerse mints are suppressed, as Southwarke, Bristow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to saie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and perused, but not without great gaine to such as deale withall. There is also coinage of tin holden yearelie at two seuerall times, that is to saie, Midsummer and Michaelmas in the west countrie; which at the first hearing I supposed to haue béene of monie of the said mettall, and granted by priuilege from some prince vnto the towns of Hailestone, Trurie, and Lostwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing so, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherein he is allowed the ordinarie customes of that mettall: and such blocks of tin as haue passed the hands of his officers, are marked with an especiall stampe, whereby it is knowne that the custome due for the same hath ordinarilie béene answered. It should séeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingstone vpon Thames (sometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vsuallie crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in earing of the ground about that towne in times past, and now of late (besides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue béene ripped vp by plowes, and diuerse coines of brasse, siluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the daies of cardinall Woolseie, one such huge pot was discovered full as it were of new siluer latelie coined; another with plates of siluer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of siluer and such broken stuffe redie (as it should appeere) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this suffice to countenance out my coniecture. Of coins currant before the comming of the Romans I haue elsewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Ilanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Essences did barter ware for ware, so the Britons vsed brasse or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in steed of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Bisantines also did, & the Achiui (as Homer writeth) who had (saith he) rough peeces of brasse and iron in stéed of coine, wherewith they purchased their wines.



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## CHAP. I.

There is no kind of tame cattell vsually to be séene in these parts of the world, wherof we haue not some, and that great store in England; as horssees, oxen, shéepe, goats, swine, and far surmounting the like in other countries, as may be prooued with ease. For where are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horssees more decent and pleasant in pase, kine more commodious for the pale, shéepe more profitable for wooll, swine more wholesome of flesh, and goates more gainefull to their kéepers, than here with vs in England? But to speke of them peculiarie, I suppose that our kine are so abundant in yéeld of milke, wherof we make our butter & chéese, as the like anie where else, and so apt for the plough in diuerse places as either our horssees or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they séeme to come short of that commoditie which is looked for in other countries, to wit, in that they bring fourth most commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines also gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath beene valued at twentie shillings yearelie: but now as land is inhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground arise to be yet déerer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleasure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwikshire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studleie, which in six yéeres had sixtéene calves, that is, foure at once in thrée caluings and twice twins, which vnto manie may séeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oxen are such as the like are not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatnesse of bodie and swéetnesse of flesh: or else would not the Romane writers haue preferred them before those of Liguria. In most places our grasiers are now grown to be so cunning, that if they doo but sée an ox or bullocke, and come to the féeling of him, they will giue a ghesse at his weight, and how manie score or stone of flesh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may liue by the sale, and what he may haue for the skin and tallow; which is a point of skill not commonlie practised heretofore. Some such grasiers also are reported to ride with veluet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their absence their wiues will not let to supplie those turnes with no lesse skill than their husbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, sith he through this means can seldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like sort the flesh of our oxen and kine is sold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in yoong ware rather by weight, especiallie for the stéere and heighfer, sith the finer béefe is the lightest, wheras the flesh of buls and old kine, &c: is of sadder substance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the scale. Their hornes also are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, except those which are to be séene among the Pæones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our bréed generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped also by art. For when they be verie yoong, manie grasiers will oftentimes annoint their budding hornes, or tender tips with honie, which mollifieth the naturall hardnesse of that substance, and thereby maketh them to grow vnto a notable greatnesse. Certes, it is not strange in England, to sée oxen whose hornes haue the length of a yard or thrée foot betweene the tips, and they themselues thereto so tall, as the heighth of a man of meane and indifferent stature is scarce equall vnto them. Neuerthelesse it is much to be lamented that our generall bréed of cattell is not better looked vnto: for the greatest occupiers weane least store, bicause they can buie them (as they saie) far better cheape than to raise and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath risen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithstanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring fourth more than one calfe a péee, as I heare they doo in other countries.

Oxen.

*Athenæus*  
*bib. 10. cap.*  
*8.*

Horssees.

Our horssees moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of such huge greatnesse as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easinesse of their pase, it is hard to saie where their like are to be had. Our land dooth yéeld no asses, and therefore we want the generation also of mules and somers; and therefore the most part of our cariage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserued for the cart, or appointed to beare such burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough horssees (for we vse them indifferentlie) are commonlie so strong that five or six of them (at the most) will draw thrée thousand weight of the greatest tale with ease for a long iourneie, although it be not a load of common vsage, which consisteth onelie of two thousand, or fiftie foot of timber, fortie bushels of white salt, or six and thirtie of baie, or fiue quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I haue elsewhere remembred. Such as are kept also for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, wherby it commeth to passe, that when the quéenes maiestie dooth remooue from anie one place to another, there are vsuallie 400 carewares, which amount to the summe of 2400 horssees, appointed out of the countries adiointing, whereby hir cariage is conueied safelie vnto the appointed place. Hereby also the ancient vse of somers and sumpter horssees is in maner vtterlie relinquished, which causeth the traines of our princes in their progresses to shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations.

**Geldings.**

Such as serue for the saddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie déere among vs, especially if they be well coloured, iustlie limmed, and haue thereto an easie ambling pase. For our countriemen, séeking their ease in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualities, but chieflie in their excellent pases, which besides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horssees of our soile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner sitting on their backes: it is moreouer verie pleasant and delectable in his eares, in that the noise of their well proportioned pase dooth yéeld comfortable sound as he trauelleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater decept vsed anie where than among our horssekeepers, horssecorsers, and hostellers: for such is the subtill knauerie of a great sort of them (without exception of anie of them be it spoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by some false trick or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horssees and colts is bought and sold, and wherevnto such as haue néed resort yearelie to buie and make their necessarie prouision of them, as Rippon, Newport pond, Wolfpit, Harborow, and diuerse other. But as most drouers are verie diligent to bring great store of these vnto those places; so manie of them are too too lewd in abusing such as buie them. For they haue a custome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iourneie of the market, to driue them till they sweat, & for the space of eight or twelue houres, which being doone they turne them all ouer the backs into some water, where they stand for a season, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make sale of their infected ware, and such as by this meanes doo fall into manie diseases and maladies. Of such outlandish horssees as are dailie brought ouer vnto vs I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish roile, and Scotish nag, bicause that further spéech of them commeth not within the compasse of this treatise, and for whose breed and maintenance (especiallie of the greatest sort) king Henrie the eight erected a noble studderie and for a time had verie good successe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of bastard races, whereby his good purpose came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the best horssees in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compasse of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherin the king of that nation had vsuallie a studderie of 30000 mares and 300 stallions, as Strabo dooth remember Lib. 16. But to leaue this, let vs see what may be said of sheepe.

**Shéepe.**

Our shéepe are verie excellent, sith for sweetnesse of flesh they passe all other. And so much are our woolles to be preferred before those of Milesia and other places, that if Iason had knowne the value of them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he would neuer haue gone to Colchis to looke for anie there. For as Dionysius Alexandrinus saith in his De situ orbis, it may by spinning be made comparable to the spiders web. What fooles then are our countrimen, in that they séeke to bereue themselues of this commoditie, by practising dailie how to transfer the same to other nations, in carieng ouer their rams & ewes to bréed & increase among them? The first example hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth, who not vnderstanding the botome of the sute of sundrie traitorous merchants, that sought a present gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few shipped verie manie: a thing commonlie practised in other commodities also, whereby the prince and hir land are not seldome times defrauded. But such is our nature, and so blind are we in déed, that we see no inconuenience before we feele it: and for a present gaine we regard not what damage may insue to our posteritie. Hereto some other man would ad also the desire that we haue to benefit other countries, and to impech our owne. And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not woorth thrée pence, is more estéemed than a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far excéedeth that value. In time past the vse of this commoditie consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath béene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the makers haue reaped no small commoditie. It is furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithstanding the sharpenesse of our lawes to the contrarie) dooth yet confirme it: that although our rams & weathers doo go thither from vs neuer so well headed according to their kind: yet after they haue remained there a while, they cast there their heads, and from thencefoorth they remaine polled without any hornes at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cherished in England, than standeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or prosperitie of diuerse townes, whereof some are wholie conuerted to their féeding: yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their fléece, such necessitie in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the manuring of barren soile with their doong and pisse, that their superfluous numbers are the better borne withall. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I speake not of our great shéepemasters of whom some one man hath 20000) but hath more or lesse of this cattell féeding on his fallowes and short grounds, which yéeld the finer fléece, as Virgil (following Varro) well espied Georg. 3. where he saith:

**Shéepe without hornes.**

"Si tibi lanicium curæ, primum aspera sylua,  
Lappæque tribulique absint, fuge pabula læta."

Neuerthesse the shéepe of our countrie are often troubled with the rot (as are our swine with the measels though neuer so generallie) and manie men are now and then great losers by the same: but after the calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and kéepe their new stocks sound for seauen yeares together, the former losse will easilie be recompensed with double commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are hurtfull to our shéepe, howbeit this is but his coniecture: for we know that our shéepe are infected by going to the water, and take the same as a sure and certeine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their liuers and lights being alredie distempered through excessiue heat, which inforceth them the rather to séeke vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the maine, wherin a man shall generallie find more fine and wholesome water than in England; and therefore it is impossible that our shéepe should decaie by tasting of the same. Wherefore the hinderance by rot is rather to be ascribed to the vnseasonableness & moisture of the weather in summer, also their licking in of mildewes, gossamire, rowtie fogs, & ranke grasse, full of superfluous iuice: but speciallie (I saie) to ouer moist wether, whereby the continuall raine pearsing into their hollow felles, soketh foorthwith into their flesh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being also infected their first shew of sicknesse is their desire to drinke, so that our waters are not vnto them "Causa ægritudinis," but "Signum morbi," what so euer Cardan doo mainteine to the contrarie. There are (& peradventure no small babes) which are growne to be so good husbands, that they can make account of euerie ten kine to be cléerelie woorth twentie pounds in cōmon and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fiue shéepe be dailie added to the same. But as I wote not how true this surmise is, bicause it is no part of my trade, so I am sure hereof, that some housewiues can and doo ad dailie a lesse proportion of ewes milke vnto the chéese of so manie kine, whereby their cheese dooth the longer abide moist, and eateth more brickle and mellow than otherwise it would.

**Goats.**

Goats we haue plentie, and of sundrie colours in the west parts of England; especiallie in and towards Wales, and amongst the rockie hilles, by whome the owners doo reape no small aduantage: some also are cherished elsewhere in diuerse stéeds for the benefit of such as are diseased with sundrie maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, chéese, and bodies of their yoong kids are iudged verie profitable, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and néere. Certes I find among the writers, that the milke of a goat is next in estimation to that of the woman; for that it helpeth the stomach, remoueth oppilations and stoppings of the liuer, and looseth the bellie. Some place also next vnto it the milke of the ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can shew no reason; onelie this I know, that ewes milke is fulsome, sweet, and such in tast, as except such as are vsed vnto it no man will gladlie yéeld to liue and féed withall.

**Swine.**

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

**Bores.**

Of our tame bores we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not vsuallie knowne to strangers (as I take it) otherwise would not the swart Rutters and French cookes, at the losse of Calis (where they found great store of this prouision almost in euerie house) haue attempted with ridiculous successe to rost, bake, broile, & frie the same for their masters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, not long since, did send ouer an hogshead of brawne readie sowsed to a catholike gentleman of France, who supposing it to be fish, reserued it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he so well liked of the prouision it selfe, that he wrote ouer verie earnestlie & with offer of great recompense for more of the same fish against the yeare insuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue beene flesh, he would not haue touched it (I dare saie) for a thousand crownes without the popes dispensation. A fréend of mine also dwelling sometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Iewes at his table, did set brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earnestlie, supposing it to be a kind of fish not common in those parties: but when the goodman of the house brought in the head in pastime among them, to shew what they had eaten, they rose from the table, hied them home in hast, ech of them procuring himselfe to vomit, some by oile, and some by other meanes, till (as they supposed) they had clensed their stomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great péece of seruice at the table, from Nouember vntill Februarie be ended; but chéeflie in the Christmasse time. With the same also



**Brawne of  
the bore.**

we begin our dinners each daie after other: and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of maluesie, bastard, or muscadell, is vsuallie droonke after it, where either of them are conuenientlie to be had: otherwise the meaner sort content themselues with their owne drinke, which at that season is generallie verie strong, and stronger indéed than in all the yeare beside. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, set vp for the purpose by the space of a whole yere or two, especially in gentlemens houses (for the husbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vse aboute thrée or foure moneths, or halfe a yéere at the most) in which time he is dieted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneasie coat, till his fat be hardened sufficientlie for their purpose: afterward he is killed, scalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, the rest is nothing so fat, and therefore it beareth the name of sowse onelie, and is commonlie reserued for the seruing man and hind, except it please the owner to haue anie part therof baked, which are then handled of custome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are first drawne with lard, and then sodden; being sodden they are sowsed in claret wine and vineger a certeine space, and afterward baked in pasties, and eaten of manie in stéed of the wild bore, and trulie it is verie good meat: the pestles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be drawne with lard if you will, and thereby prooue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the shoulders are named shilds, onelie the ribs reteine the former denomination, so that these aforesaid péeces deserue the name of brawne: the bowels of the beast are commonlie cast awaie because of their ranknesse, and so were likewise his stones; till a foolish fantasie got hold of late amongst some delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dresse them also with great cost for a deintie dish, and bring them to the boord as a seruice among other of like sort, though not without note of their desire to the prouocation of fleshlie lust, which by this their fond curiositie is not a little reuealed. When the bore is thus cut out, each peece is wrapped vp, either with bulrushes, ozier péeles, tape, inkle, or such like, and then sodden in a lead or caldron together, till they be so tender that a man may thrust a brused rush or soft straw cleane through the fat: which being doone, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to coole: afterward putting it into close vessels, they powre either good small ale or béere mingled with veriuice and salt thereto till it be couered, and so let it lie (now and then altering and changing the sowsing drinke least it should wax sowre) till occasion serue to spend it out of the waie. Some vse to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and séeth them, and sowse the whole, as they doo that of the bore; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more easie of digestion. But of brawne thus much; and so much may seeme sufficient.

**Baked hog.**

## CHAP. II.

Order requireth that I speake somewhat of the foules also of England, which I may easilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas such is my small skill in foules, that to say the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the sunne, which hath already in the time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for so manie kinds as our Iland dooth bring forth, and much more would haue, if those of the higher soile might be spared but one yere or two, from the greedie engins of couetous foulers, which set onlie for the pot & purse. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Iohns daies, insomuch that going in progresse about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to solace himself, or exercise his falcons. Wherefore being at Bristow in the Christmas insuing, he restrained all maner of hawking or taking of wild-foule throughout England for a season, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie replenished againe. But what stand I vpon this impertinent discourse? Of such therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame swan, the bustard, the herron, curlew, snite, wildgoose, wind or doterell, brant, larke, plouer of both sorts, lapwing, teele, wigeon, mallard, sheldrake, shoueler, pewet, seamew, barnacle, quaile (who onelie with man are subject to the falling sicknesse) the notte, the oliet or olife, the dunbird, woodcocke, partrich and feasant, besides diuerse other, whose names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taste of their flesh, wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as these serue not at all seasons, so in their seuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentry should séeme at anie time furnisht. But of all these the production of none is more maruellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whose place of generation we haue sought oft times so farre as the Orchades, whereas peradventure we might haue found the same neerer home, and not onelie vpon the coasts of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I should say how either these or some such other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie serueth, and the circumstances doo minister occasion) in the Thames mouth, I doo not thinke that manie will beleeeue me: yet such a thing hath there béene scene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a short tender shrub standing néere vnto the shore, from whence when their time came, they fell downe, either into the salt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and perished, as Pena the French herbarian hath also noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue séene here by experience, I haue already so touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it should be but time spent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the description of Man or Manaw for more of these barnacles, as also in the eleuenth chapter of the description of Scotland, & I doo not doubt but you shall in some respect be satisfied in the generation of these foules. As for egrets, pawpers, and such like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the sea, as if all the foule of our countrie could not suffice to satisfie our delicate appetites.

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

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practise brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indish peacocks is a newer deuise: and certeinlie not vsed amisse, sith the rankenesse of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the strong taste of the flesh in sundrie wise amended. If I should say that ganders grow also to be gelded, I suppose that some will laugh me to scorne, neither haue I tasted at anie time of such a foule so serued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vsed in the countrie, where their géese are driuen to the field like heards of cattell by a gooseheard, a toie also no lesse to be maruelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, so is it strange to me to see or heare of géese to be led to the field like shéepe: yet so it is, & their gooseheard carieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goslings together, the noise whereof commeth no sooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and hasten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the house be

stirring, it is ridiculous to see how they will peep vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this sort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept so much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke soiles their doong dooth so qualifie the batableness of the soile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and sundrie other diseases, although some of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules produced by the industrie of man, as betwéene the fesant cocke and doonghill hen, or betwéene the fesant and the ringdooue, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but sith I haue no more knowledge of these, than what I haue gotten by mine eare, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan speaking of the second sort, dooth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewise intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauens, crowes, pies, choughes, rookes, kites, iaies, ringtailes, starlings, woodspikes, woodnawes, rauens, &c: but sith they abound in all countries, though peradventure most of all in England (by reason of our negligence) I shall not need to spend anie time in the rehearsall of them. Neither are our crowes and choughs cherished of purpose to catch vp the woormes that bréed in our soiles (as Polydor supposeth) sith there are no vplandish townes but haue (or should haue) nets of their owne in store to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewise made for their vtter destruction, as also the spoile of other rauenous fouls hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whose valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuise brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the destruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them also for the rootage out of their wild beasts, sauing that they spared their greatest beares, especiallie the white, whose skins are by custome & priuilege reserued to couer those planchers wherevpon their priests doo stand at Masse, least he should take some vnkind cold in such a long péece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he shall haue pardon inough for that so religious an act, to last if he will till doomes day doo approach; and manie thousands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that these noisome creatures are nourished amongst vs to deuoure our wormes, which doo not abound much more in England than elsewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that some looke for a discourse also of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thrushes, blackebirds, mauises, ruddocks, redstarts or dunocks, larkes, tiuits, kingsfishers, buntings, turtles white or graie, linets, bulfinshes, goldfinshes, washtailes, cheriecrackers, yellowhamers, felfares, &c: but I should then spend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I speake of our costlie and curious auiaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obseruation of their natures: but I cease also to go anie further in these things, hauing (as I thinke) said inough already of these that I haue named.

## CHAP. III.

I haue in my description of waters, as occasion hath serued, intreated of the names of some of the seuerall fishes which are commonlie to bee found in our riuers. Neuerthesse as euerie water hath a sundrie mixture, and therefore is not stored with euerie kind: so there is almost no house, euen of the meanest bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reseruatiō of water vnstored with some of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, eeles, or such like as will liue and bréed together. Certes it is not possible for me to deliuer the names of all such kinds of fishes as our riuers are found to beare: yet least I should séeme iniurious to the reader, in not deliuering so manie of them as haue béene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to set them downe as they doo come to mind. Besides the salmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middest of September to the middest of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greatest riuers, as their yoong store are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midsummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, powt, cheuin, pike, goodgeon, smelt, perch, menan, shrimpes, creuses, lampreies, and such like, whose preseruatiō is prouided for by verie sharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but also in plashes or lakes and ponds, which otherwise would bring small profit to the owners, and doo much harme by continuall maintenance of idle persons, who would spend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all these there are none more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the same water, than the pike and éele, which commonlie deuoure such fish or frie and spawne as they may get and come by. Neuerthesse the pike is fréend vnto the tench, as to his leach & surgeon. For when the fishmonger hath opened his side and laid out his riuēt and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that present, he laieth the same againe into the proper place, and sowing vp the wound, he restoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer cease to sucke and licke his greeued place, till they haue restored him to health, and made him readie to come againe to the stall, when his turne shall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and some other of our riuer fishes are sold by inches of cleane fish, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tailes, but it is needlesse: also how the pike as he ageth receiueth diuerse names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a iacke, from a iacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and last of all to a luce; also that a salmon is the first yeare a grauellin, and commonlie so big as an herring, the second a salmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a salmon: but this is in like sort vnnesessarie.

I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie riuers sides if you cut a turffe, and laie it with the grasse downwards, vpon the earth, in such sort as the water may touch it as it passeth by, you shall haue a brood of éeles, it would seeme a wonder; and yet it is beleueed with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time stirre and become a liuing creature. But sith the certeintie of these things is rather proued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it passe at this time. Neuerthesse this is generallie obserued in the maintenance of frie so well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of spawne we vse to throw in faggots made of willow and sawlow, and now and then of bushes for want of the other, whereby such spawne as falleth into the same is preserued and kept from the pike, perch, éele and other fish, of which the carpe also will féed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the store and increase of proper kind. Some vse in euerie fift or seauenth yeere to laie their great ponds drie for all the summer time, to the end they may gather grasse, and a thin swart for the fish to feed vpon; and afterwards store them with bréeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue spawned, they draw out the bréeders, leauing not aboue foure or six behind, euen in the greatest ponds, by meanes whereof the rest doo prosper the better: and this obseruation is most vsed in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fish) it prospereth euerie where, I meane so well in ponds as riuers, and also in motes and pittes, as I doo know by experience, though their bottoms be but claie. More would I write of our fresh fish, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto such of the salt water as are taken vpon our coasts. As our foules therefore haue their seasons, so likewise haue all our sorts of sea fish: whereby it commeth to passe that none, or at the leastwise verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuerthesse, the seas that inuiron our coasts, are of all other most plentifull: for as by reason of their depth they are a great succour, so our low shores minister great plentie of food vnto the fish that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Ianuarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fish, as rochet, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we féed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muskles, &c. In April and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In Iune and Iulie, with conger. In August and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths insuing with the same, as also thornbacke and reigh of all sorts; all which are the most vsuall, and wherewith our common sort are best of all refreshed.

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

**Flat fish.** Of fishes therefore as I find fíue sorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and shelled: so the flat are diuided into the smooth, scaled and tailed. Of the first are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or sea flounder, dorreie, dab, &c. Of the second the soles, &c. Of the third, our chaits, maidens, kingsons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the most part either dried and carried into other countries, or sodden, sowsed, & eaten here at home, whilst the lesser be fried or buttered; soone after they be taken as prouision not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Vnder the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps, an vglie fish to sight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dressed: the whiting (an old waiter or seruitor in the court) the rochet, sea breame, pírle, hake, sea trowt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, sprat, and such like. And these are they whereof I haue best knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coasts. Vnder this kind also are all the great fish contained, as the seale, the dolphin, the porpoise, the thirlepole, whale, and whatsoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer so great and huge. Of the long sort are congers, eeles, garefish, and such other of that forme. Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I seene anie more of this sort than the Polypus called in English the lobster, crafish or creuis, and the crab. As for the little crafishes they are not taken in the sea, but plentifulle in our fresh riuers in banks, and vnder stones, where they kéepe themselues in most secret maner, and oft by likenesse of colour with the stones among which they lie, deceiue euen the skilfull takers of them, except they vse great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maison rustique, doubted whether these lobstars be fish or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as dooth the frog, and these also not to be eaten, for that they be strong and verie hard of digestion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here speake of sundrie other fishes now and then taken also vpon our coasts: but sith my mind is onelie to touch either all such as are vsuallie gotten, or so manie of them onelie as I can well rehearse vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbear the further intreatie of them. As touching the shellie sort, we haue plentie of oysters, whose valure in old time for their swéetnesse was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and these we haue in like maner of diuerse quantities, and no lesse varietie also of our muskles and cockles. We haue in like sort no small store of great whelkes, scalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the sea coast in their seuerall seasons. And albeit our oysters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to saie, Maie, Iune, Iulie, and August, which are void of the letter R: yet in some places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our sea fish as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuersitie of kinds: yet so much haue I yéelded to doo, hoping hereafter to saie somewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it shall please God that I may liue and haue leasure once againe to peruse this treatise, and so make vp a perfect péce of worke, of that which as you now sée is verie slenderlie attempted and begun.

## CHAP. IV.

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

**Woolfes.**

**Tribute of  
Woolfes  
skins.**

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

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

**Foxes.  
Badgers.**

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

**Beuers.**

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniuer, the weasell, stote, fulmart, squirrell, fitchew, and such like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Mustela*: also of the otter, and likewise of the beuer, whose hinder féet and taile onlie are supposed to be fish. Certes the taile of this beast is like vnto a thin whetstone, as the bodie vnto a monstrous rat: the beast also it selfe is of such force in the téeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or shere thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth also the stillest riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather sticks wherewith to build their nests, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they so prouide most commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the same. It is also reported that their said tailes are a delicate dish, and their stones of such medicinable force, that (as Vertomannus saith) foure men smelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the nose through their attractiue force, procéding from a vehement sauour wherewith they are indued: there is greatest plentie of them in

Persia, chéefelie about Balascham, from whence they and their dried cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without some forgerie by such as prouide them. And of all these here remembred, as the first sorts are plentiful in euerie wood and hedgerow: so these latter, especially the otter (for to saie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teifie in Wales) is not wanting or to séeke in manie, but most streams and riuers of this Ile: but it shall suffice in this sort to haue named them as I doo finallie the marterne, a beast of the chase, although for number I worthilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the lesse.

Marterns.

Other pernicious beasts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow déere, whose colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and store of conies amongst the hurtfull sort. Which although that of themselues they are not offensiue at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therefore iustlie reprooued of many; as are in like sort our huge flocks of shéepe, whereon the greatest part of our soile is employed almost in euerie place, and yet our mutton, wooll, and felles neuer the better cheape. The yoong males which our fallow deere doo bring foorth, are commonlie named according to their seuerall ages: for the first yéere it is a fawne, the second a puckot, the third a serell, the fourth a soare, the fift a bucke of the first head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fiue yéers old: and from hencefoorth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yéers is not so certeine, but that the best woodman may now and then be deceiued in that account: for in some grounds a bucke of the first head will be so well headed as another in a high rowtie soile will be in the fourth. It is also much to be maruelled at, that whereas they doo yéerelie mew and cast their horns; yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they doo grife or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red déere, I find that the yoong male is called in the first yéere a calfe, in the second a broket, the third a spaie, the fourth a stagon or stag, the fift a great stag, the sixt an hart, and so foorth vnto his death. And with him in degré of venerie are accounted the hare, bore, and wolfe. The fallow déere as bucks and does, are nourished in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except some gentleman or other (for his pleasure) doo make an inclosure for them. Of these also the stag is accounted for the most noble game, the fallow déere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent store; and last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that seelie beast is mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters doo vse. All which (notwithstanding our custome) are pastimes more méet for ladies and gentlewomen to exercise (whatsoever Franciscus Patritius saith to the contrarie in his institution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whose hunting should practise their armes in tasting of their manhood, and dealing with such beasts as eftsoones will turne againe, and offer them the hardest rather than their horsse féet, which manie times may carrie them with dishonour from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times past, as it may yet appéere by the histories of their times, especially of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the bore, and the beare, but most willinglie lions, because of the honorable estimation of that beast; insomuch that at one time he caused an od or chosen lion (for force and beautie) to be let foorth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much businesse, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beast. Herevnto beside that which we read of the vsuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, wolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the first of England, who disdainig (as he termed them) to follow or pursue cowards, cherished of set purpose sundrie kinds of wild beasts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodstocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard stone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with some one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raise vpon him: but chéeflie he loued to hunt the lion and the bore, which are both verie dangerous exercises, especially that with the lion, except some policie be found wherwith to trouble his eiesight in anie manner of wise. For though the bore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his flesh and skin against the trées, to sharpen his teeth, and defile himselfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the sport somewhat more easie, especially where two stand so neere together, that the one (if néed be) may helpe and be a succour to the other. Neither would he cease for all this to follow his pastime, either on horssebacke or on foot, as occasion serued, much like the yoonger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bores and bulles to haue béene about Blackleie néere Manchester, whither the said prince would now and then resort also for his solace in that behalfe, as also to come by those excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, especially the bulles, as I haue said already.

Stags.

King Henrie the fift in his beginning thought it a méere scofferie to pursue anie fallow déere with hounds or greihounds, but supposed himselfe alwaies to haue doone a sufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and so killed them with his hands in the vpsot of that exercise and end of his recreation. Certes herein he resembled Polymnestor Milesius, of whome it is written, how he ran so swiftlie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleasure, which I can hardlie beleue: and therefore much lesse that one Lidas did run so lightlie and

**Hinds haue  
béene  
milked.**

swiftlie after like game, that as he passed ouer the sand, he left not so much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like sort with the hart (as I doo read) but this I thinke was verie long agone, when men were farre higher and swifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willinglie that the hunting of the red deere is a right princelie pastime. In diuerse forren countries they cause their red and fallow déere to draw the plough, as we doo our oxen and horssees. In some places also they milke their hinds as we doo here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrensis to haue beene séene and vsed in Wales, where he did eat cheese made of hinds milke, at such time as Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie preached the croisad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemans house, whose wife of purpose kept a deirie of the same. As for the plowing with vres (which I suppose to be vnlikelie) because they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alkes a thing commonlie vsed in the east countries; here is no place to speake of it, since we want these kind of beasts, neither is it my purpose to intreat at large of other things than are to be seene in England. Wherfore I will omit to saie anie more of wild and sauage beasts at this time, thinking my selfe to haue spoken alreadie sufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.



## CHAP. V.

I can not make (as yet) anie iust report how manie sorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of those that are vsuallie had among vs are disclosed with in this land, I thinke it more easie and lesse difficult to set downe. First of all therefore that we haue the egle, common experience dooth euidentlie confirme, and diuerse of our rockes whereon they bréed, if speach did serue, could well declare the same. But the most excellent aerie of all is not much from Chester, at a castell called Dinas Bren, sometime builded by Brennus, as our writers doo remember. Certes this castell is no great thing, but yet a pile sometime verie strong and inaccessible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It standeth vpon an hard rocke, in the side whereof an eagle bréedeth euerie yeare. This also is notable in the ouerthrow of hir nest (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither must be sure of two large baskets, and so prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may sit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwise the eagle would kill him, and teare the flesh from his bones with hir sharpe talons though his apparell were neuer so good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and erne doo shew anie difference of sexe, I meane betwéene the male and female, so we haue great store of them. And néere to the places where they bréed, the commons complaine of great harme to be doone by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yoong lambe or kid vnto their neasts, therewith to féed their yoong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuersitie of kind betwéene the eagle and the erne, till I perceiued that our nation vsed the word erne in most places for the eagle. We haue also the lanner and the lanneret: the tersell and the gosehawke: the musket and the sparhawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finallie some (though verie few) marlions. And these are all the hawkes that I doo heare as yet to be bred within this lland. Howbeit as these are not wanting with vs, so are they not verie plentifull: wherefore such as delite in hawking doo make their chiefe purueiance & prouision for the same out of Danske, Germanie, and the Eastcountrie, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at excessiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are sold for almost right naught, and vsuallie brought to the markets as chickens, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we doo the aforesaid foules) almost of euerie man. It is said that the sparhawke preieth not vpon the foule in the morning that she taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one seelie foule, dooth let it go to make some shift for it selfe. But hereof as I stand in some doubt, so this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the sparhawke is enimie to yoong children, as is also the ape; but of the pecocke she is maruellouslie afraid & so appalled, that all courage & stomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the sight thereof. But to proceed with the rest. Of other rauenuous birds we haue also verie great plentie, as the bussard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & such as often annoie our countrie dames by spoiling of their yoong bréeds of chickens, duckes and goslings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crows haue learned also the waie: and so much are our rauens giuen to this kind of spoile, that some idle and curious heads of set purpose haue manned, reclaimed, and vsed them in stéed of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some doo imagine that the rauen should be the vulture, and I was almost persuaded in times past to beleue the same: but finding of late a description of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a second kind of eagle, I fréelie surcease to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a sort the shape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, so are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their sides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith also their gorge or a part of their brest vnder their throtes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauens (who is also verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie resemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygargus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occasion to intreat further. I haue séene the carren crows so cunning also by their owne industrie of late, that they haue vsed to soare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & suddenlie comming downe haue caught a small fish in their féet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this present the aforesaid riuier is not without some of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue also ospraies which bréed with vs in parks and woods, wherby the kéepers of the same doo reape in bréeding time no small commoditie: for so soone almost as the yoong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of sundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, doo neuer cease to bring fish vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is such as is well fed, or not of the worst sort. It hath not béene my hap hitherto to see anie of these foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another resembling a goose wherewith to swim; but whether it be so or not so, I refer the further search and triall thereof vnto some other. This neuertheles is certeine that both aliue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deadlie terrour to such fish as come within the wind of it. There is no cause

wherefore I should describe the cormorant amongst hawkes, of which some be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauen, except I should call him a water hawke. But sith such dealing is not conuenient, let vs now see what may be said of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

## CHAP. VI.

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

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

Adder or  
viper.

how he saw a viper licking hir yoong. I did see an adder once my selfe that laie (as I thought) sléeeping on a moulehill, out of whose mouth came eleuen yoong adders of twelue or thirtéene inches in length a péece, which plaied to and fro in the grasse one with another, till some of them espied me. So soone therefore as they saw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them shrowded in a distinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a soft white iellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indéed. The colour of their skin is for the most part like rustie iron or iron graie: but such as be verie old resemble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they cast their old skins (whereby as it is thought their age reneweth) so their stinging bringeth death without present remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceasing to swell, neither the venem to worke till the skin of the one breake, and the other ascend vpward to the hart, where it finisheth the naturall effect, except the iuice of dragons (in Latine called "Dracunculus minor") be spédilie ministred and dronke in strong ale, or else some other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaile and ouercome the venem of the same. The length of them is most commonlie two foot and somewhat more, but seldome dooth it extend vnto two foot six inches, except it be in some rare and monstrous one: whereas our snakes are much longer, and séene sometimes to surmount a yard, or thrée foot, although their poison be nothing so grieuous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder stones, as Aristotle also saith of the viper Lib. 8. cap. 15. and in holes of the earth, rotten stubs of trees, and amongst the dead leaues: but in the heat of the summer they come abroad, and lie either round on heapes, or at length vpon some hillocke, or elsewhere in the grasse. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and highest grounds, where sometimes (though seldome) a speckled stone called Echites, in Dutch "Ein atter stein," is gotten out of their dried carcasses, which diuers report to be good against their poison. As for our snakes, which in Latine are properlie named "Angues," they commonlie are seene in moores, fens, lomie wals, and low bottoms.

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

Snakes.

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

Todes.  
Frogs.  
Sloworme.

And as we haue great store of todes where adders commonlie are found, so doo frogs abound where snakes doo kéepe their residence. We haue also the sloworme, which is blacke and graiesh of colour, and somewhat shorter than an adder. I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that she was not so called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Neuerthelesse we haue a blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which some also doo call (and vpon better ground) by the name of slow worms, and they are knowen easilie by their more or lesse varietie of striped colours, drawen long waies from their heads, their whole bodies little excéeding a foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This also is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of serpents are found of greater quantitie than either our adder or our snake: but as these are not ordinarie and oft to be séene, so I meane not to intreat of them among our common annoiances. Neither haue we the scorpion, a plague of God sent not long since into Italie, and whose poison (as Apollodorus saith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neopolitane spider, whose poison bringeth death, except musike be at hand. Wherefore I suppose our countrie to be the more happie (I meane in part) for that it is void of these two grieuous annoiances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

Efts.  
Swifts.

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

Flies.

Cutwasted.  
Whole  
bodied.  
Hornets.  
Waspes.

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

Honie.

Our honie also is taken and reputed to be the best, bicause it is harder, better wrought, and clenlier vesselled vp, than that which commeth from beyond the sea, where they stampe and streine their combs, bées, and yoong blowings altogither into the stuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vse also of medicine our physicians and apothecaries eschew the forren, especially that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reason of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the same, as some write, and choose the home made: not onelie by reason of our soile, which hath no lesse plentie of wild thime growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and makth the best stuffe; as also for that it bréedeth (being gotten in haruest time) lesse choler, and which is oftentimes (as I haue séene by experience) so white as sugar, and corned as if it were salt. Our hiues are made commonlie of rie straw, and waddled about with bramble quarters: but some make the same of wicker, and cast them ouer with clai. Wée cherish none in trées, but set our hiues somewhere on the warmest side of the house, prouiding that they may stand drie and without danger both of the mouse and moth. This furthermore is to be noted, that wheras in vessels of oile, that which is néerest the top is counted the finest, and of wine that in the middest; so of honie the best which is heauiest and moistest is alwaies next the bottome, and euermore casteth and driueth his dregs vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid substances, whose groonds and léeze doo generallie settle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bées and English honie.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and such venemous creatures of the same kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we béetles, horseflies, turdbugs or borres (called in Latine *Scarabei*) the locust or the grasshopper (which to me doo séeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and such like, whereof let other intreat that make an exercise in catching of flies, but a far greater sport in offering them to spiders. As did Domitian sometime, and an other prince yet liuing, who delited so much to see the iollie combats betwixt a stout flie and an old spider, that diuerse men haue had great rewards giuen them for their painfull prouision of flies made onelie for this purpose. Some parasites also in the time of the aforesaid emperour, (when they were disposed to laugh at his follie, and yet would seeme in appearance to gratifie his fantastical head with some shew of dutifull demenour) could deuise to set their lord on worke, by letting a flesh flie priuillie into his chamber, which he fourthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other businesse set apart) and neuer ceased till he had caught hir into his fingers: wherevpon arose the prouerbe, "Ne musca quidem," vttered first by Vibius Priscus, who being asked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, answered, "Ne musca quidem," wherby he noted his follie. There are some cockescombs here and there in England, learning it abroad as men transregionate, which make account also of this pastime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is séene betwene them, if either of them be lustie and couragious in his kind. One also hath made a booke of the spider and the flie, wherein he dealeth so profoundlie, and beyond all measure of

skill, that neither he himselfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if those iollie fellows in stéed of the straw that they thrust into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to such a noble champion) would bestow the cost to set a fooles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more securitie and lesse reprehension behold these notable battels.

Now as concerning the locust, I am led by diuerse of my countrie, who (as they say) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when those nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flie, and affirme verie constantlie, that they saw none other creature than the grashopper, during the time of that annoiance, which was said to come to them from the Meotides. In most of our translations also of the bible, the word *Locusta* is Englished a grashopper, and therevnto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwise Iohn the Baptist would neuer haue liued with them in the wilderness. In Barbarie, Numidia, and sundrie other places of Affrica, as they haue beene, so are they eaten to this daie powdred in barels, and therefore the people of those parts are called *Acedophagi*: neuertheles they shorten the life of the eaters by the production at the last of an irkesome and filthie disease. In India they are thrée foot long, in Ethiopia much shorter, but in England seldome aboue an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*, he hath some likelihood, but not verie great, with the grashopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vmpier in this case. Finallie Matthiolus, and so manie as describe the locust, doo set downe none other forme than that of our grashopper, which maketh me so much the more to rest vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locust and grashopper are one.

Sée  
*Diodorus*  
*Sicutus.*

## CHAP. VII.

There is no countrie that maie (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuersite of dogs. And therefore if Polycrates of Samia were now aliue, he would not send to Epyro for such merchandize: but to his further cost prouide them out of Britaine, as an ornament to his countrie, and péece of husbandrie for his common wealth, which he furnished of set purpose with Molossian and Lacaonian dogs, as he did the same also with shéepe out of Attica and Miletum, gotes from Scyro and Naxus, swine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the learned doctor Caius in his Latine treatise vnto Gesner "De canibus Anglicis," bringeth them all into thrée sorts: that is, the gentle kind seruing for game: the homelie kind apt for sundrie vses: and the currish kind méet for many toies. For my part I can say no more of them than he hath doone alredie. Wherefore I will here set downe onelie a summe of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our mastiffes shall yet more largelie appeare. As for those of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to report out of Plinie, that dogs were sometime killed in sacrifice, and sometime their whelps eaten as a delicate dish, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be disposed to read of them, let him resort to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other woonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captiuitie, mawgre the resistance of his aduersaries: also to Cardan, lib. 10. "De animalibus," Aristotle, &c: who write maruels of them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who is not afraid to compare some of them for greatnesse with oxen, and some also for smalnesse vnto the little field mouse. Neither doo I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who saith that the Galles did sometime buy vp all our mastiffes, to serue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they resembled the Colophonians, Castabalenses of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie also speaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The first sort therefore he diuideth either into such as rowse the beast, and continue the chase, or springeth the bird, and bewraieith hir flight by pursute. And as these are commonlie called spaniels, so the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight sorts, of which the formost excelleth in perfect smelling, the second in quicke espieng, the third in swiftnesse and quickenesse, the fourth in smelling and nimblenesse, &c: and the last in subtiltie and deceitfulness. These (saith Strabo) are most apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie because of their skill in hunting, but also for that they know their owne and the names of their fellowes most exactlie. For if the hunter see anie one to follow skilfullie, and with likelihood of good successe, he biddeth the rest to harke and follow such a dog, and they eftsoones obeie so soone as they heare his name. The first kind of these are also commonlie called hariers, whose game is the fox, the hare, the wolfe (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat, lopstart, wesell, conie, &c: the second hight a terror, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloudhound, whose office is to follow the fierce, and now and then to pursue a théefe or beast by his drie foot: the fourth hight a gasehound, who hunteth by the eie: the fift a greihound, cherished for his strength, swiftnes, and stature, commended by Bratius in his "De venatione," and not vnremembered by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but aboue all other those of Britaine, where he saith:

—— & magna spectandi mole Britanni,

also by Nemesianus, libro Cynegeticôn, where he saith:

Diuisa Britannia mittit

Veloces nostrîq; orbis venatibus aptos,

of which sort also some be smooth, of sundrie colours, and some shake haired: the sixt a liemer, that excelleth in smelling and swift running: the seuenth a tumbler: and the eight a théefe, whose offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft so skilfull, that few men would thinke so mischievous a wit to remaine in such sillie creatures. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chase and hunting, he commeth next to such as serue the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh also two sorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp such foule as keepeth in the water: and of these this is commonlie most vsuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he dooth shew at large. Of the first he saith, that they haue no peculiar names assigned to them seuerallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or serue, for which consideration some be named dogs for the feasant, some for the falcon, and some for the partrich. Howbeit the common name for all is spaniell (saith he) and therevpon alludeth, as if these kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like sort we haue of water spaniels in their kind. The third sort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the spaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the fistinghound, and those are called *Melitei*, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were brought hither. These are little

and prettie, proper and fine, and sought out far and néere to satisfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes; instruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treasure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupt concupiscences with vaine disport, a sillie poore shift to shun their irkesome idlenes. These Sybariticall puppies, the smaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleasure also they prouoke, as méet plaiefellowes for mising mistresses to beare in their bosoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to succour with sléepe in bed, and nourish with meat at boord, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like yong Dianaes) in their wagons and coches. And good reason it should be so, for coursenesse with finesse hath no fellowship, but featenesse with neatnesse hath neighbourhead inough. That plausible prouerbe therefore veriefied sometime vpon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his sow better than his sonne, may well be applied to some of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are depriued of all possibilitie of reason, than they doo in children that are capable of wisdom & iudgement. Yea, they oft féed them of the best, where the poore mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the woorst. But the former abuse peradventure reigneth where there hath béene long want of issue, else where barrennesse is the best blossome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne issue are not readie to be had. It is thought of some that it is verie wholesome for a weake stomach to beare such a dog in the bosome, as it is for him that hath the palsie to féele the dailie smell and sauour of a fox. But how truelie this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it shall suffice for Doctor Caius to haue said thus much of spaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

**Homelie  
kind of  
dogs.**

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either shepherds curs, or mastiffes. The first are so common, that it néedeth me not to speake of them. Their vse also is so well knowne in keeping the heard together (either when they grase or go before the shepherd) that it should be but in vaine to spend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind, and go in hand with the mastiffe, tie dog, or banddog, so called bicause manie of them are tied vp in chaines and strong bonds, in the daie time, for dooing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, stubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little swiftnesse) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Corsican cur. Our Englishmen to the intent that these dogs may be more cruell and fierce, assist nature with some art, vse and custome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, stout and bold: yet will they increase these their stomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other such like cruell and bloudie beasts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the same purpose) without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wrestling with a man (hauing for the safegard of his life either a pike staffe, club, sword, priuie coate) wherby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto strangers. The Caspians made so much account sometime of such great dogs, that euerie able man would nourish sundrie of them in his house of set purpose, to the end they should deuoure their carcasses after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the most honourable sepulchers. The common people also followed the same rate, and therefore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to deuoure them after their deaths: by means whereof these beasts became the more eger, and with great difficultie after a while restrained from falling vpon the liuing. But whither am I digressed? In returning therefore to our owne, I saie that of mastiffes, some barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, some doo both barke and bite, but the cruelliest doo either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take also their name of the word mase and théefe (or master théefe if you will) bicause they often stound and put such persons to their shifts in townes and villages, and are the principall causes of their apprehension and taking. The force which is in them surmounteth all beleefe, and the fast hold which they take with their téeth excéedeth all credit: for thrée of them against a beare, foure against a lion, are sufficient to trie mastries with them. King Henrie the seauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all such cures to be hanged, bicause they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is their king and souereigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as some saie, bicause he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne presence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, saieing that it was not méet for anie subiect to offer such wrong vnto his lord and superiour, wherein he had a further meaning. But if king Henrie the seauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue doone to one English mastiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe first an huge beare, then a pard, and last of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one daie, when the lord Buckhurst was ambassador vnto him, and whereof if I should write the circumstances, that is, how he tooke his aduantage being let lose vnto them, and finallie draue them into such excéeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I should take much paines, and yet reape but small credit: wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much thereof. Some of our mastiffes will rage onelie in the night, some are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such also as are suffered to go lose about the house and yard,

**Tie dogs.**

**Some barke  
and bite not.  
Some bite  
and barke  
not.**

are so gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaie with them, at their pleasures. Diuerse of them likewise are of such gelousie ouer their maister and whosoeuer of his houshold, that if a stranger doo imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame mischéeefe if their furie be not preuented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king sometime of Bithinia, who séeing Consigne the quéene to imbrace and kisse hir husband as they walked together in a garden, did teare hir all to peeces, mauger his resistance, and the present aid of such as attended on them. Some of them moreouer will suffer a stranger to come in and walke about the house or yard where him listeth, without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put foorth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flie vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither those that were of my house to be touched in his presence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue assaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or else pluck downe their clothes to saue them from the stripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith and loue towards their maisters than horsses; as may appeare euen by the confidence that Masinissa reposed in them, in so much that mistrusting his household seruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treasons and conspiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor of lesse force than the Molossian race, brought from Epiro into some countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the brasen dog that Vulcan made, and gaue to Iupiter, who also deliuered the same to Europa, she to Procris, and Procris to Cephalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither vnequall in carefulnesse to the mastiffe of Alexander Phereus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maister long time from slaughter, till at the last he was remooued by policie, and the tyrant killed sléeeping: the storie goeth thus. Thebe the wife of the said Phereus and hir three brethren conspired the death of hir husband, who fearing the dog onelie, she found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another house hard by, whilst they should execute their purpose. Neuerthelesse, when they came to the bed where he laie sléeeping, they waxed faint harted, till she did put them in choise, either that they should dispatch him at once, or else that she hir selfe would wake hir husband, and giue him warning of his enimies, or at the least wise bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared most of all: and therefore quicklie dispatched him.

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

The last kind of toiesh curs are named dansers, and those being of a mongrell sort also, are taught & exercised to danse in measure at the musicall sound of an instrument, as at the iust stroke of a drum, sweet accent of the citharne, and pleasant harmonie of the harpe, shewing manie trickes by the gesture of their bodies: as to stand bolt vpriht, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailles in their teeth, to saw and beg for meat, to take a mans cap from his head, and sundrie such properties, which they learne of their idle rogish masters whose instruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motleie, and coloured short wasted iackets are for the like vagabunds, who séeke no better liuing, than that which they may get by fond pastime and idlenesse. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betwéene a bitch and a wolfe, and called *Lycisca*: a thing verie often séene in France saith Franciscus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie their sault bitches often in woods, that they might be loined by tigers: also betweene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as we vtterlie want the first sort, except they be brought vnto vs: so it happeneth sometime, that the other two are ingendered and seene at home amongst vs. But all the rest heretofore remembered in



this chapter, there is none more ouglie and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in déed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betwéene the beare and the bandog. For whatsoever he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner teare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither wolfe, beare, nor lion, and therefore may well be compared with those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (& procreated as it is thought betwéene a mastiffe and male tiger, as be those also of Hircania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft seene betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I said) betwéene shée woolfes and dogs, whereof let this suffice; sith the further tractation of them dooth not concerne my purpose, more than the confutation of Cardans talke, "De subt." lib. 10. who saith, that after manie generations, dogs doo become woolfes, and contrariwise; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie woolfes: but nature hath set a difference betwéene them, not onelie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bones, wherefore it is vnpossible that his assertion can be sound.

## CHAP. VIII.

As the saffron of England, which Platina reckneth among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speaketh, neither to anie that commeth from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Ætolia, Sicilia or Licia, in swéetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that grows about Saffron Walden, sometime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Essex, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Gloucester shire and those westerlie parts, which some thinke to be better than that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by six pence or twelue pence most commonlie in the pound. The root of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent chestnut, & yet it is not clouded as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance "Inter bulbosa," as Orchis, hyacinthus orientalis, and Statyrion. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogether so brickle as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe flourisheth the root is litle & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small roots die, so that when the time dooth come to take them vp, they haue no roots at all, but so continue vntill September that they doo grow againe: and before the chiue be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if sheepe or neat may come to them on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were haie or stuble, some also will wroot for them in verie eager maner. The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as grasse, which come vp alwaies in October after the floures be gathered and gone, pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our siues. Sometimes our cattell will féed vpon the same; neuertheless, if it be bitten whilest it is gréene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to kéepe it from such annoiance vntill it begin to wither, and then also will the cattell soonest tast thereof: for vntill that time the iuice thereof is bitter. In euerie floure we find commonlie thrée chiues, and three yellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twisted floures I speake not; yet is it found, that two floures grow together, which bring forth fiue chiues, so that alwaies there is an od chiue and od yellow, though thrée or foure floures should come out of one root. The whole herbe is named in Gréeke *Crocus*, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) *Castor*, *Cynomorphos*, or Hercules blood: yet in the Arabian spéech, (from whence we borow the name which we giue thervnto) I find that it is called *Zahafaran*, as Rembert dooth beare witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called *Crocus* was this (as the poets feigne) speciallie those from whome Galen hath borrowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke "De medicamentis secundum loca," where he writeth after this maner (although I take *Crocus* to be the first that vsed this comoditie.) A certeine yong gentleman called *Crocus* went to plaie at coits in the field with Mercurie, and being héedlesse of himselfe, Mercuries coit happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogether, to the great discomfort of his freends. Finallie, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, wherevpon the people seeing the colour of the chiue as it stood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adjudged it to come of the blood of *Crocus*, and therefore they gaue it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c: differ verie much from Ouids *Metamorphos*. 4. who writeth also thereof. Indéed the chiue, while it remaineth whole & vnbrused, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vse, it yéeldeth a yellow tincture. But what haue we to doo with fables?

Occasion of  
the name.

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

Paring.

Gathering.

Sée  
Rembert.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the floure beginneth to appeere of a whitish blew, fesse or skie colour, and in the end shewing it selfe in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the Leucotion of Theophrast, sauing that it is longer, and hath in the midst thereof thrée chiues verie red and pleasant to behold. These floures are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them to welke or flutter. And the chiues being picked from the floures, these are throwne into the doonghill; the other dried vpon little kelles couered with streined canuasses vpon a soft fire: wherby, and by the weight that is laied vpon them, they are dried and pressed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the benefit of their owners. In good yeeres we gather foure score or an hundred pounds of wet saffron of an acre, which being dried dooth yeeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and sith the price of saffron is

commonlie about twentie shillings in monie, or not so little, it is easie to see what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the setter, which indeed are great, but yet not so much, as he shall be thereby a looser, if he be anie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre dooth cost 13 shillings foure pence before the saffron be set, the clodding sixtéene pence, the taking of euerie load of stones from the same foure pence, the raising of euerie quarter of heads six pence, and so much for clensing of them, besides the rent of ten shillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of doong which is woorth six pence the load to be laid on the first yéere, for the setting three and twentie shillings and foure pence, for the paring fiue shillings, six pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie set, and paie ten pounds for the same, yet shall he susteine no damage, if warme weather and open season doo happen at the gathering. This also is to be noted, that euerie acre asketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which contene eight or ten foot in breadth. And after thrée yeeres that ground will serue well, and without compest for barleie by the space of eightéene or twentie yéeres together, as experience dooth confirme. The heads also of euerie acre at the raising will store an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies together. But the best saffron is gathered at the first; at which time foure pounds of wet saffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middest fiue pounds of the one will make but one of the other, because the chiue waxeth smaller, as six at the last will doo no more but yéeld one of the dried, by reason of the chiue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres also the same ground may be set with saffron againe. And in lieu of a conclusion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will prosper best in a lighter soile; and contrariwise: which is one note that our crokers doo carefullie obserue.

**Raising.**

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

In Norffolke and Suffolke they raise but once in seuen yéeres: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridgeshire and about Walden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuffe. Some craftie iackes vse to mix it with scraped brazell or with the floure of Sonchus, which commeth somewhat neere indeed to the hue of our good saffron (if it be late gathered) but it is soone bewraied both by the depth of the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plentie of saffron about twentie yeeres passed, that some of the townesmen of Walden gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and sent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whilest the rest, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed vpon them (as wishing rather more scarsitie thereof because of the kéeping vp of the price) in most contemptuous maner murmured against him, saieng that he did shite saffron therewith to choake the market. But as they shewed themselues no lesse than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, so the Lord considered their vnthankfulnesse, & gaue them euer since such scarsitie, as the greatest murmurers haue now the least store; and most of them are either worne out of occupieng, or remaine scarce able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decaied about Saffron Walden since the said time, vntill now of late within these two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the same, because of the great commoditie. But to procéed. When the heads be raised and taken vp, they will remaine sixteene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by saint Iames tide, or verie shortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before Midsummer, or beginning of Iulie, the heads will shrinke like a rosted warden: so after August they will wax drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaie. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried some of them to London with me; and notwithstanding that they haue remained there vnset by the space of fortie dais and more: yet some of them haue brought forth two or thrée floures a peece, and some floures thrée or fiue chiues, to the greeat admiration of such as haue gathered the same, and not béene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers or saffron men doo vse an obseruation a litle before the comming vp of the floure, and sometime in the taking vp at Midsummer tide, by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and scarsitie of this commoditie to come. For if they see as it were manie small hairie veines of saffron to be in the middest of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to saie truth, at the cleauing of ech head, a man shall discerne

the saffron by the colour, and sée whereabouts the chiue will issue out of the root. Warne darke nights, swéet dewes, fat grounds (chéeflie the chalkie) and mistie mornings are verie good for saffron; but frost and cold doo kill and keepe backe the floure, or else shrinke vp the chiue. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of English saffron, which is hot in the second and drie in the first degré, and most plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yéere wherein ewes twin most. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, so I am otherwise sure, that there is no more deceit vsed in anie trade than in saffron. For in the making they will grease the papers on the kell with a little candle grease, to make the woorst saffron haue so good a colour as the best: afterwards also they will sprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both these are bewraied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a siluer spoone, or by the softnesse thereof betwéene the fore finger and the thumb; or thirdlie, by the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worse saffron of other countries, the colour will bewraie the forgerie by the swartnesse of the chiue, which otherwise would excell it, and therevnto being sound, remaine crispe, brickle, and drie: and finallie, if it be holden néere the face, will strike a certeine biting heat vpon the skin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indéed among the skilfull crokers.

Now if it please you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note these insuing at the request of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatsoever breutie I listed. Therefore our saffron (beside the manifold vse that it hath in the kitchen and pastrie, also in our cakes at bridals, and thanksgiuings of women) is verie profitably mingled with those medicins which we take for the diseases of the breast, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good also for the stomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the same and maketh good digestion: being sodden also in wine, it not onelie kéepeth a man from droonkennesse, but incorageth also vnto procreation of issue. If you drinke it in sweet wine, it enlargeth the breath, and is good for those that are troubled with the tisike and shortnesse of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it staieth such humors as descend into the same, and taketh awaie the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be sowed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in presses amongst tapistrie or apparell: also it is verie profitablie laid vnto all inflammations, painefull apothumes, and the shingles; and dooth no small ease vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with such medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vse also in ripening of botches and all swellings procéeding of raw humors. Or if it shall please you to drinke the root thereof with maluesie, it will maruellouslie prouoke vrine, dissolue and expell grauell, and yéeld no small ease to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finallie, thrée drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one shilling nine pence halfepenie, is deadlie poison; as Dioscorides dooth affirme: and droonke in wine (saith Platina) lib. 3. cap. 13. "De honesta voluptate," dooth hast on droonkennesse, which is verie true. And I haue knowne some, that by eating onelie of bread more than of custome streined with saffron, haue become like droonken men, & yet otherwise well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this also, if a man doo but open and ransake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants doo when they buie it of the crokers, it will strike such an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they shall be giddie and sicke (I meane for two or three houres space) their noses and eies in like sort will yéeld such plentie of rheumatike water, that they shall be the better for it long after, especiallie their eiesight, which is woonderfullie clarified by this meanes: howbeit some merchants not liking of this physike, muffle themselues as women doo when they ride, and put on spectacles set in leather, which dooth in some measure (but not for altogether) put by the force thereof. There groweth some saffron in manie places of Almaine, and also about Vienna in Austria, which later is taken for the best that springeth in those quarters. In steed of this some doo vse the Carthamus, called amongst vs bastard saffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in any wise comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this suffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hils, & in all the vale of the White horsse so well as in Walden and Cambridgeshire, if they were carefull of it. I heare of some also to be cherished alreadie in Glocestershire, and certeine other places westward. But of the finenesse and tincture of the chiue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my councitmen had beene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue prooued more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or wooll. But alas! so idle are we, and heretofore so much giuen to ease, by reason of the smalnesse of our rents, that few men regard to search out which are their best commodities. But if landlords hold on to raise the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and scratch out their rent from vnder euerie clod that may be turned aside. The greatest mart for saffron is at Aquila in Abruzo, where they haue an especiall weight for the same of ten pounds lesse in the hundred than that of Florens and Luke: but how it agréeth with ours it shall appéere hereafter.

## CHAP. IX.

Quarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our stone to build withall, & of these as we haue great plentie in England, so are they of diuerse sorts, and those verie profitable for sundrie necessarie vses. In times past the vse of stone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houses, princely palaces, bishops manours, and holds onlie: but now that scrupulous obseruation is altogether infringed, and building with stone so commonlie taken vp, that amongst noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are supposed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and least continuance of all. It farre passeth my cunning to set downe how manie sorts of stone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names. Howbeit, such is the curiositie of our countrimen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath so blessed our realme in most plentifull maner, with such and so manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longest continuance, yet we as lothsome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, doo commonlie leaue these naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie consumed and spent, to the no small decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that perish oft for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in misliking of our owne commodities at home, and desiring those of other countries abroad, most estéemed the cane stone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in these our daies following the same veine, doo couet in their works almost to vse none other. Howbeit experience on the one side, and our skilfull masons on the other (whose iudgement is nothing inferiour to those of other countries) doo affirme, that in the north and south parts of England, and certeine other places, there are some quarries, which for hardnesse and beautie are equall to the outlandish greet. This maie also be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greatest part of the square stone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the veine of white free stone, slate, and méere stone, which is betwéene Pentowen, and the blacke head in Cornewall, for verie fine stuffe. Other doo speake much of the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Milberie, and pauing stone of Burbecke. For toph stone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dreslie, diuerse mislike not of the veins of hard stone that are at Oxford, and Burford. One praiseth the free stone at Manchester, & Prestburie in Glocestershire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh well of the hard stone in Clee hill in Shropshire; the fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries inow, and good inough in England, sufficient for vs to build withall, if the péeuish contempt of our owne commodities, and delectations to inrich other countries, did not catch such foolish hold vpon vs. It is also verified (as anie other waie) that all nations haue rather néed of England, than England of anie other. And this I thinke may suffice for the substance of our works. Now if you haue regard to their ornature, how manie mines of sundrie kinds of course & fine marble are there to be had in England? But chieflie one in Staffordshire, an other neere to the Peke, the third at Vauldrie, the fourth at Snothill (longing to the lord Chaindois) the fift at Eglestone, which is of blacke marble, spotted with graie or white spots, the sixt not farre from Durham. Of white marble also we haue store, and so faire as the Marpesian of Paris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the most excellent? sith these which I haue named alredie are not altogether of the best, nor scarselie of anie value in comparison of those, whose places of growth are vtterlie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble spotted with greene is none of the vilest sort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, and also in Westminster, where some pièces thereof are yet to be séene and marked, if anie will looke for them. If marble will not serue, then haue we the finest alabaster that maie elsewhere bée had, as about saint Dauids of Wales; also neere to Beau manour, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leicester, & taken to be the best, although there are diuerse other quarries hereof beyond the Trent, as in Yorkeshire, &c: and fullie so good as that, whose names at this time are out of my remembrance. What should I talke of the plaister of Axholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in sundrie places of Lincolne and Darbishes, wherewith they blanch their houses in stead of lime, I speake not) certes it is a fine kind of alabaster. But sith it is sold commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge it to be but vile and course. For my part I cannot skill of stone, yet in my opinion it is not without great vse for plaister of paris, and such is the mine of it, that the stones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an other like plankes or tables, and vnder the same is an excéeding hard stone verie profitable for building, as hath often times béene prooued. This is also to be marked further of our plaister white and graie, that not contented with the same, as God by the quarrie dooth send and yéeld it foorth, we haue now deuised to cast it in moulds for windowes and pillars of what forme and fashion we list, euen as alabaster it selfe: and with such stuffe sundrie houses in Yorkeshire are furnished of late. But of what continuance this deuise is like to proue, the time to come shall easilie bewraie. In the meane time sir Rafe Burcher knight

hath put the deuise in practise, and affirmeth that six men in six moneths shall trauell in that trade to see greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in six yeares could before this tricke was inuented.

If neither alabaster nor marble doeth suffice, we haue the touchstone, called in Latine *Lydius lapis*, shining as glasse, either to match in sockets with our pillers of alabaster, or contrariwise: or if it please the workeman to ioine pillers of alabaster or touch with sockets of brasse, pewter, or copper, we want not also these mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stufte for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own but other mens do most of all delite vs; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorsses for children, dogs of wax or of chéese, two pennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkeshoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries. I might remember here our pits for milstones, that are to be had in diuerse places of our countrie, as in Angleseie, Kent, also at Queene hope of blew gréet, of no lesse value than the Colaine, yea than the French stones: our grindstones for hardware men. Our whetstones are no lesse laudable than those of Creta & Lacedemonia, albeit we vse no oile with them, as they did in those parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Naxians doo with theirs: whereas they that grow in Cilicia must haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or else they make no edge. These also are diuided either into the hard greet, as the common that shoemakers vse, or the soft gréet called hones, to be had among the barbaras, and those either blacke or white, and the rub or brickle stone which husbandmen doo occupie in the whetting of their sithes.

In like maner slate of sundrie colours is euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the shalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this wée must fetch them still from farre, as did the Hull men their stones out of Iseland, wherewith they paued their towne for want of the like in England: or as sir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the stones in Flanders, wherewith he paued the Burse. But as he will answer peradventure, that he bargained for the whole mould and substance of his workemanship in Flanders: so the Hullanders or Hull men will saie, how that stockefish is light loding, and therefore they did balasse their vessels with these Iseland stones, to keepe them from turning ouer in their so tedious a voiage. And thus much brieflie of our quarries of stone for building, wherein oftentimes the workemen haue found strange things inclosed, I meane liuelie creatures shut vp in the hard stones, and liuing there without respiration or breathing, as frogs, todes, &c: whereof you shall read more in the chronologie following: also in Caius Langius, William of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amsterdam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib. 19. cap. 9. "De rebus metallicis," and Goropius in Niloscopio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime also they find pretious stones (though seldome) and some of them perfectlie squared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was so perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in the world had cōsulted about the performance of that workemanship. I know that these reports vnto some will séeme incredible, and therefore I stand the longer vpon them; neuerthesse omitting to speake particularlie of such things as happen amongst vs, and rather séeking to confirme the same by the like in other countries, I will deliuer a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof shall so much the better appeare. For in the midst of a stone not long since found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was séene *Caput panisci* inclosed therin, very perfectlie formed as the beholders doo remember. How come the grains of gold to be so fast inclosed in the stones that are & haue béene found in the Spanish Bætis? But this is most maruellous, that a most delectable and sweet oile, comparable to the finest balme, or oile of spike in smell, was found naturallie included in a stone, which could not otherwise be broken but with a smiths hammer. Goropius dooth tell of a pearch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then \* committed into hard stone, vpon the top of a crag. Aristotle and Theophrast speake of fishes digged out of the earth, farre from the sea in Greece, which Seneca also confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a serpent was found fast inclosed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, so that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of stone at Auignon, wherein, a man had béene buried, which so filled the roome, and laie so close from aire, that all men woondered how it was possible for the same to liue and continue so long time there. Finallie I my selfe haue séene stones opened, and within them the substances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far shorter) whose crests and wrinkles of bodie appeared also therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the stones by art and industrie of man. Wherefore to affirme; that as well liuing creatures, as pretious stones, gold, &c: are now and then found in our quarries, shall not hereafter be a thing so incredible as manie talking philosophers, void, of all experience, doo affirme, and wilfullie mainteine against such as hold the contrarie.

\* [Sic.]

## CHAP. X.

With how great benefits this Iland of ours hath béene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confesse, and yéeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the same. For we are blessed euerie waie, & there is no temporall commoditie necessarie to be had or craued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in most aboundant maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen, if we could sée to vse it, & be thankfull for the same. But alas (as I said in the chapter precedent) we loue to enrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one trifling toie not woorth the cariage, cōming (as the prouerbe saith) in thrée ships from beyond the sea is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home. They haue also the cast to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they see that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be so that they haue also the like in their owne countries) they will suddenlie abase the same to so low a price, that our gaine not being woorthie our trauell, and the same commoditie with lesse cost readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it causeth vs to giue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obtaine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cause wherefore our commodities are oft so little estéemed of. Some of them can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case of a fox of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practise vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science! But to my purpose.

**The lord  
Mountioy.**

We haue in England great plentie of quicke siluer, antimonie, sulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We haue also the finest alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest faouurers of the common-wealth of England of a subiect hath béene of late egregiously abused, and euen almost with barbarous inciuiltie) & of no lesse force against fire, if it were vsed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vse sometime amongst the Asians & Romans, & wherof Sylla had such triall that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes set it on fire in a long time, because it was washed ouer with alume, as were also the gates of the temple of Jerusalem with like effect, and perceiued when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the same. Beside this we haue also the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the sulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for mortar, and yet burned in lamps where oile is scant and geason: the chrysocolle, coperis, and minerall stone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and colour most excellent of all other, so are they digged out of the maine land, and in sundrie places far distant from the shore. Certes the westerne part of the land hath in times past greatlie abounded with these and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are washed awaie by the violence of the sea, which hath deuoured the greatest part of Cornewall and Deuonshire on either side: and it dooth appere yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betweene the Syllan Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to speke of scarselie a brooke or draine of one fadam water betwéene them, if so much, as by those euidences appeereth, and are yet to be séene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Iles. But to procéed.

Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Iland, as may suffice for all the realme of England: and so must they doo hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherrished than it is at this present. And to saie the truth, notwithstanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greatest trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may appere alreadie in most cities and townes that lie about the coast, where they haue but little other fewell, except it be turffe and hassocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of these into Sussex and Southampton shire, for want whereof the smiths doo worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Beside our colemines we haue pits in like sort of white plaster, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitants doo compost their soile, and which dooth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue saltpeter for our ordinance, and salt soda for our glasse, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerie as I weene hard by Codington, and sometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is so fine to make moulds for goldsmiths and casters of mettall, that a load of it was woorth fiue shillings thirtie yeares agone: none such againe they saie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankfull to God for these and other his benefits bestowed vpon vs,

whereby he sheweth himselfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrariewise returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickednesse, auarice, meere contempt of his will, pride, excesse, atheisme, and no lesse than Iewish ingratitude.



## CHAP. XI.

All mettals receiue their beginning of quicksiluer and sulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And such is the purpose of nature in their generations: that she tendeth alwaies to the procreation of gold, neuerthelesse she sildome reacheth vnto that hir end, bicause of the vnequall mixture and proportion of these two in the substance ingendered, whereby impediment and corruption is induced, which as it is more or lesse, dooth shew it selfe in the mettall that is producted. First of all therefore the substance of sulphur and quicksiluer being mixed in due proportion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, orderlie ingrossed and fixed, becommeth gold, which Encelius dooth call the sunne and right heire of nature: but if it swarue but a little (saith he) in the commixtion and other circumstances, then dooth it product siluer the daughter, not so noble a child as gold hir brother, which among mettall is worthilie called the cheefe. Contrariwise, the substances of the aforesaid parents mixed without proportion, and lesse digested and fixed in the entrailes of the earth, whereby the radicall moisture becommeth combustibile and not of force to indure heat and hammer, dooth either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were the first mettals knowne in time past vnto antiquitie, although that in these daies there are diuerse other, whereof neither they nor our alchumists had euer anie knowledge. Of these therfore which are reputed among the third sort, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, so will I intreat of them, and with such breuitie as may serue the turne, and yet not altogether omit to saie somewhat of gold and siluer also, bicause I find by good experience how it was not said of old time without great reason, that all countries haue need of Britaine, and Britaine it selfe of none. For truelie if a man regard such necessities as nature onelie requireth, there is no nation vnder the sunne, that can saie so much as ours: sith we doo want none that are conuenient for vs. Wherefore if it be a benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not void of some, neither likewise of siluer: whatsoever Cicero affirmeth to the contrarie, Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16. in whose time they were not found, "Britannici belli exitus (saith he) expectatur, constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse vllum in illa insula, neque vllam spem prædæ nisi ex mancipijs, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos expectare." And albeit that we haue no such abundance of these (as some other countries doo yéeld) yet haue my rich countrimen store inough of both in their purses, where in time past they were woont to haue least, bicause the garnishing of our churches, tabernacles, images, shrines and apparell of the préests consumed the greatest part, as experience hath confirmed.

Gold.  
Siluer.

Of late my countriemen haue found out I wot not what voiage into the west Indies, from whence they haue brought some gold, whereby our countrie is enriched: but of all that euer aduentured into those parts, none haue sped better than sir Francis Drake whose successe 1582 hath far passed euen his owne expectation. One Iohn Frobisher in like maner attempting to séeke out a shorter cut by the northerlie regions into the peaceable sea and kingdome of Cathaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared, and so much that some letted not to giue out for certeintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden shew made him so desirous also of like successe, that he left off his former voiage, & returned home to bring news of such things as he had seene. But when after another voiage it was found to be but drosse, he gaue ouer both the enterprises, and now keepeth home without anie desire at all to séeke into farre countries. In truth, such was the plentie of ore there séene and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue furnished all the world with abundance of that mettall; the iorneie also was short and performed in foure or fiue moneths, which was a notable encouragement. But to proceed.

Tin.  
Lead.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried vnto Marsilis from hence, as Diodorus also confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs, the one in Cornewall, Deunshire (& else-where in the north) the other in Darbshire, Weredale, and sundrie places of this Iland; whereby my countriemen doo reape no small commoditie, but especiallie our pewterers, who in time past imploied the vse of pewter onelie vpon dishes, pots, and a few other trifles for seruice here at home, whereas now they are growne vnto such exquisit cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infusion anie forme or fashion of cup, dish, salt, bowle, or goblet, which is made by goldsmiths craft, though they be neuer so curious, exquisite, and artificiallie forged. Such furniture of household of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of vessell, is sold vsuallie by the garnish, which dooth containe twelue platters, twelue dishes, twelue saucers, and those are either of siluer fashion, or else with brode or narrow brims, and bought by the pound, which is now valued at six or seuen pence, or peradventure at eight pence. Of porringers, pots, and other like I speake not, albeit that in the making of all these things there is such exquisite diligence vsed, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reason of sharpe laws prouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any

other trade. I haue béene also informed that it consisteth of a composition, which hath thirtie pounds of kettle brasse to a thousand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad thrée or foure pounds of tinglasse: but as too much of this dooth make the stuffe brickle, so the more the brasse be, the better is the pewter, and more profitable vnto him that dooth buie and purchase the same. But to proceed.

In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter of an ordinarie making (I saie flat, bicause dishes and platters in my time begin to be made déepe like basons, and are indéed more conuenient both for sawce, broth, and kéeping the meat warme) is estéemed almost so pretious, as the like number of vessels that are made of fine siluer, and in maner no lesse desired amongst the great estates, whose workmen are nothing so skilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall so good, nor plentie so great, as we haue here in England. The Romans made excellent looking glasses of our English tin, howbeit our workemen were not then so exquisite in that feat as the Brundusiens: wherefore the wrought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie highlie were those glasses estéemed of till siluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the tin into such contempt, that in manner euerie dishwasher refused to looke in other than siluer glasses for the attiring of hir head. Howbeit the making of siluer glasses had béene in vse before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Praxiteles deuised them in the yoong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of Cæsar into this Iland.

There were mines of lead sometimes also in Wales, which indured so long till the people had consumed all their wood by melting of the same (as they did also at Comeristwith six miles from Stradflour) and I suppose that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he speaketh) was to be found in those parts, in the seauentéenth of his thirtie fourth booke: also he affirmeth that it laie in the verie swart of the earth, and dailie gotten in such plentie, that the Romans made a restraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much should yearelie be wrought and transported ouer the sea. And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling néere Comeristwith (as Leland saith) had made so tame, that it would dailie flie and follow him to his worke and other places where soeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome or vallie, where the first mine was knowne to be, did laie his purse and girdle by him, as men commonlie doo that addresse themselues to applie their businesse earnestlie, and he himselfe also had vsed from time to time before. The crow likewise was verie busie flittering about him, and so much molested him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be short, in the end the crow, hastilie caught vp his girdle and purse, and made awaie withall so fast as hir wings could carrie hir. Héerevpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to lose peradventure all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduventure and ran after the bird, curssing and menacing that he should lose his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the means whereby his life was saued, for he had not béene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I should take vpon me to discourse and search out the cause of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I should peradventure set my selfe further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I persuaded, that the crow was Gods instrument herein, wherby the life of this poore labourer was preserued. It was doone also in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a shoemaker of Dutch land in his shop or stoue: who séeing the same to sit vpon the perch among his shoone, verie heauilie and drouisie, said vnto the bird: What aileth my iacke, whie art thou sad and pensiué? The crow hearing his maister speake after this sort vnto him, answered (or else the diuell within him) out of the psalter: "Cogitauit dies antiquos & æternos in mente habui." But whither am I digressed, from lead vnto crows, & from crows vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and resume the tractation of such things as I had earst in hand.

**Iron.** Iron is found in manie places, as in Sussex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walshall, as also in Shropshire, but chéeflie in the woods betwixt Beluos and Willocke or Wicherie néere Manchester, and elsewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerse doo bring forth so fine and good stuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the sea, beside the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would so accept it, or bestow a little more cost in the refining of it. It is also of such toughnesse, that it yéeldeth to the making of claricord wire in some places of the realme. Neuerthelesse, it was better cheape with vs when strangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vse it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to shut out forreners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expense and waste of wood, as dooth the making of our pots and table vessell of glasse, wherein is much losse sith it is so quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) easie to be made tougher, if our alchumists could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whose mixture would induce a metalllicall toughnesse vnto it, whereby it should abide the hammer.

**Copper.** Copper is latelie not found, but rather restored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue béene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as strangers haue most commonly the gouernance of our mines, so they hitherto make small gains of this in

hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit dooth verie hardlie counteruaile the charges; whereat wise men doo not a litle maruell, considering the abundance which that mine dooth séeme to offer, and as it were at hand. Leland our councieman noteth sundrie great likelihoods of naturall copper mines to be eastwards, as betwéene Dudman and Trewardth in the sea cliffes, beside other places, whereof diuerse are noted here and there in sundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it shall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchasite, I speake not of it, sith it is not incident to my purpose. In Dorsetshire also a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

**Stéele.**

As for our stéele, it is not so good for edge-tooles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often sold for the other, and like tale vsed in both, that is to saie, thirtie gads to the sheffe, and twelue sheffes to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our spoones and some salts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with some, albeit in truth it be much subiect to corruption, putrifaction, more heauie and foule to handle than our pewter; yet some ignorant persons affirme it to be a mettall more naturall, and the verie same which Encelius calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wisemute, mithan, & counterfeie, adding, that where it groweth, siluer can not be farre off. Neuerthelesse it is knowne to be a mixture of brasse, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vsed in pewter. But alas I am persuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchumists of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof doo séeme to come out of their forge. For the common sort indeed doo call it alchumie, an vnwholsome mettall (God wot) and woorthie to be banished and driuen out of the land. And thus I conclude with this discourse, as hauing no more to saie of the mettals of my countrie, except I should talke of brasse, bell mettall, and such as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but saie that there is some brasse found also in England, but so small is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be estéemed or accounted of.

## CHAP. XII.

Geat.

Laon.  
Chalchondile.

The old writers remember few other stones of estimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates*: wherevnto furthermore they ascribe sundrie properties, as vsuallie practised here in times past, whereof none of our writers doo make anie mention at all. Howbeit whatsoever it hath pleased a number of strangers (vpon false surmise) to write of the vsages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginite of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof against the time of their bestowing in mariage: certeine it is that euen to this daie there is some plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbshire and about Barwike, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundrie trifling toies are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing so fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dailie from the maine. But as these men are drowned with the common errorr conceiued of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like stones bred about Luke and all other countries wheresoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus also writing of the same among other of estimation, saith thus:

Nascitur in Lycia lapis & propè gemma Gagates,  
Sed genus eximium fœcunda Britannia mittit,  
Lucidus & niger est, leuis & leuissimus idem,  
Vicinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,  
Ardet aqua lotus, restinguitur vnctus oliuo.

The Germane writers confound it with amber as it were a kind therof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, so I read that it taketh name of Gagas a citie and riuier in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as Dioscorides saith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforesaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vse of it in driuing awaie of serpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glased the church withall that standeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light should enter therby. The writers also diuide this stone into fiewe kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another straked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerse colours, among which some are like drops of bloud (but those come out of Inde) and the fift shining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the first stones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renownme; in so much that the onelie desire of them caused Cæsar to aduenture hither, after he had séene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a taberd which he offered vp in Rome to Venus, where it hoong long after as a rich and notable oblation and testimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in these our daies, and thereto of diuerse colours, in no lesse numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now so much desired bicause of their smalnesse, and also for other causes, but especiallie sith churchworke, as copes, vestments, albes, tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and such trash, are worthilie abolished; vpon which our countrimen superstitiously bestowed no small quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops miters, bookes and other pontificall vestures, but were either throughlie fretted, or notablie garnished with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewise speaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

Gignit & insignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus also Lib. 23, "in ipso fine," speaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie those of Persia before them, which to me dooth séeme vnequallie doone. But as the British geat or orient pearle were in old time estéemed about those of other countries; so time hath since the conquest of the Romans reuealed manie other: insomuch that at this season there are found in England the Aetites (in English called the ernestone, but for erne some pronounce eagle) and the hematite or bloodstone, and these verie pure and excellent: also the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the christall, and those other which we call calaminars and speculares, besides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to sight, is yet much softer (as most are that are found & bred toward the north) than those that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue also vpon our coast the white corall, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the sea in the albe, néere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioscorides intreateth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like sort sundrie other stones dailie found in cliffes and rocks (beside the load stone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof such as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or else doo make but small account, being seduced by outlandish lapidaries, whereof the most part discourage vs from the searching and séeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more frée vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great

gaines amongst such as haue no skill.

**Trial of a  
stone.**

**Lib. 7.**

I haue heard that the best triall of a stone is to laie it on the naile of the thombe, and so to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, especiallie toward the naile, then is it not sound, but rather to be taken for an artificiall péece of practise. If this be true it is an experiment woorthie the noting. Cardan also hath it in his "De subtilitate;" if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who saieth, that a cup of iuie will hold no wine at all. I haue made some vessels of the same wood, which refuse no kind of liquor, and therefore I suppose that there is no such *Antipathia* betweene wine and our iuie, as some of our reading philosophers (without all maner of practise) will seeme to infer amongst vs: and yet I denie not but the iuie of Gréece or Italie may haue such a propertie; but why should not the iuie then of France somewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter soile than ours is? For as Baptista porta saith, it holdeth not also in the French iuie, wherfore I can not beléeue that it hath anie such qualitie at all as Cato ascribeth vnto it. What should I say more of stones? Trulie I can not tell, sith I haue said what I may alreadie, and peradventure more than I thinke necessarie: and that causeth me to passe ouer those that are now & then taken out of our oisters, todes, muskels, snailes and adders, and likewise such as are found vpon sundrie hils in Glocestershire, which haue naturallie such sundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as passe all humane possibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer so skilfull and cunning, also those that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much desired of such as haue the stone, & yet of themselues are no stones but rather shels or gristles, which in time consume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if those which are found in muskels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in déed, I haue at sundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of which diuerse haue holes alreadie entered by nature, some of them not much inferiour to great peason in quantitie, and thereto of sundrie colours, as it happeneth amongst such as are brought from the esterlie coast to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesh, stale stinking fish and welked muskels are thought to be good meat; for other fish is too déere amongst vs when law dooth bind vs to vse it. Sée more for the generation of pearls in the description of Scotland, for there you shall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called orient, because of the cléerenesse, which resembleth the colour of the cléere aire before the rising of the sun. They are also sought for in the later end of August, a little before which time the swéetnesse of the dew is most conuenient for that kind of fish, which dooth ingender and conceiue them, whose forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north also that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their substances of better valure, as lapidaries doo giue out.

## CHAP. XIII.

There are in England certein welles where salt is made, whereof Leland hath written abundantlie in his cōmentaries of Britaine, and whose words onlie I will set downe in English as he wrote them, bicause he seemeth to haue had diligent consideration of the same, without adding anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where necessitie dooth inforce me for the méere aid of the reader, in the vnderstanding of his mind. Directing therefore his iournie from Worcester in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he saith thus: From Worcester I road to the Wich by inclosed soile, hauing meetlie good corne ground, sufficient wood and good pasture, about a six miles off, Wich standeth somewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two small hils on the left ripe (for so he calleth the banke of euerie brooke through out all his English treatises) of a pretie riuer which not far beneath the Wich is called Salope brooke. The beautie of the towne in maner standeth in one stréet, yet be there manie lanes in the towne besides. There is also a meane church in the maine stréet, and once in the wéeke an indifferent round market. The towne of it selfe is somewhat foule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reason of much cariage through the stréets, which are verie ill pauered or rather not pauered at all. The great aduancement also hereof is by making of salt. And though the commoditie thereof be singular great, yet the burgesses be poore generallie, bicause gentlemen haue for the most part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whilst the poore burgesses yeeld vnto all the labour. There are at this present time thrée hundred salters, and thrée salt springs in the towne of Wich, whereof the principall is within a butshoot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this spring is double so profitable in yéelding of salt liquor, as both the other. Some saie (or rather fable) that this salt spring did faile in the time of Richard de la Wich bishop of Chichester, and that afterwards by his intercession it was restored to the profit of the old course (such is the superstition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peradventure for the zeale which the Wich men and salters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their countriman, they vsed of late times on his daie (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this salt spring or well about with tapistrie, and to haue sundrie games, drinkings, and foolish reuels at it. But to procéed. There be a great number of salt cotes about this well, wherein the salt water is sodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white salt. The other two salt springs be on the left side of the riuer a pretie waie lower than the first, and (as I found) at the verie end of the towne. At these also be diuerse fornaces to make salt, but the profit and plentie of these two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riseth by the greatest. I asked of a salter how manie fornaces they had at all the three springs, and he numbred them to eightéene score, that is, thrée hundred and sixtie, saieng how euerie one of them paiéd yearelie six shillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and therevpon they giue a fee farme (or *Vectigal*) of one hundred pounds yearelie. Certes the pension is as it was, but the number of fornaces is now increased to foure hundred. There was of late search made for another salt spring thereabouts, by the meanes of one Newport a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appéereth, as dooth also the wood and timber which was set about it, to kéepe vp the earth from falling into the same. But this pit was not since occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the salt spring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. Me thinke that if wood and sale of salt would serue, they might dig and find more salt springs about the Wich than thrée, but there is somewhat else in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a salt spring was found in an other quarter of Worcestershire, but it grew to be without anie vse, sith the Wich men haue such a priuilege, that they alone in those quarters shall haue the making of salt. The pits be so set about with gutters, that the salt water is easilie turned to euerie mans house, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of such as dwell on the other side of the same. They séeth also their salt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the salt some in cases of wicker, through which the water draineth, and the salt remaineth. There be also two or thrée but verie little salt springs at Dertwich, in a low bottome, where salt is sometime made.

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the bush but another catcheth the birds, as we may seee in bat-fowling.

Priuileges doo sometimes harme.

Of late also a mile from Cumbremere abbaie a peece of an hill did sinke, and in the same pit rose a spring of salt water, where the abbat began to make salt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & couent that there should be none made there, whereby the pit was suffered to go to losse. And although it yéelded salt water still of it selfe, yet it was spoiled at the last and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vse the cōmoditie of their salt springs in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by six moneths in the yeare, that is, from Midsummer to Christmas, as (I gesse) to mainteine the price of salt, or for sauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reason. For making of salt is a great and notable destruction of wood, and shall be greater hereafter, except some prouision be made for the better increase of firing. The lacke of wood also is already perceiued in places néere the Wich, for whereas they vsed to buie and take their wood neere vnto their occupiengs, those woonted springs are now decaied, and they be inforced to seeke their wood so far as

Worcester towne, and all the parts about Brenisgraue, Alchirch, and Alcester. I asked a salter how much wood he supposed yearelie to be spent at these fornaces? and he answered that by estimation there was consumed about six thousand load, and it was round pole wood for the most, which is easie to be cleft, and handsomelie riuen in péeces. The people that are about the fornaces are verie ill coloured, and the iust rate of euerie fornace is to make foure loads of salt yearelie, and to euerie load goeth fiue or six quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornace men make more in one fornace than foure loads, it is (as it is said) imploied to their owne auaille. And thus much hath Leland left in memorie of our white salt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making also of baie salt in some part of our countrie. But sith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie salt can not be framed in anie order, bicause my memorie will not serue to shew the true maner and the place. It shall suffice therfore to haue giuen such notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aswell the baie as white are wrought and made in England, and more white also vpon the west coast toward Scotland, in Essex and else where, out of the salt water betwéene Wire and Cokermouth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. Finallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall salt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with such mettals as are growing here in England.

## CHAP. XIV.

As *Libra* is *As* or *Assis* to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in standard measure: so in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie consisting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greatest of the least, and least of the greatest, whereby we keepe our reckoning: for of the houre (to saie the truth) the most ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrues had anie vse; sith they reckoned by watches: and whereof also Censorinus cap. 19. sheweth a reason wherefore they were neglected. For my part I doo not see anie great difference vsed in the obseruation of time & hir parts, betwéene our owne & any other forren nation, wherfore I shall not néed to stand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein shall appéere vnto all men, I will set downe some short rehearsall thereof, and that in so briefe manner as vnto me is possible. As for our astronomically practises, I meane not to meddle with them, sith their course is vniformelie obserued, ouer all. Our common order therefore is to begin at the minut, which conteineth  $\frac{1}{60}$  part of an houre, as at the smallest part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithstanding that in most places they descend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from whence they procéed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentieth part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which dooth begin at midnight, and is obserued continually by clockes, dialles, and astronomically instruments of all sorts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is so great here in England, as no place else (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not speake of the cost bestowed vpon them in perle and stone, neither of the valure of mettall, whereof they haue béene made, as gold, siluer, &c: and almost no abbeie or religious house without some of them. This onelie shall suffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in these things, so in our time pompe and excesse spendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to shew their quantities, differences, and diuisions, into the greater and the lesser, (whereof the later conteineth one vnequall houre, or the rising of halfe a signe, the other of a whole signe, which is in two houres space, wherof Marke seemth to speake cap. 15 c 25, as the rest of the euangelists (yea and he also *ibid.* vers. 33) doo of the other, Matth. 27 e 45, Luke 23 e 44, John 19 b 14) it should be but in vaine. In like sort, wheras the elder Aegyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Atheniens, and Iews begin their daie at the sun set ouer night; the Persians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Noribergians, at the sun rising (ech of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) also the elder Atheniens, Arabians, Dutchmen, Vmbers, Hetrurians, and Astronomers at high noone, and so reckon from noone to noone: we after Hipparchus and the latter Aegyptians, or to speake more properlie, imitating the Roman maner vsed in the church there of long time, choose the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto middaie insuing, and other twelue againe vnto the aforesaid point, according to these verses;

Manè diem Græca gens incipit astra sequentes  
In medio lucis Iudæis vespere sancta,  
Inchoat ecclesia media sua tempora nocte.

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make so farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the sun is vp, and night when the sun leaueth our horizon. Otherwise also we diuide it into two parts, that is to saie, fore noone and after noone, not regarding the ruddie, shining, burning and warming seasons (of thrée vnequall houres a péece, which others séeme to diuide into spring time, summer, autumn, and winter, in like curious manner) and whereof I read these verses:

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,  
Hæc rubet, hæc splendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

Indéed our physicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no lesse learning no doubt than the best of forren countries, if we could so conceiue of them. And herein they concurre also with those of other nations, who for distinction in regiment of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night in such wise as these verses doo import, and are indéed a generall rule which ech of them doth follow:

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres sanguinis imas,  
Vis cholerae medias lucis sex vendicat horas.  
Dátque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,  
Centrales ponas sex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Or thus, as Tansteter hath giuen them foorth in his prelections:

A nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis,  
Est dominus sanguis, sex inde sequentibus horis  
Est dominans cholera, dum lucis nona sit hora  
Post niger humid inest donec sit tertia noctis,  
Posthæc phlegma venit, donec sit nona quietis.



*In English thus in effect:*

Three houres yer sun doo rise,  
and so manie after, blud,  
From nine to three at after noone,  
hot choler beares the swaie,  
Euen so to nine at night,  
swart choler hath to rule,  
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;  
six houres ech one I saie.

- Night.** In like sort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wheras the Latins diuide the same into 7 parts, as *Vesper* or *Vesperugo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil vseth the word *Hesper* the euening, which is immediatlie after the setting of the sun. *Crepusculum* the twilight (which some call *Prima fax*, because men begin then to light candles) when it is betweene daie and night, light and darknesse, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium* the still of the night, when each one is laid to rest. **Crepusculum.**
- Vesper.**
- Concubium.**
- Intempestum.** *Intempestum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sléepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum siue aurora*, the ruddie, orange, golden or shining colour, séene immediatlie before the rising of the sun, and is opposite to the euening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight. **Gallicinium. Conticinium. Matutinum. Diluculum.**
- Watches.** Other there are which doo reckon by watches, diuiding the night after sun setting into foure equall parts. Of which the first beginneth at euening called the first watch, and continueth by thrée vnequall houres, and so foorth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entreth, which is called the morning watch, bicause it concurrerth partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the rising of the sun.
- Heure.** As for the originall of the word heure, it is verie ancient; but yet not so old as that of the watch, wherof we shall read abundantlie in the scriptures, which was deuised first among souldiors for their better safegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof is almost vsed among our seafaring men, which they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time with great héed and some solemnitie. Herevnto the word *Hora* among the Grecians signified so well the foure quarters of the yéere, as the foure and twentieth part of the daie, and limits of anie forme. But what stand I vpon these things to let my purpose staie? To procéed therefore.
- Wéeke.** Of naturall daies is the wéeke compacted, which consisteth of seauen of them, the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar sort either king or worling, bicause it is either the fairest or foulest of the seauen: albeit that I cannot ghesse of anie reason whie they should so imagine. The first of these entreth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that we rest vpon the sundaie, which is the seauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Iews begin their wéeke vpon our saturday at the setting of the sun: and the Turks in these daies with the saturday, whereby it commeth to passe, that as the Iews make our last daie the first of their wéeke, so the Turks make the Iewish sabaoth the beginning of their *Hebdoma*: bicause Mahomet their prophet (as they saie) was borne and dead vpon the fridaie, and so he was indéed, except their Alcharon deceiue them. The Iews doo reckon their daies by their distance from their sabaoth, so that the first daie of their wéeke is the first daie of the sabaoth, and so foorth vnto the sixt. The Latins and Aegyptians accompted their daies after the seauen planets, choosing the same for the denominator of the daie, that entreth his regiment with the first vnequall houre of the same after the sun be risen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie reteined with vs, so the vse of the same is not yet altogether abolished, as may appéere by our sunday, mondaie, and saturday. The rest were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut sometime their prince, called the second day of the wéek Theutsdach, the third Woden, Othin, Othon, or Edon, or Wodensdach. Also of Thor they named the fourth daie Thorsdach, and of Frea wife to Woden the fift was called Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amisse as I thinke) that suppose them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden, Mercurie, by Frea (or Frigga as Saxo calleth hir) Venus, and finallie by Theut, Mars: which if it be so, then it is an easie matter to find out the german Mars, Venus, Mercurie, and Iupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that Frea albeit that Saxo giueth hir scant a good report, for that she loued one of hir husbands men better than himselfe, had seauen sonnes by Woden; the first, father to Wecca, of whome descended those that were afterwards kings of Kent. Fethelgeta was the second, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the west Saxons. Beldagius the fourth, parent to the kings of Brenicia or Northumberland. Weogodach the fift, author of the kings of Deira. Caser the sixt race of the east Angle race, & Nascad originall burgeant of the kings of Essex. As for the kings of Sussex, although they were of the same people, yet were they not of the same streine, as our old monuments doo expresse. But to procéed.

As certeine of our daies suffered this alteration by the Saxons, so in our churches we

\* *Ferías.*

retained for a long time the number of daies or of \*feries from the sabaoth, after the manner of the Iews, I meane vntill the seruice after the Romane vse was abolished, which custome was first receiued (as some thinke) by pope Syluester, though other saie by Constantine; albeit another sort doo affirme, that Syluester caused the sundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the rest.

Moneth.

In like maner of wéekes our moneths are made, which are so called of the moone, each one conteining eight and twentie daies, or foure wéekes, without anie further curiositie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the moone, as the Iews, Grecians, or Romans did at the first; or as the Turks, Arabians and Persians doo now: neither anie parcell thereof by the said planet, as in some part of the west Indies, where they haue neither weeke, moneth, nor yéere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thousands of moones. Wherefore if we saie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure wéekes onelie, and not of hir vsuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuerthelesse in plées and sutes is nothing at all allowed of, sith the moone maketh hir full reuolution in eight and twentie daies or foure weeks, that is, vnto the place where she left the sun: notwithstanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that signe wherin she before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or lesse number of these moneths for whole yeares: and that of these some accompted but thrée, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans six, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which causeth them to make such a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forsomuch as we are not troubled with anie such disorder, it shall suffice that I haue generallie said of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender.

Triuethus in  
Antarticos.

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the course of the moone, and their enterances were vncerteine, as were also the changes of that planet: whereby it came to passe, that the daie of the change was the first of the moneth, howsoeuer it fell out. But after Iulius Cesar had once corrected the same, the seuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, but also the old order in the diuision of their parts continued still vnaltered: so that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vse of the same bée but small, and their order reteined onelie in our calenders, for the better vnderstanding of such times, as the historiographers and old authors doo remember. The reckoning also of each of these goeth (as you see) after a preposterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwise, as by perusall of the same you shall more easilie perceiue.

The daies also of the change of the moneth of the moone, are called *Calendæ*, which in time of paganisme were consecrated to Iuno, and sacrifice made to that goddess on the same. On these daies also, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewise the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were also diuerse other, and those either by reason of some notable ouerthrow or mishap that befell vnto the Romans vpon those daies, or in respect of some superstitious imagination conceiued of euill successe likelie to fall out vpon the same. Of some they were called *Dies Aegyptiaci*. Wherby it appeareth that this peeuish estimation of these daies came from that nation. And as we doo note our holie and festiuall daies with red letters in our calenders, so did the Romans their principall feasts & circle of the moone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or consularie tables. This also is more to be added, that if anie good successe happened afterward vpon such day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would solemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioised.

The word *Calendæ* (in Gréeke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Calo*, to call: for vpon the first day of euerie moneth, the priest vsed to call the people of the citie and countrie together in Calabria, for so the place was called where they met, and shew them by a custome how manie daies were from the said calends to the nones, & what feasts were to be celebrated betwéene that and the next change. Their order is retrograde, because that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the moone past the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the next change, as seuentéene daies, sixtéene daies, fourtéene daies, &c: as the Gréeke did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vse of calends. The verie day therefore of the change is called *Calendæ*, dedicated to Iuno, who thereof was also called *Calendaris*. At the first also the fasts or feast daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the priests (as I said) vpon this daie, till Flauius Scriba caused them to be written & published in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the senat, for the ease and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not about foure or six in euerie moneth: and so long as the nones lasted, so long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nonæ quasi Nundinæ*. In them also were neither holiedaies more than is at this present (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no sacrifice offered to the gods, but

each one applied his businesse, and kept his market, reckoning the first day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or sixth daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nonæ*, of the word *Non*, "quia in ijsdem dij non coluntur." For as Ouid saith, "Nonarum tutela deo caret," or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other because *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I suppose rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddesse far yoonger than the name of *Nonæ*) tooke hir name of the nones, whereon it was a custome among the Romans, "Lustrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere," as they did with their maid children vpon the eight: but howsoeuer this be, sure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherin the people bought, sold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing else.

The ides are so named of the Hethruscan word, *Iduare*, to diuide: and before that Cesar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middest. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, therby to make it agrée to the yéere of the sunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, bicause he would not alter the celebration of their vsuall feasts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they short of the middest, sometime by two or thrée daies. In these therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leisure to packe vp and conueie their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides doo the calends follow, but in a decreasing order (as I noted) as the moone dooth in light when she is past the full. But herein lieth all the mysterie, if you can say so manie daies before the next change or new moone, as the number there expressed dooth betoken, as for 16 calends so manie daies before the next coniunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred.) Of these calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find these verses insuing:

Ianus & Augustus denas nouémq; December,  
Iunius Aprilis September & ipse Nouember  
Ter senas retinent, Februs his octo calendas,  
Iulius October Mars Maius epta decémq;

*In English thus:*

December Iune and August month  
full nineteene calends haue,  
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune  
twise nine they doo desire,  
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,  
no more can he well craue,  
October Maie and Iulie hot  
but seunteene doo require.

*In like maner doo the nones and ides.*

Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,  
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.  
To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,  
six nones I hight,  
The rest but foure, and as for ides  
they keepe still eight.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

Iunius, Aprilis, Septémq; Nouémq; tricenos,  
Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos,  
At si bissextus fuerit superadditur vnus.

Thirtie daies hath Nouember,  
Aprill, Iune, and September,  
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,  
and all the rest thirtie and one,  
but in the leape you must ad one.

Our yeare is counted after the course of the sunne, and although the church hath some vse of that of the moone for obseruation of certeine moouable feasts, yet it is reducible to that of the sunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chieflie had in vse. Herein onelie I find a scruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for most of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calenders the first of Ianuarie; so that with vs Christ is borne before he be conceiued. Our sundrie officers also haue sundrie entrances into their charges of custome, which bréedeth great confusion, whereas if all these might be referred to one originall (and that to be the first of Ianuarie) I doo not thinke but that there would be more certentie, and lesse trouble for our historiographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yere. In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the moone that fell néerest to the enterance of the sunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter solstice, or his going into the goat, the Iewes in ciuill case at the latter equinoctiall, and in ecclesiasticall with the first. They of Calecute begin their yeare somewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, sith they first consult with their wisards, who

pronounce one day or other thereof to be most happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Osorius dooth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue solemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of tree with a pencill, in stead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere also in September: but sith we seeke herein but for the custome of our countrie onelie, it shall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or first of Ianuarie, and from the middest of the night which is *Limes* betweene that and the last of December, whereof this maie suffice. I might speake of the Cynike yeare also in this place (for the ease of our English readers) sometime in vse amongst the Egyptians, which conteineth 1460 common yeares, whose beginning is alwaies reckoned from the rising of the lesser dog. The first vse thereof entered the selfe yeare wherin the Olimpiads were restored. And forsomuch as this nation hath no vse of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, because there are 365 leape yeers in the period, so that 1460 Iulian yéers doo conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be lesse than ours. Furthermore, wheras our intercalation for the leape yere is somewhat too much by certeine minuts, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in so manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wish that the same yeare wherein the said intercalation trulie found out should be ouerpasse, might be obserued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and souereigne princesse now reigning amongst vs.

I might here saie somewhat also of the prime and hir alteration, which is risen higher by fiue daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Cæsar: and in seauen thousand yeares some writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world should last so long. But for somuch as in some calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euerie change, it shall suffice to saie no more therof. The pope also hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the same that it was or should haue beene at the councill of Nice. Howbeit as he hath abolished the vse of the golden number, so hath he continued the epact, applieng it vnto such generall vse, as dooth now serue both the turnes, whose reformation had also yer this time béene admitted into England, if it had not procéded from him, against whom and all whose ordinances we haue so faithfullie sworne and set our hands.

Certes the next omission is to be performed if all princes would agréé thereto in the leape yeare that shall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it shall please God that the world may last so long, and then may our calender also stand without anie alteration as it dooth alreadie. By this also it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be supplied from the creation, wherein the first equinoctiall is séene higher toward the beginning of March than Cæsars calender now extant dooth yéeld vnto by seauen daies. For as in Cæsars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius also noteth) either vpon or about the sixtéenth or seauentéenth of March, albeit the manifest apperance thereof was not found vntill the fiue and twentieth of that moneth in their dials or by eie-sight: so at the beginning of the world the said entrance of the sunne into the ram, must néeds fall out to be about the twentieth or one & twentieth of Aprill, as the calender now standeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Aboue the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie seuerall names with them, except you will affirme the word age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and signifieth in English so much as *Seculum* or *Æuum* dooth in Latine; neither is it néedfull to remember that some of my countrimen doo reckon their times not by years but by summers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Wherefore to shut vp this chapiter withall, you shall haue a table of the names of the daies of the wéeke, after the old Saxon and Scotish maner, which I haue borrowed from amongst our ancient writers, as I haue perused their volumes.

*The present names.*

Monday. Tuesday.	Wednesday. Thursday.	Fridaie. Saturdaie.	Sunday, or the Lords daie.
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*The old Saxon names.*

Monendeg. Tuesdeg.	Wodnesdeg. Thunresdeg.	Frigesdeg. Saterdeg.	Sunnandeg.
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*The Scotish vsage.*

Diu Luna.  
Diu Mart.

Diu Yath.  
Diu Ethamon.

Diu Friach.  
Diu Satur.

Diu Seroll.

## CHAP. XV.

I haue heretofore said sufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promise there made, I set downe here so manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obseruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impossible for me to come by all, sith there is almost no towne in England, but hath one or more such marts holden yearelie in the same, although some of them (I must needs confesse) be scarce comparable to Lowse faire, and little else bought or sold in them more than good drinke, pies, and some pedlerie trash: wherefore it were no losse if diuerse of them were abolished. Neither doo I see wherevnto this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, so much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other businesse set apart) must néeds repaire vnto them, whereby they often spend not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great vanitie and riot. But such hath béene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now abolished, and a further insight into things growne into the minds of magistrates, these old errors may be considered of, and so farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be dishonored, nor the common wealth of our countrie anie thing diminished. In the meane time, take this table here insuing in stead of a calender of the greatest, sith that I cannot, or at the least wise care not to come by the names of the lesse, whose knowledge cannot be so profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft preiudiciall to such as dwell néere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that resort vnto the same.

*Faires in Ianuarie.*

The sixt day being Twelwe day at Salisburie, the fiue and twentieth being saint Paules day, at Bristow, at Grauesend, at Churchingford, at Northalerton in Yorkeshire, where is kept a faire euerie wednesday from Christmasse vntill Iune.

*Faires in Februarie.*

The first day at Bromleie. The second at Lin, at Bath, at Maidstone, at Bickleswoorth, at Budwoorth. The fourtéenth at Feuersham. On Ashwednesday at Lichfield, at Tamwoorth, at Roiston, at Excester, at Abington, at Cicester. The foure and twentieth at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkesburie.

*Faires in March.*

On the twelth day, at Stamford, Sappesford, and at Sudburie. The thirtéenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The fift sunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Salisburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wisbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmesunday éeuen, at Pumfret. On palmesunday, at Worcester. The twentieth day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northampton, at Malden, at great Chart, at Newcastlell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. And at Saffron Walden on midlentsunday.

*Faires in Aprill.*

The fift day at Wallingford. The seuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleswoorth, at Belinswoorth. On monday after, at Euesham in Worcestershire. On tuesday in Easter weeke at Northfléet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third sunday after Easter, at Louth. The two and twentieth at Stabford. On saint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipswich, at Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at saint Pombes in Cornewall. On saint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Essex. The six and twentieth at Tenderden in Kent.

*Faires in Maie.*

On Maie daie at Rippon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Osestrie in Wales, at Lexfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leicester, at Chensford, at Maidstone, at Brickehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton, at Stoke neie land. The third at Bramyard, at Henningham, at Elstow, Waltham, Holicrosse, and Hedningham castell. The seuenth at Beuerleie, at Newton, at Oxford. On Ascension day at Newcastlell, at Yerne, at Brimechame, at saint Edes, at Bishopstratford, at Wicham, at Middlewich, at Stopford, at Chappell frith. On Whitsunéueen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitsunday, at Richell, at Gribbie, and euerie wednesday fortnight at Kingston vpon Thames, at Ratesdale, at Kirbistephin in Westmerland. On monday in Whitsunweeke, at Darington, at Excester, at Bradford, at Rigate, at Burton, at Salforth, at

Whitechurch, at Cockermouth, at Applebie, at Bicklesworth, at Stokeclare. On tuesday in Whitsunwéeke, at Lewse, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Ormeskirke, at Perith, at long Milford. On wednesday in Whitsunwéeke, at Sandbarre, at Raiston. On Trinitie sunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell. On thursday after Trinitie sunday, at Prescote, at Stapford, at saint Annes, at Newburie, at Couentrie, at saint Edes, at Bishop storford, at Rosse. The ninth at Lochester, at Dunstable. The twentie seuenth day, at Lenham. The twentie ninth at Crambrooke. On monday in Rogation wéeke at Rech, and sunday after Ascension day, at Thaxsted.

*Faires in Iune.*

The ninth day at Maidstone. The xj, at Okingham, at Newbourgh, at Bardfield, at Maxfield, & Holt. The seuenteenth at Hadstocke. The twentie thrée at Shrewsburie, at saint Albans. The twentie fourth day, at Horsham, at Bedell, at Strackstocke, at saint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colchester, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beside Cambridge, at Woollerhampton, at Crambrooke, at Glocester, at Lincolne, at Peterborow, at Windsor, at Harstone, at Lancaster, at Westchester, at Halifax, at Ashborne. The twentie seuenth, at Folkestone. The twentie eight, at Hetcorne, at saint Pombes. The twentie ninth, at Woodhurst, at Marleborough, at Hollesworth, at Woollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Lempster, at Sudburie, at Gargrainge, at Bromleie.

*Faires in Iulie.*

The second at Congreton, at Ashton vnder line. The sunday after the third of Iulie, at Raiston. The eleuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fifteenth, at Pichbacke. The seuentéenth, at Winchcombe. The twentieth, at Vxbridge, at Catesbie, at Bolton. The twentie two, at Marleborow, at Winchester, at Colchester, at Tetburie, at Cooling, at Yealdon, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheshire, at Cheswike, at Battelfield, at Bicklewoorth. The twentie fift, at Bristow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipswich, at Northampton, at Dudleie in Staffordshire, at saint Iames beside London, at Reading, at Ereth in the Ile, at Walden, at Thremhall, at Baldocke, at Louth, at Malmesburie, at Bromeleie, at Chichester, at Liuerpoole, at Altergam, at Rauenglasse in the north. The twentie sixt, at Tiptrie. The twentie seuenth at Canturburie, at Horsham, at Richmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell Frith.

*Faires in August.*

The first day at Excester, at Feuersham, at Dunstable, at saint Edes, at Bedford, at Northam church, at Wisbich, at Yorke, at Rumneie, at Newton, at Yeland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth at Waltham, at Thaxsted, at Blackemoore, at Hungerford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croileie, at Seddell, at new Brainford. The xv, at Cambridge, at Dunmow, at Caerleill, at Preston in Andall, at Wakefield on the two ladie daies, and vpon the Sunday after the fiftéenth day of August, at Hauerhull. On Bartholomew day, at London, at Beggers bush beside Rie, at Teukesburie, at Sudburie, at Rie, at Nantwich, at Pagets, at Bromleie, at Norwich, at Northalerton, at Douer. On the sunday after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentie seuenth, and at Ashford.

*Faires in September.*

The first day at S. Giles at the Bush. The eight day at Woolfpit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recluer, at Gisbourgh both the ladie daies, at Partneie. The thrée ladie daies at Blackeburne, at Gisborne in Yorkeshire, at Chalton, at Vtcester. On Holiroode day, at Richmond in Yorkeshire, at Rippond a horse faire, at Penhad, at Bersleie, at Waltam abbeie, at Wotton vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Chesterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On saint Mathies day, at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at saint Edmundsburie, at Malton, at saint Iues, at Shrewesburie, at Laneham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetrie, at Baldocke, at Katharine hill beside Gilford, at Douer, at Eastrie. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Malton a noble horsse faire, at Lancaster, at Blackeborne, at Westchester, at Cokermouth, at Ashborne, at Hadleie, at Malden an horsse faire, at Waie hill, at Newburie, and at Leicester.

*Faires in October.*

The fourth day at Michell. The sixt day at saint Faiths beside Norwich, at Maidstone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford, at Bishop Storford. On S. Edwards day, at Roiston, at Grauesend, at Windsor, at Marshfield. The ninth day at Colchester. On saint Lukes eeuén, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Vpane, at Thirst, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton,

at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friswides in Oxford, at Tisdale, at Middlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twentie one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Cicester, at Stokesleie. The twentie third, at Preston, at Bikelsworth, at Ritchdale, at Whitechurch. The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford. On all saints eeuën, at Wakefield, and at Rithen.

*Faires in Nouember.*

The second at Blechinglie, at Kingston, at Maxfield, at Epping. The sixt day at Newport pond, at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Lesford, and Wetshod faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton. The eleuenth, at Marleborough, at Douer. The thirteenth, at saint Edmundsburie, at Gilford. The seventeenth day, at Low, at Hide. The ninéetenth, at Horsham. On saint Edmunds day, at Hith, at Ingerstone. The twentie third day, at Sandwich. On saint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rochester, at Peterfield, at Maidenhed, at Bewdleie, at Warrington in Lancashire, at Bedford in Yorkeshire, at Osestrie in Wales, and at Powles Belcham.

*Faires in December.*

On the fift day, at Pluckeleie. On the sixt, at Cased, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Excester, at Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Chesshire. The seuenth day at Sandhurst. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancashire, at Malpas in Cheshire. The twentie ninth, at Canturburie, and at Salisburie.



## CHAP. XVI.

Those townes that we call thorowfaires haue great and sumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of such trauellers and strangers as passe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of some other countries, in which the host or goodman of the house dooth challenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his ghests, but cleane otherwise, sith euerie man may vse his inne as his owne house in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other seruice himselfe shall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with naperie, bedding, and tapisserie, especiallie with naperie: for beside the linnen vsed at the tables, which is commonlie washed dailie, is such and so much as belongeth vnto the estate and calling of the ghest. Ech commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no man hath béene lodged since they came from the landresse, or out of the water wherein they were last washed. If the traueller haue an horsse, his bed dooth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same: but whether he be horsseman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne house so long as he lodgeth there. If he loose oughts whilist he abideth in the inne, the host is bound by a generall custome to restore the damage, so that there is no greater securitie anie where for trauellers than in the grettest ins of England. Their horsse in like sort are walked, dressed and looked vnto by certeine hostelers or hired seruants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the house, who in hope of extraordinarie reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward appéerance in this their function and calling. Herein neuertheless are manie of them blameworthy, in that they doo not onelie deceiue the beast oftentimes of his allowance by sundrie meanes, except their owners looke well to them; but also make such packs with slipper merchants which hunt after preie (for what place is sure from euill & wicked persons) that manie an honest man is spoiled of his goods as he trauellet to and fro, in which feat also the counsell of the tapsters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not seldome behind or wanting. Certes I beleue not that chapman or traueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of some of them, for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horsse, the hostler forthwith is verie busie to take downe his budget or capcase in the yard from his sadle bow, which he peiseth slilie in his hand to féele the weight thereof: or if he misse of this pitch, when the ghest hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberleine that looketh to the making of the beds, will be sure to remooue it from the place where the owner hath set it as if it were to set it more conuenientlie some where else, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, & therof giueth warning to such od ghests as hant the house and are of his confederacie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honest yeoman as he iournieth by the waie. The tapster in like sort for his part dooth marke his behaiour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the shot, to the like end: so that it shall be an hard matter to escape all their subtile practises. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their comming to the goodman of the house: but thereby they oft bewraie themselues. For albeit their monie be safe for the time that it is in his hands (for you shall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the host can make no warrantise of the same, sith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne house: and there cannot be a surer token vnto such as prie and watch for those booties, than to sée anie ghest deliuer his capcase in such maner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, béere, and sundrie kinds of wine, and such is the capacitie of some of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred persons, and their horsse at ease, & therto with a verie short warning make such prouision for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may seeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worse ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the best that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumstances be dulle considered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpose. I will here set downe a table of the best thorowfaires and townes of greatest trauell of England, in some of which there are twelue or sixtéene such innes at the least, as I before did speake of. And it is a world to sée how ech owner of them contendeth with other for goodnesse of interteinement of their ghests, as about finesse & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, seruice at the table, costlinesse of plate, strength of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vsing of horsse. Finallie there is not so much omitted among them as the gorgeousnes of their verie signes at their doores, wherein some doo consume thirtie or fortie pounds, a méere vanitie in mine opinion, but so vaine will they néeds be, and that not onelie to giue some outward token of the inne kéepers welth, but also to procure good ghests to the frequenting of their houses in hope there to be well vsed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I shall not néed to speake.

From Walsingham to Picknam	12.miles
From Picknam to Brandonferie	10.miles
From Brandonfarie to Newmarket	10.miles
From Newmarket to Brabram	10.miles
From Brabram to Barkewaie	20.miles
From Barkewaie to Puchrich	7.miles
From Puchrich to Ware	5.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

*The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and so to London.*

From Barwike to Belford	12.miles
From Belford to Anwike	12.miles
From Anwike to Morpit	12.miles
From Morpit to Newcastell	12.miles
From Newcastell to Durham	12.miles
From Durham to Darington	13.miles
From Darington to Northalerton	14.miles
From Northalerton to Toplife	7.miles
From Toplife to Yorke	16.miles
From Yorke to Tadcaster	8.miles
From Tadcaster to Wantbridge	12.miles
From Wantbridge to Dancaster	8.miles
From Dancaster to Tutford	18.miles
From Tutford to Newarke	10.miles
From Newarke to Grantham	10.miles
From Grantham to Stanford	16.miles
From Stanford to Stilton	12.miles
From Stilton to Huntington	9.miles
From Huntington to Roiston	15.miles
From Roiston to Ware	12.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

*The waie from Carnaruan to Chester, and so to London.*

From Carnaruan to Conwaie	24.miles
From Conwaie to Denbigh	12.miles
From Denbigh to Flint	12.miles
From Flint to Chester	10.miles
From Chester to Wich	14.miles
From Wich to Stone	15.miles
From Stone to Lichfield	16.miles
From Lichfield to Colsill	12.miles
From Colsill to Couentrie	8.miles
And so from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.	

*The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaster, and so to London.*

From Cockermouth to Kiswike	6.miles
From Kiswike to Grocener	8.miles
From Grocener to Kendale	14.miles
From Kendale to Burton	7.miles
From Burton to Lancaster	8.miles
From Lancaster to Preston	20.miles
From Preston to Wigam	14.miles
From Wigam to Warington	20.miles
From Warington to Newcastell	20.miles
From Newcastell to Lichfield	20.miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie	20.miles
From Couentrie to Daintrie	14.miles
From Daintrie to Tocester	10.miles
From Tocester to Stonistratford	6.miles
From Stonistratford to Brichill	7.miles

From Brichill to Dunstable	7.miles
From Dunstable to saint Albons	10.miles
From saint Albons to Barnet	10.miles
From Barnet to London	10.miles

*The waie from Yarmouth to Colchester, and so to London.*

From Yarmouth to Becclis	8.miles
From Becclis to Blibour	7.miles
From Blibour to Snapbridge	8.miles
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge	8.miles
From Woodbridge to Ipswich	5.miles
From Ipswich to Colchester	12.miles
From Colchester to Eastford	8.miles
From Eastford to Chelmesford	10.miles
From Chelmesford to Brentwood	10.miles
From Brentwood to London	15.miles

*The waie from Douer to London.*

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne	12.miles
From Sittingborne to Rochester	8.miles
From Rochester to Grauesend	5.miles
From Grauesend to Datford	6.miles
From Datford to London	12.miles

*The waie from saint Burien in Cornwall to London.*

From S. Burien to the Mount	20.miles
From the Mount to Thurie	12.miles
From saint Thurie to Bodman	20.miles
From Bodman to Launstone	20.miles
From Launstone to Ocomton	15.miles
From Ocomton to Crokehornewell	10.miles
From Crokehornewell to Excester	10.miles
From Excester to Honiton	12.miles
From Honiton to Chard	10.miles
From Chard to Crokehorne	7.miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne	10.miles
From Shirborne to Shaftsburie	10.miles
From Shaftsburie to Salisburie	18.miles
From Salisburie to Andeuor	15.miles
From Andeuor to Basingstocke	18.miles
From Basingstocke to Hartford	8.miles
From Hartford to Bagshot	8.miles
From Bagshot to Stanes	8.miles
From Stanes to London	15.miles

*The waie from Bristowe to London.*

From Bristow to Maxfield	10.miles
From Maxfield to Chipnam	10.miles
From Chipnam to Marleborough	15.miles
From Marleborough to Hungerford	8.miles
From Hungerford to Newburie	7.miles
From Newburie to Reading	15.miles
From Reading to Maidenhead	10.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbrooke	7.miles
From Colbrooke to London	15.miles

*The waie from saint Dauids to London.*

From saint Dauids to Axford	20.miles
From Axford to Carmarden	10.miles
From Carmarden to Newton	10.miles
From Newton to Lanburie	10.miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke	16.miles
From Brechnocke to Haie	10.miles
From Haie to Harford	14.miles
From Harford to Roso	9.miles
From Roso to Glocester	12.miles
From Glocester to Cicester	15.miles
From Cicester to Farington	16.miles
From Farington to Habington	7.miles
From Habington to Dorchester	7.miles
From Dorchester to Henleie	12.miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead	7.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbrooke	7.miles
From Colbrooke to London	15.miles

*Of throwfares from Douer to Cambridge.*

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Rofchester	20.miles
From Rofchester to Grauesend	5.miles
From Grauesend ouer the Thames to Hornedon	4.miles
From Hornedon to Chelmesford	12.miles
From Chelmesford to Dunmow	10.miles
From Dunmow to Thaxsted	5.miles
From Thaxsted to Radwinter	3.miles
From Radwinter to Linton	5.miles
From Linton to Babrenham	3.miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge	4.miles

*From Canturburie to Oxford.*

From Canturburie to London	43.miles
From London to Vxbridge or Colbrooke	15.miles
From Vxbridge to Baccansfield	7.miles
From Baccansfield to east Wickham	5.miles
From Wickham to Stocking church	5.miles
From Stocking church to Thetisford	5.miles
From Thetisford to Whatleie	6.miles
From Whatleie to Oxford	4.miles

*From London to Cambridge.*

From London to Edmonton	6.miles
From Edmonton to Waltham	6.miles
From Waltham to Hoddesdon	5.miles
From Hoddesdon to Ware	3.miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch	5.miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie	7.miles
From Barkewaie to Fulmere	6.miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge	6.miles

*Or thus better waie.*

From London to Hoddesdon	17.miles
From Hoddesdon to Hadham	7.miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden	12.miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge	10.miles

*From Barwyc to Edenborow.*

From Barwyc to Chirneside	10.miles
From Chirneside to Coldingham	3.miles
From Coldingham to Pinketon	6.miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre	6.miles
From Dunbarre to Linton	6.miles
From Linton to Haddington	6.miles
From Haddington to Seaton	4.miles
From Seaton to Aberladie or Muskelborow	8.miles
From thence to Edenborow	8.miles

*From Edenborow to Barwyc another waie.*

From Edenborow to Dalketh	5.miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander	5.miles
From Lander to Vrsildon	6.miles
From Vrsildon to Driburg	5.miles
From Driburg to Cariton	6.miles
From Cariton to Barwyc	14.miles

*From Edenborow to Dunbrittain westward.*

From Edenborow to Kirkelifton	6.miles
From Kirkelifton to Lithco	6.miles
From Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth	6.miles
From thence to Striuelin vpon Forth	6.miles
From Striuelin to Dunbrittain	24.miles

*From Striuelin to Kinghorne eastward.*

From Striuelin to Downe in Menketh	3.miles
From Downe to Campskenell	3.miles
From Campskenell to Alwie vpon Forth	4.miles
From Alwie to Culrose on Fiffe	10.miles
From Culrose to Dunfermelin	2.miles
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin	2.miles
From Euerkennin to Aberdore on Forth	3.miles
From Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon Forth	3.miles

*From Kinghorne to Taimouth.*

From Kinghorne to Dissard in Fiffe	3.miles
From Dissard to Cowper	8.miles
From Cowper to S. Andrews	14.miles
From S. Andrews to the Taimouth	6.miles

*From Taimouth to Stockeford.*

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbeie	4.miles
From thence to Londores abbeie	4.miles
From Londores to S. Iohns towne	12.miles
From S. Iohns to Schone	5.miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taie	15.miles
From Abernithie to Dundée	15.miles
From Dundee to Arbroth and Muros	24.miles
From Muros to Aberden	20.miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie	20.miles
From thence to the riuer of Spaie	30.miles
From thence to Stockeford in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side	30.miles

*From Carleill to Whitehorne westward.*

From Carleill ouer the Ferie against Redkirke	4.miles
From thence to Dunfrées	20.miles
From Dunfrées to the Ferie of Cre	40.miles
From thence to Wigton	3.miles
From thence to Whitherne	12.miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, wherevnto I will adioine the old thorowfares ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting foorth also thereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue séene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsall of the miles.

De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

*A Limite, id est, a vallo Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:***Britannia.**

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aliàs à Lugu-valio. **Cairleill.***Brauoniacis**Catarractonium. Darington.**Isoriam. Aldborow aliàs***Topcliffe.***Eboracum. Yorke.**Cacaria.**Manucio**Bonió**Viroconium. Shrewesburie propè.**Bannauenta**Lactodoro**Magiouintum***Dunstable.****S. Albanes.****Barnet.***Londinio. London.**Duroprouis. Rochester.**Drouerno Durouerno**Duraruerno Daruerno**Item a Londinio ad portum Dubris m. p. 56, 66, sic:*

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*Durobrouis Durobrius.* **Rochester.**  
**Canturburie.**  
**Douer hauen.**

*Item a Londinio ad portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic:*

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**Rochester.**  
**Canturburie.**  
**Limning hauen.**

*Item a Londinio Lugu-Valio ad Vallum m. p. 443, sic:*

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*Logetium*  
*Isurium Brigantum*  
*Leuatrix*  
*Brocouicum*

*Item a Londinio Lindo m. p. 156 sic:*

Verolami m. p. xxi  
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{ *Maginto*  
*Magis*  
  
{ *Isanna vatia*  
*Isanna varia*

*Pons Aelij*  
*Crrolana*

*Item a Regno Londinio m. p. 116, 96 sic:*

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Venta Belgarum m. p. x  
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Pontibus m. p. xxii **Reding.**  
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{ *Gelleua* **Walingford.**  
*Calliua,*

*Item ab Ebvraco Londinium m. p. 227 sic:*



Lagecio m. p. XXI  
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Margi-duno m. p. XIII  
Vernemeto \* m. p. XII  
Ratis m. p. XII  
Vennonis m. p. XII  
Bannauanto m. p. XIX  
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Durocobrius m. p. XII  
Verolamo m. p. XII  
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**Dancaster.**  
*Segoloco*

*Verometo*

**Dunstable.**  
**S. Albanes.**  
**Barnet.**  
**London.**

*Item a Venta Icinorum Londinio m. p. 128 sic:*

Sitomago m. p. XXXI  
Combrerouio \* m. p. XXII  
Ad Ansam m. p. XV  
Camoloduno m. p. VI  
Canonio m. p. IX  
Cæsaromago m. p. XII  
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*Cumbretonio*

*Item a Glamoventa Mediolano m. p. 150 sic:*

Galaua m. p. XVIII  
Alone \* m. p. XII  
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Bremetonaci m. p. XXVII  
Coccio m. p. XX  
Mancunio \* m. p. XVIII  
Condate m. p. XVIII  
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*Alauna \* Aliona Alione*  
*Galacum Brigantum*

*Mammucio vel Manucio*

*Item a Segoncio Deuam m. p. 74 sic:*

Canouio m. p. XXIII  
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*Item a Calleva aliàs Mvridono aliàs Viroconiorum. Per Viroconium.*

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*Vindomi*

*Brage*

Muriduno m. p. XXXVI  
Scadum Nunniorum \* m. p. XV, 12  
Leucaro m. p. XV  
Bomio m. p. XV  
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Iscelegua Augusti \* m. p. XIII  
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*Iscadum*

*Iscelegia*

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*Brouenio*

*Item ab Isca Calleua m. p. 109 sic:*

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Ariconio m. p. xi  
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*Item alio Itinere ab Isca Calleua m. p. 103 sic:*

Venta Silurum m. p. ix  
Abone m. p. ix  
Traiectus m. p. ix  
Aquis Solis m. p. vi  
Verlucione m. p. xv  
Cunetione m. p. xx  
Spinis m. p. xv  
Calleua m. p. xv

*Item a Calleua Iscadvm Nunniorum m. p. 136 sic:*

Vindomi m. p. xv  
Venta Belgarum m. p. xxi  
Brige m. p. xi  
Sorbiodoni m. p. viii  
Vindocladia m. p. xii  
Durnonouaria m. p. viii  
Moriduno m. p. xxxvi  
Iscadum Nunniorum m. p. xv

*Durnonaria*

**FINIS.**

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## Transcriber's Note

Elizabethan words and spellings have been retained (e.g. 'height' and 'heighth' are both used, sometimes in the same sentence; 'hight' = 'known as, called, etc.').

Only obvious printer's errors have been corrected, as when a letter seems to have been inverted ('n' for 'u'). The letters 'u' and 'v' are mostly interchanged; as, e.g., "in haruest time" and "vnder a bridge". If a word or name did not fit the context, it was researched, and corrections made, if necessary.

Macrons on vowels (ā, ē, ī, ō, ū) sometimes indicate that 'n' has been omitted from the word. (Abbreviation in Mediæval manuscripts).

There are a few printer's errors in this edition, which have been checked using the online 1587 edition (which itself is not without printing errors) as reference.

([http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/sceti/PrintedBooksnew/index.cfm?TextID=holinshed\\_chronicle&PagePosition=1](http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/sceti/PrintedBooksnew/index.cfm?TextID=holinshed_chronicle&PagePosition=1)).

Also used were the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), and online Middle English and Anglo-Saxon Dictionaries, as well as online Wikipedia.

Some, but by no means all, of 'ee' has the first 'e' marked with an acute accent. This is not consistent. Where the 'é' is obviously missing from the scan, it has not been added to the text. This inconsistency in spelling and accents is an integral part of some very old books.

There are some instances of round brackets which have been opened and not closed, or nested, with only one pair closed (or closed, without having been opened). These have been retained as such.

Some placenames may have changed with the passage of time.

Some damaged or missing punctuation has been restored, but the punctuation in the lists at the end of Description III is as it appeared in the scans, and in the online edition.

Page numbers have been added to the 'Description' Tables of Contents, for the convenience of the reader; and Tables of Contents have been added to the beginning of this Volume.

There are a few instances of repeated word 'too'. These have been retained, being probably the author's personal style:

'is too too plaine'  
'being too too much'  
'haue too too manie'.  
'too too lewd'

Page 43: "practise and put in vre within your realme and kingdome."

'vre', or 'ure', is an antique word, which survives in the modern word 'inure'.

(Ure) n. [OE. ure, OF. oevre, ovre, ouvre, work, F. œuvre, L. opera. cf. Inure .] Use; practice; exercise. [Obs.] (Ure), v. t. To use; to exercise; to inure; to accustom by practice. [Obs.] (Webster's online dictionary, 1913 edition).

Page 67: 'barnacle'; 'barnacl's'; 'barnacles' ... there were no spelling conventions in Holinshed's time. 'barnacl's' matches 1587 ed.

Page 252: 'hanting' could mean 'haunting', or 'frequenting'.

"... they ruffle and roist it out, excéeding in apparell, and hanting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.)"

Page 255: 'Philip' is an abbreviation for Queen Philippa (of Hainault).

Page 347: " Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word *çipping* (or *ghipping*) uses the insular 'g' (ȝ), variant of (lowercase) yogh (ȝ).

([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Insular\\_G](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Insular_G))

Page 358: 'cuphar'.

"Of all the elms that euer I saw, those in the south side of Douer court, in Essex néere Harwich are the most notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almost apt for nothing else but nauie timber, great ordinance, and béetels: and such thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vsed in the said behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trées in whatsoever parcell else of this land, without cuphar, shaking, or cleauing, as I find."

Possibly from 'ceorfan' to cut, cut down. (coppice?)

Page 386: 'Bratius' is probably 'Gratius'.

"Bratius De venatione, 1/386 - probably Faliscus Gratius, De venatione, 1534."

(<http://>

## Errata

Page 1: 'used' corrected to 'vsed', and 'upon' to 'vpon', for consistency, and as in 1587 edition.

"9 Of the ancient religion vsed in Albion."

"10 Of such Ilands as are to be seene vpon the coasts of Britaine."

Page 14: 'hane' corrected to 'haue', as in 1587 edition.

"Besides these aforesaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iland,"

Page 26: 'Dehenbarth' corrected to 'Deheubarth'.

"In the begining it was diuided into two kingdoms onelie, that is to saie, Venedotia or Gwynhedh (otherwise called Deheubarth)...."

Page 42: 'who lieconsented' corrected to 'wholie consented', as in 1587 edition.

"and fourthwith wholie consented to make a diuision of this land...."

Page 84: missing word "far" inserted, as in 1587 edition

"... Helledon parish, not far from Danberie,..."

Page 102: 'Ater' corrected to 'After', as in 1587 edition.

"After this confluence it goeth on toward the south, till it méet with a pretie brooke rising northeast of Whettell...."

Page 102: 'Done stroke' is probably a misprint for 'Dones broke' or 'Danes broke' (brook), which actually exists in the place mentioned.

Sidenote: "Done aliàs Dones broke."

Page 128: 'Monemouch' corrected to 'Monemouth' as in 'Monemouth' in previous sentence, and in 1587 edition.

"The Romenie ... is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betwéen Monemouth and Glamorgan shires."

Page 128: 'pound.' corrected to 'pounds.' as in 1587 edition.

Sidenote: "This Ile went fiftie yeares agone for x. pounds."

Page 130: 'Wormeslead' corrected to 'Wormeshead'.

"Then casting about by Oxwich point, we go onward there by, and sailing flat north by the Holme (hauing passed the Wormeshead and S. Kennets chappell) and then ... northeast by Whitford point,..."

Page 135: 'Mariardiue' corrected to 'Marierdine', as above, and as in 1587 edition. 'Monardiue' is as in 1587 edition.

(It is now called 'Manordeifi', or 'Maenordeifi', and is a small village in north Pembrokeshire

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manordeifi>).

"... goeth by Marierdine, and so to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by north descending by Penneralt, by north of Monardiue or Marierdine,..."

Page 135: 'Oswid' corrected to 'Oscoid' as in 1587 edition.

"... Lantwood north west of Oscoid Mortemer,..."

Page 187: 'féed' has been retained: 'fée-ed'?

"... & that euerie one which by féed friendship (or otherwise) dooth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie,..."

Page 202: 'Pits' corrected to 'Picts', as in 1587 edition.

"... and in all these wars against them, he had the seruice and obeisance of Scots and Picts."

Page 222: 'uame' corrected to 'name'

"They beare also the name of their high chapleins continuallie,..."

Page 223: (printer's error: ſ (long 's') confused with 't'): 'to' corrected to 'so', as in 1587 online edition.

"... escaped to his ships, and so returned into Normandie."

Page 243: 'iarror' is unknown. Perhaps misprint for 'terrier'<sup>2</sup>, Land Register, which fits the context.

From OED: terrier<sup>2</sup>, noun. Book recording site, boundaries, etc., of land of private persons or corporations; (hist.) collection of acknowledgements of vassals or

tenants of a lordship.

"I haue seene and had an ancient terrier of the lands of this monasterie,..."

Page 244: 'Lindeffarne' corrected to 'Lindesarne'.

(Printer's confusion of 'f' with ʃ (long 's')). Correct in 'Description 1').

Page 254: 'hain' (a Middle English word meaning a park or enclosure), corrected to 'haue' which fits the context.

"... so that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quéenes dominion, that haue not one Gramar schoole at the least, with a sufficient liuing for a maister and vs her appointed to the same."

Page 256: 'I' corrected to "In"

"In my opinion...."

Page 260: 'fiue wapentaxes'. This may be correct, or an error for 'wapentakes', which also appears.

Page 269: 'Sir Sanchet Dambricourt' corrected to 'Sir Sanchet D'Abrichécourt'.

Sir Sanchet D'Abrichécourt (c.1330-c.1360) was a French knight and a founder Knight of the Garter. His surname was alternatively spelt D'Abridgecourt, Dabridgcourt, Dabrichécourt or Aubréciourt and derived from the Hainault town of Auberchicourt. His father, Nicholas D'Abrichécourt, a nobleman from Hainault, had come to England in 1326 as an escort of Queen Isabella. (Wikipedia)

Page 274: 'ro' corrected to 'or', and 'rae' corrected to 'are', as 1587 online edition.

"But these citizens or burgesses are to serue the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs,..."

Page 282: 'sauoureth' corrected to 'sauoureth', to match similar, and 1587 online edition.

"... their talke is now and then such as sauoureth of scurrilitie"

Page 287: 'calla breakefast' corrected to 'call a breakefast', as 1587 online edition.

"... although a little something was allowed in the morning to yong children which we now call a breakefast."

Page 291: 'hous econsisting' corrected to 'house consisting', as 1587 online edition.

"... the higher or vpper house consisting of the nobilitie,..."

Page 295: 'Southampton' corrected to 'Southhampton' to match online ed.

"The borough of Southhampton."

Page 296: 'The borough of Caine' corrected to 'The borough of Calne'.

'The borough of Calne' is in Wiltshire; 'The borough of Caine' does not exist.

Page 299: 'Grecklade' corrected to 'Cricklade' (alternate spelling 'Crekelade'). 'Cricklade' occurs earlier, in the list of Wilton (Wiltshire) boroughs.

Page 332: 'alsolued' corrected to 'absolued' to match other instances on same page, and 1587 edition.

"... till by repentance he deserue to be absolued."

Page 344: 'inhabit' corrected to 'inhibit', as 1587 edition.

"... till a law was made which did inhibit and restraine them."

Page 350: 'CHAP. XIX.' (second instance) corrected to 'CHAP. XX.' (which was missing)

Page 354: 'Cydims' corrected to 'Cydnus'.

"The Cydnus in Tarsus of Cilicia, is of such vertue,..."

Page 366: 'aeadar' corrected to 'reader'.

"... I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader:"

\*\*\* END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES (1 OF 6): THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAINNE \*\*\*

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