

THE CANTERBURY MARCHING WATCH
WITH ITS PAGEANT OF ST. THOMAS.

BY J. BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD.

TOWARDS the end of the fourteenth century the citizens of Canterbury, with Simon Sudbury their Archbishop, heard with apprehension the first mutterings of that discontent which, in 1381, broke forth in the thunder of the rebellion known as the "rising of the commons of Kent;" a convulsion which, short-lived as it was, proved fatal to the Archbishop and most disastrous to the city.

The primate and the burgesses had not contented themselves with idly foreboding the coming storm, but had done the best that time allowed towards putting their dilapidated fortifications into a defensible condition, so as to dam the popular torrent when the time arrived for it to burst its bounds, or, failing that, to divert it from the city in which their treasures were stored. To the Archbishop alone the credit is popularly given of having built the city walls; but the fact appears to be that he contributed largely to the works which the citizens undertook, and that to him they especially owed the West Gate, which still stands an unmatched example of mediæval fortification at its best period. In the first years of the reign of Richard II, when these works were most actively pushed on, there was no expecta-

tion of any foreign invasion sufficient to call for the outlay of such vast sums of money as must have been spent upon these noble gates and curtain-walls, and it is therefore not improbable that the prescient Archbishop and the wealthy citizens built their bulwarks of Kentish rag and flint to beat back their rebellious fellow-countymen, rather than conjectural invaders sent by the lately baffled enemy across the Channel.

The rebuilding of the walls occupied so many years that before it was completed the dreaded insurrection arrived, and the rebels, led by Wat Tyler "of Essex," as their first great exploit surprised the city, broke open the gaols and the castle, where they found the Sheriff of the county, whom they compelled to give up for destruction all the rolls and writs by virtue of which the taxes and subsidies were collected. Leaving Canterbury, they at once marched upon London, and before they had been twelve hours in the city they made a dash at the Tower, where the Archbishop was found, and, on the spot, beheaded. These acts of violence, committed only three days apart, with no exploit of equal magnitude intervening, seem to indicate that the commons, divining the animus which had prompted the rebuilders of the Canterbury defences, snatched the earliest occasions for revenging themselves upon first one and then the other of their opponents. Whether this guess be or be not well founded, it is certain that, stimulated by the misfortunes to which their want of preparation had laid them open, the citizens of Canterbury carried on with energy the works of their fortifications, cleared their ditches, and protected their gateways with portcullis and drawbridge.

The old patriotic song tells us :—

Britannia needs no bulwarks,
Nor towers along the steep ;
She has her own, her gallant hearts,
To guard her and to keep.

Now it was just these “gallant hearts” which, in the reign of Henry IV, were lacking to the city; not, as the song hints, to supersede the bulwarks, but to double their strength by adding an active to a passive resistance.

At this period the mustering of a few drilled men, even the unlicensed assembling of a party of nobles at a sportive tournament, was an offence against the law. It is nothing wonderful that the King, who upon his landing to claim his Lancastrian heritage, saw his own little company grow, as if by magic, into a large and victorious army, should be jealous of the formation of a stationary armed band within a fortified city, at a time when a reactionary movement in favour of Richard, alive or dead, was quite upon the cards.

It is probable that the leaders of the Canterbury citizens applied for the royal license to empower them from time to time to muster their fellow-townsmen in arms, in order to keep up a martial spirit among them, and to assure themselves of the existence of a resident garrison. If the application was made it was certainly refused, and the wealthy city, whose walls surrounded the cathedral, abounding in shrines of priceless worth, continued to be in the same state of defence as is a warehouse stored with valuable goods when the owner has locked the door.

The Chamberlain's accounts in the city archives, from which are borrowed or deduced most of the facts contained in this paper, record that the gates were,

when completed, mounted with cannon; probably also a few men existed within the walls who were considered to be artillerymen, because they were willing to risk their lives in firing these primitive pieces of ordnance. Under the date 1404, we find:—

Pro carriagio gunnarum de Westgate usque ad cameram.

and—

Duobus Lathomis pro factura rotundarum petrarum gunnarum.

The invasion of France by Henry V carrying away the professional fighting men, caused the ruling powers to begin to look with favour upon the citizen-soldiers whom we now designate “the auxiliary forces,” and this change of policy was perceived by John Sheldwych, who at the time represented the city in Parliament. Again and again he applied for a license to hold “musters,” and at last he succeeded in obtaining it, but apparently the permission was only granted *pro hac vice*. The Chamberlain takes credit in his annual balance-sheet thus:—

- (1415).—Johanni Sheldwych ad prosequendas litteras
patentes ad habendam monstracionem hominum ad
arma - - - - - lxj^s viij^d
- (1418).—Johanni Sheldwych pro custagiis ad impetrandum
unum breue pro arraiacione hominum armatorum in
civitate Cantuar. videnda - - - - - iij^s iiij^d
- (1420).—Johanni Sheldwych pro expensis suis equitando
ad Locum Tenentem Castri Dovorie pro amicia
sua habenda pro visu armatorum hominum Cantuar. xij^s iv^d

Sheldwych succeeded so well in his suit that the citizens, taking it for granted that the “musters” would become a regularly recurring event, ventured to purchase a flag to serve as rallying-point for their band:—

Solut. Johanni Mullyng ad custus unius vexilli depicti cum
armis Cantuar. gerendi tempore del moustre et
gunner. cum acciderint, ad honorem civium Cantuar. viij^d

After twenty-two years, in 1442, Sheldwych being still alive, another and rather a strange advocate for the musters appears :—

Solut. Ricardo Bocton, Harpour, pro impetracione cujusdam brevis patentis directi Ballivis civitatis Cantuar. et aliis pro monstracione et arraiacione hominum armatorum, Architenencium, Hobelariorum, et aliorum hominum defensibilium et resistentium &c. Quod quidem breve remanet in manibus Joh'is. Sheldwych unius Commissionariorum - - - vij^s vj^d

It will be noticed that in the present sketch, where history is distilled from the city cash-books, every act, whether it be vicious or virtuous, has a money value attached to it.

During the Wars of the Roses, when the victorious party for the time being used to raise recruits on all sides, so important a city as Canterbury was of course compelled to contribute, sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other. More than once, after a battle in a distant shire which gave preponderance to the Red Rose or the White, some such sum is charged as—

Deliberat. Capitaneo vocato Quynt eo quod predictus capitaneus non offenderet civitati nec in aliquo dampnum faceret cum familia in civitate Cantuar. - xij^s iv^d

Bread and wine were sent outside the gate to the detachment, and perhaps one or two men were equipped with soldiers' coats, which was all that appeared to be necessary in order to make soldiers of them, and added to the "Capitane's" force. Such payments appear to have been made with reluctance, but in the critical year 1470-1 really voluntary assistance was given to the White Rose, and a great mistake was made when, immediately afterwards, her Red rival became temporarily supreme. Edward being in the North, a large company was equipped and sent to him

under the command of Captain Brome; then, upon Edward's flight, which probably took place before the arrival of the Canterbury company, Alderman Faunt was dispatched to London to congratulate Henry VI, *Rex nunc*. Edward's victorious return within six months shewed that this last was a false move. We do not learn what became of Brome's band; probably they slunk home by twos and threes; but Nicholas Faunt was hanged by command of Edward IV in 1471. He represented the city in the last Parliament of Henry VI, and at his death a compromising note, probably a list of Lancastrian sympathisers, was found in his pocket, and brought to Canterbury by a friendly hand:—

Solut. Cuidam famulo Georgii Brome militis pro quadam
 cedula inventa in Bursa Nichi'. Faunt de diversis
 nominibus honestorum virorum Cantuar. - - - x^d

During this period of political confusion, it is not easy to trace the fortunes of the Canterbury Volunteers; but taking a leap of fifty years, we come upon the Muster, or Watch, not only full-grown, but even, the novelty having worn off, become decrepit from age.

A book of the ordinances enacted by the Court of Burgmote contains (circ. 1490) the following:—

Forasmoch as almaner of harnes within the Citie of Canterbury is decreased and rustid for lacke of yerly watche, the whiche watche before thys time haue bene yerly contynewed by owre predecessours, to the grete honour of the seid citie, and proffyte of the fense of the reme, by makyng clene and purches yerly of harnes within the same; and by cawse now of late summe maiers in ther yer haue fule honourably kepte the seide watche, and summe maiers none. Wherefore it is enacted and agreed, by the Auctoritie of the same Burgemote, that frome hensforth yerly, every maier shall contynewe and kepe the seid watche in the Euen of the Translation of S^t Thomas the Martier. And in the aforseide Watche the Sheryfe of

the seid citie to ryde in harnes, with an henchman after him onestly emparelled, for the honour of the same citie. And the Maier to ryde att his plesur, and yf the Maiers plesur be to ryde in harnes, the Aldermen to ryde in like maner; and if he ryde in his scarlet gowne, the Aldermen to ride after the seid watche in scarlet and crymesyn gownes. And yf eny Maier her after for slowthe or wilfulnesse will not observe this act, in contynewyng the seide watche with the premysses, to forfeite to the commonalte x^{li}; and if eny Sherife her affir for sloweth or wilfulnesse do as is above seide, to forfeite to the Commonalte as above seide v^{li}. And yf eny Alderman by sloweth or wilfulnesse ryde not with the seide Maier, he to forfeite to the seide Commonalte xl^s. Also it is enacted and agreed, that every Alderman shall fynde two cressetts, brennyng, in the seide watche, and euery one of the Comen Counsel, euery Constable, and Towne Clerk one cressett to brenne in lyke forme. And yf eny of the seid persons lacke eny cressett that nyght, he to forfeit for every cressett so lackyng iii^s iv^d. Whiche amerciaments to be layed owt by the seid Maier to his owne use towarde his charges susteyned in the same watche. Also the Maier for the time beyng to fynd two cressets and vi torches, or moo att his plesure.

Music was not wanting:—

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Solut. xi die Julii Tubicenis Londoniensibus pro vigilia | |
| Sci. Thome - - - - - | x ^s |
| In rewarde yeuen to the Wayts of London on Seynt | |
| Thomas night goyng before the watche - - - | x ^s |
| For one that played upon a drumme in the watche - - - | vij ^d |
| To a trumpeter that blew in the watche before the horse- | |
| men - - - - - | xx ^d |

The city furnished some of the appointments, together with extra cressets, in addition to those provided by the Mayor and his officers.

For a new cressett and for lights for ij cressetts and for beryng them in the watche - - - - - iiiij^s vj^d

Accidents occurred, as might well be expected:—

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Paied to ij Flemmyngs that were hurte with gunne powder | |
| in the watche - - - - - | xij ^d |

This mention of gunpowder makes it necessary to state that from ten to twenty pounds of ammunition

were exploded by the gunners and caliver men, besides that which was employed to give *éclat* to the pageant by which the Watch was accompanied.

It is easy to call before the mind's eye a picture of Mr. Mayor "in harneys," standing on the steps of the Burgmote Hall, his head covered by a morion gay with plumes of scarlet and white, the city colours; his portly form bound in a buff jerkin, and uncomfortably buckled into a bright corslet; while immediately around him are grouped the steel-cased Sheriff and Aldermen, the back-ground being filled up by a motley crowd of armed citizens, the best appointed of them being those privileged to wear the "almayn ryvetts" and breastplates belonging to the city, which then were and now are kept in the Guildhall, ready at hand for use in case of emergency. The figure-piece above sketched would be unfinished unless it were provided with an appropriate back-ground, and this is supplied by the clear-obscure of a July night, smoky with torches and lurid with flaring cressets, dimly revealing the Gothic front of the Guildhall, whose open double doors indistinctly shew preparations for a supper, to be eaten when the procession is over. Half-an-hour spent before Rembrandt's "Night Watch,"* as I love to call it rather than by its new name, will give a better idea of the scene confusedly outlined above, than any amount of futile so-called word-painting.

In 1503-4, "The Pagent of Seynt Thomas," a new element, new as far as we have authority to go upon, was introduced as a part of the procession of the Watch, in the shape of a car drawn by horses, and carrying an altar, before which the patron saint

* No. 289 in the National Gallery.

of the city, represented by a boy episcopally vested, bowed beneath the strokes of four other boys, armed as knights of the period. A simple *tableau vivant* would have been tame after the first five minutes, and therefore, to give animation, from time to time the knights flourished their swords, the Archbishop was struck prostrate by their blows, and a cleverly-concealed actor spirted some blood upon the martyr's forehead, two leather bags of that fluid being always provided for the purpose. This part of the play having been performed, the mob huzzaed, gunpowder was flashed off, and a "vyce" representing an angel, flapped its wings and spun rapidly round and round, impelled by another concealed actor; who, by the way, only received twopence for his night's work, although he was hidden, half smothered by the hangings of the altar, in a cavity so dark that he required a candle to enable him to perform his mechanical part of "turnour of the vyce." This *vyce*, or device, must not be confounded with the low-comedy actor, sometimes representing a clown, oftener an imp, who, under the name of *The Vyce*, was introduced, both in and out of season, in the mysteries and moralities of the Middle Ages.

A great part of the description thus strung together from the records of many years can be verified by the bill sent in for the first production of the "Pageant;" other items picked up here and there are added, and will not be uninteresting:—

1504.—"EXPENSES OF SEYNT THOMAS PAGEANT."

Imp. Paied to Sampson carpenter and hys man hewyng
and squaryng of tymber for the seid pagent by one
day - - - - - vijij^d

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| It. Paied to Stulpe for makyng of Seynt Thomas carte with a peyr of whyles - - - - - | v ^s viij ^d |
| It. To Thomas Slacke and hys felowe makyng of the pagent by iiij daies takyng bitwene theym by the day fynding theym self xiiij ^d Sum. - - - | iiij ^s viij ^d |
| It. To Richarde Harte for two 'yaxrongs (axle rungs) weyeng iiij l ⁱ & di - - - - - | v ^s |
| It. For c and xiiij fote of borde bought for the floryng of the same pagent - - - - - | ij ^s viij ^d |
| It. In c of ij peny nayle ij ^d & in c & di of ij ^d nayle ij ^d & in smalle nayle j ^d ob. Sum. - - - | vij ^d ob. |
| It. In talowe for the whiles - - - - - | j ^d |
| It. In ale spent j ^d , to iiij men to help to cary the pagent viiij ^d , and to Jamys Colman for hys horse hyre iiij ^d Sum. - - - - - | xiiij ^d |
| It. Paied for ij baggs of leder to Gylliam - - - | xviiij ^d |
| It. To Gylbert payntor for payntyng of the Awbe and the Hedde - - - - - | vj ^d |
| It. To Arnold Lokyer for gun powder bought at Sandwych | ij ^s iiij ^d |
| It. For fettyng of borde from Northgate - - - | ij ^d |
| It. For lynen cloth bought for Seynt Thomas garment - | vj ^d |
| It. For a dosen and a half of tynen sylver - - - | ix ^d |
| It. For di. li. of glew j ^d ob. in an erthyn potte, ob. pack- threde j ^d Sum - - - - - | iiij ^d |
| It. For ij calvys skynnys xiiij ^d , in syse bought j ^d , viij dossen of Cades poynts viij ^d in gold foyle j ^d Sum - - | ij ^s |
| It. In colys for to mylt the glew ob. In a rewarde yeven to Thomas Fleccher for forgyng and makyng the Knyghts harnes vj ^d , to John a Tent for the hyre of a sworde ij ^d , and for wasshyng of an albe and a amys ij ^d Sum - - - - - | x ^d |
| It. In candills - - - - - | j ^d |

In preparation for the show of 1507, the pageant
was repaired :—

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| ij Dd. & di. de Tynfoyle - - - - - | vij ^d ob |
| Dimid. Dd. de Goldfoyle - - - - - | ij ^d ob |
| ij lb of Gunpowder - - - - - | xviiij ^d |
| Pro labore unius hominis pro emendacione harnes militum | xx ^d |
| Pro le gettyng sanguynem - - - - - | iiij ^d |
| In pane et servisia pro ij ^{bs} hominibus, pro le dressyng ejusdem pagenti, cum expensis militum - - | xij ^d |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|
| Le Jakett, j pake (<i>sic</i>) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | xij ^s xj ^d |
| Stacio le pagent (in the barn at St. Sepulchre's) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | xvj ^d |
| Le payntyng capitis Sci. Thome | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | iiij ^d |

In 1512 :—

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------------|
| For a calvys skyn to mend the Knyghts harnes therewith | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | iiij ^d |
| For ossydeu (?) & browne paper, for a leffe of synaper (sinopis=ruddle), and for gold paper for the seid harnes | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | iiij ^d |
| For rede lede | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | j ^d |
| For a payer of new gloues for Seynt Thomas | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | j ^d |
| For fetchyng downe of the gunnes fro Westgate, Seynt Georges gate, and fro the Towers, and beryng of them to the store howse | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | v ^d |
| For payntyng of the hede and the Aungell of the pagent | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | xxij ^d |

In 1514 :—

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
| Paied to hym that turned the vyce | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | ij ^d |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------|

In 1515 :—

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------------|
| Paied for wyre for the vyce of the Aungell | j ^d | For j quarter of Lambe, and brede and drynk gevyn to the chil- dren that played the knyghts, & for them that holpe to convey the pagent abowte | - | - | - | - | - | - | xj ^d |
| Paied to Jon Harts wyfe for washyng of the albe and other clothys abowte the Auter, & setting on agayn the apparell | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | iiij ^d |
| Paied for drynk for the children before their goyng furthe, & for candell to lyght the turnour of the vyce | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | ij ^d |

In 1529 :—

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| For a new typpet of buckeram | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | vj ^d |
| For a new leder bag for the blode | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | vj ^d |
| For vermylen, byce, tynfoyle, goldfoyle, rede lede, & paynters oyle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | iiij ^s vj ^d |
| For drynk & on to turne the vyce | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | v ^d |

In this year the pageant, which, when out of use, stood in the barn of the Prioress of St. Sepulchre, at an annual rent of 16d., was transferred to the disused (?) Archbishop's Palace, at the cost of a new pair of "shoos to the kepar of the palys," or of 9d., if he preferred to receive ready money.

In 1530 a curious item appears :—

For lyftyng of the pageant over the barrs in the palys,
in & out - - - - - vjd

The popularity of the show appears not to have diminished until the ominous year 1536-7, when its rapid fall is expressed in the accounts, thus :—

Receyved of Stephen Apsley for the cart of “Bysshop
Bekket’s” pageaunt - - - - - iij^s iiij^d
For caryeng of Bysshop Bekkets cart from the Palys to
Apsleys - - - - - ij^d

In 1541 it had become dangerous for any one to look to “Bysshop Bekket” as a patron, and the city was deeply implicated in this matter. Many years before, the Burgmote Council had caused the city arms to be erased from their counterseal, and had substituted a lively representation of the murder of Archbishop Thomas, whose widespread reputation filled their inns and fostered their commerce. When Henry VIII removed the shrine and scattered the martyr’s dust to the winds, the citizens took steps to bring their seal into harmony with the new opinions :—

Payd to Oldfield bellfownder for putting owte Thomas
Bekket from the Commen Seale and gravyng agayn
of the same - - - - -

Examples of the seal in both its states are to be found attached to deeds in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

The dramatic representation of the murder of the Archbishop, with its attendant “vyce,” having been suppressed, the populace in compensation were provided with another show, apparently copied from the Gog and Magog processions dear to the Londoners. With a double proportion of gunpowder and some comically terrible giants, the commons were probably as well pleased as they were with the old show, which

had doubtless long ceased to arouse any devotional feelings.

The entry which announces the change runs :—

Payd for fetchyng the Gyaunts and the gonnes from the
store house to the Court Hall - - - - ij^d

The giants made their annual progress until the first year of Mary, when, to prepare the way for a revival of the old pageant, “two charyotts,” of course gaily decorated, marched with the Watch.

In Mary’s second year (1554-5), there was a complete revival of all the glories of St. Thomas and his show. The cart, we know, had been sold in 1537, but the harness, except the helmets, appears to have been forthcoming at the revival. A new cart was made, and a very substantial scaffold erected upon it, torches and candlesticks were provided in great numbers, but, and with good reason, the *vyce*, the blood, and the gunpowder were omitted. The knights’ helmets having been lost, a new set was provided :—

For makeyng of a mould to make the helmetts for the
knyghts - - - - - xiiij^d

No further mention of the Pageant as an adjunct to the Watch procession occurs in the accounts ; of course in Elizabeth’s reign it was totally suppressed, but it is satisfactory to find that its end is not left in uncertainty. Far on in the reign of the Maiden Queen somebody found the old platform in the city storehouse, and turned it out. The short, final record is very suggestive :—

Rec^d of Mr Arden for a payer of wheles and the bedd of
an old pageant - - - - - ijs viij^d

A generation had passed away. Doubtless fathers continued to tell their sons of the merry doings in the old days—how, as the sun set on the 11th of July,

each man, arming himself with his best weapon, with a partizan which his grandfather had wielded at Bosworth, or a bow with which his father had done good service at Flodden, used to march out, not unadvised by his wife, to join the Mayor in the Watch; how they marched to each of the city gates, where those who had guns fired a salvo; how, as the smoke cleared away, the Knights of the Pageant used to make their swords clatter over the head of the martyr, from which flowed streams of real blood, whilst an angel, hovering in mid-air, flapped his wings and turned to every point of the compass. The fathers, *laudatores temporis acti*, who told these tales, would see again the events of their youth through the rose-coloured glass of memory, and would depict them with the glowing colours of their recollections. It is no wonder, then, when a town-serjeant found a pair of wheels and some worm-eaten planks, made more squalid by adhering rags of painted canvas, that he designated the collection "the bed of an old Pageant," failing to recognize in the rotting rubbish that wondrous stage which his father had described as gorgeously decorated, and upon whose eminence he had witnessed such moving representations of the murder of a superbly-vested Archbishop by the hands of four fully-equipped knights.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Marching Watch was superseded by a more efficient organization for national defence. The active foreign policy of that Queen required that the whole population should be converted into a militia, from whose ranks an extemporaneous army could be drafted in case of emergency. With this object in view Commissioners of Array, chosen from the gentry and chief citizens, were permanently appointed in every county,

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| For matche and leade then for bullets | - | - | - | - | xix ^d |
| More then for a pownde of powder | - | - | - | - | xix ^d |
| Payd more that day for powder by M ^r Maiors commaunde- ment | - | - | - | - | iiijs ^j ^d |
| To the drummes & phyf at the musters | - | - | - | - | iiijs ^s vj ^d |
| Payd to the xx soldyours then for ij dayes | - | - | - | - | xiijs ^s iiij ^d |
| To M ^r Ower and Nicholson conductors of them | - | - | - | - | ijs ^s |
| To the Wallon drumme for the day of the musters at Berham Downe | - | - | - | - | xij ^d |
| To Danyell the cutler for cleanyng the corseletts, for lynyng of viij head peces, for cleanyng of vii pikes, and for makyng cleane of nyne murrions | - | - | - | - | xviijs ^s |
| For mendyng the towne peces and their flasks | - | - | - | - | xxiv ^s iiij ^d |
| Payd to the xx trayned shott for there three days trayning this yeare | - | - | - | - | xl ^s |
| To Edward Newchuche when he went to Sandwich with M ^r Maior to shote there | - | - | - | - | v ^s |
| Payd upon the comyng of the gentlemen of Rye with their company, with a company of souldyours, to meet & skyrmysshe, first xv pounce of powder at xiiij ^d the pounce | - | - | - | - | xvijs ^s vj ^d |
| Then for ij pounce of matche | - | - | - | - | xx ^d ob. |
| That nyght pay ^d for their whole supper beyng abowte the nombre of fower score persons then suppyng at the signe of the Swan | - | - | - | - | iiiij ^{ll} ijs ^s |
| More payd for wyne the nexte nyght following | - | - | - | - | v ^s |
| Payd more then for v ^{ll} of powder | - | - | - | - | v ^s x ^d |
| More for matche, di. a pounce | - | - | - | - | ij ^d ob. |
| More for powder at their farewell ij pounce & di. | - | - | - | - | ijs ^s xi ^d |
| Payd hym that playde on the drumme that dwelt without Westgate | - | - | - | - | xij ^d |
| For browne paper to wrap the powder in | - | - | - | - | j ^d |
| For wyne caryed to be dronck without Wynchepe gate at the Rye mens farewell | - | - | - | - | ijs ^s |
| Payd to one to play wyth the drumme on Holly crosse day when the xxx callyver men shewed them selves in the Friers & after went to M ^r Mayer | - | - | - | - | xij ^d |
| For bryngyng a hoggshead of powder and a sacke of matche from Feuersham to Canterbury | - | - | - | - | xxij ^d |
| For buyldyng the tents at the musters, & the boys drumme that day | - | - | - | - | xxij ^d |

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| For makyng the tents at the hill ayenst an other muster - | |
| For a case for the enseign - - - - - | xij ^d |
| For a gallon of Sack to Capitayn Skynck - - - - - | iijs ^s iiij ^d |
| To Hodge for wearyng the Armour at the Halle to Berham Downe - - - - - | iiij ^d |
| For double heddyng ij drummes & for the stuff - - - - - | iijs ^s iiij ^d |
| Payd at the Cheker for M ^r Maior & Captayn Palmer, being muster master, and the rest of the commis- sioners, for their dynner to the number of xxvij at xvj ^d the pece - - - - - | |
| For xv mens dynners offycers & seargeants at vj ^d the pece | |
| For xi offycers and servyng men their dynner - - - - - | v ^s vj ^d |
| For brede and dryncke sent to Captayne Brome to the hill | xijs ^s xj ^d |
| For powder to shote of the olde peces - - - - - | xij ^d |
| To a labourer for carryeng & recarryeng the tallies and fourmesto & from Babbs Hill, when the muster was toke of the bowes of this cytie - - - - - | vj ^d |
| Payd to the trayned shott when they went to Margate - - - - - | vj ^s viij ^d |
| Payd to Newchurche for heddyng the drumme & other his paynes taken with the Souldyers - - - - - | x ^s |
| To the souldyers of Sandwich a pounce of sugar & a gallon of Wyne - - - - - | iiij ^s |
| For M ^r Penny for mony layd owte by hym beyng maior in a matche of shootyng - - - - - | ix ^s |

In the Armada year (1588) a camp was formed at Northbourne, to watch the coast and to prevent a landing of the Spaniards upon the flat shore between Deal and Ramsgate. To the camp flocked the several companies that formed the East Kent Battalion, Canterbury contributing two hundred men led by Alderman Brome, whose namesake commanded the band sent to reinforce Edward IV in 1470. The Canterbury contingent consisted chiefly of bowmen and billmen, the latter armed with weapons and corslets served out from the Guildhall; but, besides these were twenty "trayned shott," or "calyver men," who, in skill and appointments, approached the soldier of the present day. The Walloon "Estraungers," who had

settled in the city some twenty years before, took their places in the ranks with their English fellow-citizens, cheered by the rattle of their own "Wallon drumme." The zeal with which this and the other drums were thumped is proved by the appearance, after every muster, of charges for "new heddyng of a drumme;" sometimes two, or even three, drums required repairing at a time.

The following extracts refer to the steps taken on shore to repel enemies landing from the great Spanish fleet:—

| | |
|--|--|
| For fettyng of certeyn harnys, from the pallys (probably St. Augustine's) - - - - - | - |
| To an armorer for skoweryng and nayling of xiiij payers of Harnys - - - - - | - |
| For di. dossen of gyrdylls for the sheff arrowes - - | - |
| For xiiij ells of saresuett for to make ij Awnsyentts - | iiij ^h x ^s iiij ^d |
| For makyng of the seid Awnsyentts - - - - - | x ^s |
| For hedds of the stavys - - - - - | xij ^d |
| For ij ounces of (sewing) sylke - - - - - | xx ^d |
| For ij tassels of the Awnsyentts - - - - - | ij ^s |
| To Michell the Iremonger for xiiij cappes & sculles the day that the company of the trayned men of the cytie were sente to the campe at Northbourne - | xxx ^s |
| For ij gyrdles wyth black hangers - - - - - | ij ^s ix ^d |
| To buy trases for the tents at the campe - - - - - | xij ^d |
| Payd to M ^r Bartholomew Brome, Lieuetenant of the seid band of ij ^c men, to defray the charges for poore men sent by the Chamber & other - - - - - | xl ^s |
| To Potter for corde for the tents at the Campe and for his paynes to doe it - - - - - | ij ^s |
| More that was caste hym which I had not agayn - - | vj ^d |
| For a baskett when I sent to the Campe xij stone potts - | ij ^d |
| To Clarkson the fletcher for supplyeng & setting up of ix bowes & for ix stryngs - - - - - | ij ^s ix ^d |
| For halfe a yarde of blacke sylke to amende the enseign at the Campe - - - - - | xv ^d |
| For a horse to the Campe for procuryng order of release | |

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| for N. Owen the Armorer and some poore men not of the select nombre - - - - - | xx ^d |
| Payd at the Campe to v poore men that had the cyties armes - - - - - | ij ^s vi ^d |
| Payd the xij day of August for heddyng ij single hedds of the drummes - - - - - | vij ^s |
| For double heddyng on Wyldes drumme - - - - - | vij ^s |
| For calves skynnes for a case for the drums & for makyng them - - - - - | vij ^s |
| To Morrys & Bailey two of them that did wear the cyties armor - - - - - | vij ^d |
| To the Wallon drumme toward the relief of his poore chil- dren he beyng from home in the Campe so wyllid by M ^r Maior - - - - - | ij ^s |
| For the unguents and other thynges delyvered to Russell, Surgeon, for the Company and bande sent to the Campe to Northbourne - - - - - | xxxvij ^s x ^d |
| Payed to him more for a cheste to bestowe his unguents and other his instruments of Surgerie in - - - - - | iiij ^d |
| For an axe for the souldyers to cutt downe stuff for their cabynes - - - - - | xij ^d |

The next item shews that, the Armada having been dispersed, the camp had been raised, and the peaceful competitions at the butts resumed:—

For setting up an out marke at the But next the tower
for feare of daunger by arrowes to the passenger
for that one was kylled there wyth an arrowe - xij^d

One more item describes the passing away of the Armada panic and the triumphant suspending of the trophy of arms in the Guildhall:—

Payd to the boyes to helpe spede the cleanyng the armour
to be sett up - - - - - iiij^d

This outlay of fourpence brings to an end the history of the single piece of active service in which the Canterbury Volunteers of 1588 bore a part for the defence of their Queen and country. So far we have followed the fortunes of our citizen-soldiers in the sixteenth century. In comparing the Volunteers of the good

Queen Bess with those who now serve the better Queen Victoria, we have no reason to complain of the changes which have come over the corps. The "trayned shott" of the city are, in 1878, ten times as numerous as, and who shall say how many times more skilful than, their predecessors of 1588, whose lineal descendants they are, whose names they bear, and whose patriotism they emulate.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.—*Hor.*